













# Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

AND

Illustrated with MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, &c.

WITH

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

---

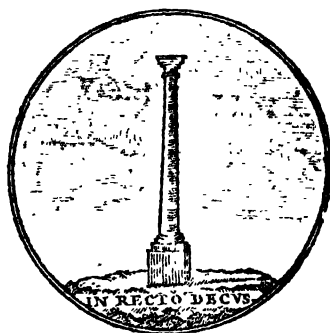
*Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεται μὴ κατὰ μέρος ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐυρίσκει  
ἀλόπως, ἀπερ ἕτεροι συνήζαν ἐγκόπως.*

Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

---

V O L. XVI.

---



---

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. OSBORNE, in *Gray's-Inn*; A. MILLAR, in  
the *Strand*; and J. OSBORN, in *Pater-noster Row*.

M.DCC.XLVIII.



---

---

A N

# Universal History,

FROM THE

## Earliest Account of Time.

---

V O L. XVI.

---

B O O K IV.

*The History of the ETRUSCANS.*

---

C H A P. I. S E C T. I.

*Description of Etruria.*

**T**HAT the *Etruscans* (A), in times of very remote Italy for antiquity, and even many ages before the building *merly sub-* of *Rome*, were masters of almost all *Italy*, appears *sett, to the* highly probable from several authors. The whole *Etruscans*, region called *Italia* by the *Latins*, went under the name of *Tyrrhenia* amongst the more antient *Greeks*, according to *Dionysius*

(A) The word *Hetrurians*, calls the antient inhabitants of *Tuscany Etruri*, not *Hetruri*; but though commonly used by modern writers, we have thought proper to explode, as not being them that appellation. All the countenanced by any tolerable authority. *Servius* (1), indeed, thors, that take any notice of

(1) *Serv. ad Æn. l. x. v. 164. Vide Dempst. de Etrur. regal. vol. i. p. 2, 3.*

*Dionysius* <sup>a</sup> *Halicarnassensis*; which seems to imply, that it was formerly subject to the *Tyrrhenians*, or *Etruscans*, and from them received that denomination. <sup>b</sup> *Livy* and *Plutarch* intimate, that the seas which, in some measure, surround *Italy*, that is, the *Tyrrhenian*, the *Ionian*, and the *Adriatic*, were antiently denominated the *Etruscan* sea; and that the *Etruscans* possessed all that vast tract extending from the *Alps* to the streights separating *Italy* from *Sicily*. They built twelve cities beyond the *Tiber*, afterwards the boundary of the *Proper Etruria* on that side, according to <sup>c</sup> *Strabo*; and, that <sup>d</sup> *Nola* and *Capua* acknowledged them for their founders, we learn from *Cato*: nay, they had <sup>e</sup> twelve capital cities, or heads of lucumonies, in the tract terminated by the *Po* and the *Alps*, as may be collected from history. *Pliny* mentions one *Olenus Calenus*, an *Etruscan*, famous for augury <sup>f</sup> and divination; which seems to suggest, that *Caleni* was an *Etruscan* name, and consequently, that the *Caleni* were *Etruscans*. <sup>g</sup> *Virgil* and *Silius Italicus* likewise rank *Casena* and *Mantua* amongst the cities of *Etruscan* extraction; and indeed, that this most antient nation, in very early times, occupied the whole tract between the *Alps* and the *Apennines*, sufficiently appears from *Livy* <sup>h</sup>. *Pliny* <sup>i</sup> says, that *Bononia*, or, as it is now called, *Bologna*, was antiently looked upon as the principal city of *Etruria*; which amounts to an implication, that there was a time when *Etruria* comprehended that part of *Italy* lying between the *Alps* and the *Apennines*. And, in confirmation of the above-mentioned authorities, it may be observed, that many *Etruscan* relics and fragments of antiquity have been dug up in various provinces of the kingdom of <sup>k</sup> *Naples*, <sup>l</sup> *Verona*, *Padua*, &c., as well as the duchy of *Tuscany*, or the *Proper Etruria*.

<sup>a</sup> DIONYS. HALICARN. antiq. Rom. l. i. <sup>b</sup> LIV. l. i. & v. PLUTARCH. in Mario. <sup>c</sup> STRAB. l. v. <sup>d</sup> CATO apud Vel. Paterc. l. i. c. 7. <sup>e</sup> VIRG. ÆN. l. x. DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. iv. c. 110. SCIP. MAFF. orig. Etrusc. & Lat. c. 2. Lipsæ, 1731. <sup>f</sup> PLIN. l. xxviii. c. 2. <sup>g</sup> SIL. ITAL. & VIRG. apud Scip. Maff. ubi sup. <sup>h</sup> LIV. ubi sup. <sup>i</sup> PLIN. l. iii. c. 15. <sup>k</sup> Pocock's description of the East, &c. vol. ii. par. 2. p. 206. <sup>l</sup> SCIP. MAFF. ubi supra.

the *Tuscan* affairs, denominate the people under consideration either *Tyrrhenians*, *Tyrrhenians*, *Etruscans*, or *Tuscans*. Our readers therefore will meet with all those names in this history of

that nation; though the word *Etruscans* will most frequently occur, as being the best supported both by manuscripts and inscriptions.

ITALY, however, must be allowed to have been a very ancient name; but then it was first applied to only a small part of the region afterwards so called. <sup>m</sup> Aristotle and Antiochus Syracusanus assign this appellation first to a tract comprising only the Brutian territory, and part of Lucania; tho' it afterwards reached the districts even contiguous to the Alps. When the country called Italy, in the Roman times, lost its old name Etruria, we cannot take upon us to pronounce; but this, we think, happened long before the foundation of Rome. Nay, it is probable, that the kingdom of <sup>n</sup> Latium was a colony of the Etruscans; and the first traces of the city of <sup>o</sup> Rome itself may possibly have been owing to that nation. Be that as it will, the hills on which Rome stands, cannot, with any colour of reason, be supposed to have remained without cultivation till the time of Romulus, as will appear from the following note (B).

*The Latins  
a colony of  
the Etrus-  
cans.*

## THE

<sup>m</sup> ARISTOT. polit. l. vii. c. 10. ANTIOCH. SYRACUSAN. apud Dion. Halicar. STRAB. l. vi. BOCH. Chan. l. i. c. 33. <sup>n</sup> LIV. & PLUT. ubi supra. <sup>o</sup> ALCM. & CUMAN. hist. ant. apud Fest.

(B) As the Umbri, or Aborigines, and Pelasgi, built towns upon hills in the earliest ages, it is natural to suppose, that some, at least, of those on which Rome stood, should have been inhabited long before the birth of Romulus. Some of them therefore had probably castles and small towns erected upon them before the common æra of Rome. Nor can this be well denied, if we consider the proximity of so fine a river, as the Tiber, which must render such a situation most commodious and delightful. From hence therefore we may conclude, that all the hills on which Rome stands, were not uncultivated till the time of Romulus (2).

But this seems to be rendered

clear by the authority of several reputable ancient historians. Damastrus Sigenfis, Cephalo, Gergithius, as well as many others cited by Dionysius Halicarnassensis and Plutarch, tell us, that Rome was either founded by Æneas, or his sons, soon after the Trojan war. Antiochus Syracusanus, who was an admirable compiler of ancient history, affirms Rome to have been built long before the Trojan war by the Pelasgi; which is also confirmed by Plutarch. Nay, Dionysius Halicarnassensis asserts, that Rome, or at least the spot on which it stands, was inhabited by the Umbri and Aborigines; and that this, when he wrote, was as clear and evident, as any thing could be that happened in the

(2) Dionys. Halicarn. antiq. Rom. l. i. Strab. l. iv. xiv. § 3 alib. Plin. l. iii. c. 14. Vide Favian. Nardin. de Rom. vet. Pet. Casell. de prim. Ital. colon. Oflav. Ferrar. de orig. Romanor. Andr. Cicer. de urb. Rom. alioquin scripser. quam plurim.



The Gauls  
and  
Greeks  
conquered  
part of  
ancient  
Etruria.

THE <sup>P</sup> Gauls making, at different times, irruptions into Etruria, by degrees, seized upon that part of it situated between

<sup>P</sup> LIV. l. v. PLUT. in Camil.

mythic period of time. Since, therefore, *Dionysius* was twenty years in writing his history, and extracted the materials for it from all the best historians that preceded him, the sacred tables, the annals of the *Roman* pontifices, and all other authentic monuments of *Latin*, or rather *Etruscan*, antiquity, his authority must be of great weight in the present case. Nay, this, in conjunction with what has been advanced by *Antiochus Syracusanus*, must clearly evince the antiquity of *Rome* to be superior to that of *Romulus* (3).

*Dionysius* likewise in another place affirms the *Umbri* and *Aborigines*, who were probably the same people, to have been the founders of the *Roman* state; and that they were afterwards joined by the *Pelasgi*. This notion was also adopted by *Tertullian*, who mentions *Saturnus*'s seating himself upon the hill, from him called *Saturnius*, as a point not to be disputed: nor indeed was it ever disputed amongst the *Romans*, as we learn from *Festus*, and others of their best writers. The conclusion from whence is, that *Rome* is of an *Umbrian* and *Pelasgic* original (4).

The word *Rome* itself is of *Umbrian*, or *Pelasgic*, and consequently *Oriental*, extraction. This has been fully proved in a

dissertation printed at *Oxford*, in 1746. as likewise in another piece. We must therefore imagine, that its foundation preceded the birth of *Romulus* (5).

Several of the *Roman* medals and coins allude to an age prior to that of *Romulus*. These are done in a taste and manner quite different from those that are discernible on any of the consular and imperial coins. The traditions they allude to do not suppose *Romulus* the founder of *Rome*; but, on the contrary, point out a much earlier original; and therefore from hence we may conclude, that the *Romans* themselves were fully convinced of the certainty of such an original (6).

Lastly, the famous common-sewers, with their arches of hard stone, made by *Tarquinius* the first, the fifth king of *Rome*, plainly prove this city to have had a more antient founder than *Romulus*. Some very surprising remains of these sewers are to be seen at this day. The expence of this incomparable work was never so well understood, as when it came to be repaired; and a judgment of its grandeur may be formed from hence, that the censors gave no less than a thousand talents to him, who undertook to cleanse it. This seems plainly to indicate, that

(3) *Damasc.* *Sigenf.* *Cephal.* *Gorgieb.* *aliique apud Dionys.* *Halicarn.* l. i. & *Plut.* *Antioch.* *Syracusf.* *apud Dionys.* *Halicarn.* l. i. ut & *ipse Dionys.* *Halicarn.* *ibid.* *Plut.* in *Romul.* (4) *Dionys.* *Halicarn.* l. i. *Tertul.* *apol.* *Fest.* *Plin.* l. iii. c. 5, &c.

(5) *Joan. Savint.* *de priñ.* *Roman.* *lit. differt.* p. 5, 6. *Oxon.* 1746. *Francisc. Marian.* *Viterbiens.* *de Etrur.* *metrop.* p. 137. *Romæ*, 1728. (6) *Scip. Mass.* in *bibliotheq. Italig.* tom. *trigesim.* p. 39, 40, 41. à *Geneve*, 1728.

tween the *Alps* and the *Apennines*, as we learn from *Livy* and *Plutarch*. This notion likewise receives a farther accession of strength from the word *Arusnates*, on two stones not long since<sup>1</sup> discovered, which was the proper name of a people, not mentioned by any of the old geographers, inhabiting the northern hilly part of the territory of *Verona*:<sup>2</sup> for *Arus*, or *Arusn*, was a proper name in use among the *Etruscans*.<sup>3</sup> *Livy* intimates, that the *Etruscans* had been long settled in this tract, when they were expelled from thence by the *Gauls*.

As for the superior part of *Etruria*, taken in its largest extent, several colonies of *Greeks* found means to make settlements there. From them it was called<sup>4</sup> *Magna Græcia*. These colonies gradually insinuating themselves into the country, at various periods, made themselves masters of it; but the precise time of every conquest we cannot pretend to ascertain. It will not be improper here to observe, that<sup>5</sup> the *Gauls*, or inhabitants of *Gallia Celtica*, made four irruptions into *Etruria* before they conquered the tract above-mentioned. The first of these happened about six hundred years before<sup>6</sup> the birth of *Christ*, and<sup>7</sup> the last a little before the taking of *Rome* by *Brennus*. But for a particular account of these invasions we must beg leave to refer our readers to that part of this history to which they more properly belong.

THE *Etruscans* were likewise dispossessed of a pretty large extent of territory, by the *Samnites* and *Ligurians*, long before they submitted to the *Romans*. This we learn from<sup>8</sup> *Mela*, *Livy*, and *Strabo*. So that, at last, they found themselves confined within the limits of *Etruria Propria*, where, for several ages, they made a very considerable figure. As we know little of the *Etruscans*, whilst in the zenith of their power, it would be preposterous to attempt a description of all the countries they at that time possessed: it will therefore be suf-

<sup>1</sup> SCIP. MAFF. ubi supra. <sup>2</sup> DIONYS. HALICAR. LIV. & SCIP. MAFF. ubi sup. <sup>3</sup> LIV. l. v. <sup>4</sup> PHIL. CLUVER.

Ital. antiq. l. ii. c. i. SCIP. MAFF. ubi sup. <sup>5</sup> LIV. l. v. c. 34. 35. <sup>6</sup> Idem ibid. Vide & PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra.

<sup>7</sup> LIV. ubi sup. Vide & PHIL. CLUVER. ubi sup. <sup>8</sup> MEL. l. ii. c. 4. LIV. l. xli. STRAB. l. v. CLUVER. ubi supra.

the city, in *Tarquin's* reign, had been a considerable time immensely great, rich, and populous; and therefore amounts to a sort of proof, that several hundred years at least must then have elapsed since its foundation (?).

ficient to give our readers here a general idea of the boundaries and principal cities of the *Proper Etruria*.

Limits of  
Etruria  
Propria.

ETRURIA PROPRIA, *Etruria Posterior*, or, as it is simply stiled by most of the *Latin* writers, *Etruria*, was <sup>a</sup> bounded on the east by the *Tiber*, on the west by the *Macra*, on the south by the *Tyrrhenian* sea, and on the north by the *Apennines*. The most <sup>a</sup> antient *Greeks* called it *Tyrſenia*; but *Polybius* <sup>b</sup>, and those who lived after him, *Tyrrhenia*. *Tyrſenia* is undoubtedly the true name, as corresponding with that of the *Lydian* prince, *Tyrſenus*, under whose conduct, according to <sup>c</sup> *Herodotus*, the *Tyrſeni*, or *Tyrrheni*, first made a settlement in *Italy*. As the *Etruscans*, from *Rasena*, one of their leaders, called themselves <sup>d</sup> *Rasena*, the same name apparently with <sup>e</sup> *Reſen*, that occurs in *Scripture*; and as *T* is frequently a servile letter in the *Asiatic* tongues; we may deduce both *Tyrſenus* and *Rasena*, without any <sup>f</sup> violence, from the East. The *Greek* and *Etruscan* names of this nation, therefore, appear to have been originally the same; and are a clear proof, that the *Tyrſenians* were of *Oriental* extraction.

Etruria di-  
vided into  
twelve  
tribes.

ETRURIA was divided <sup>g</sup> into twelve states or dynasties, every one of which had its peculiar city. These were <sup>h</sup> *Volſinii*, *Camers* or *Cluſum*, *Cortona*, *Peruſia*, *Arretium*, *Falerii*, *Tarquini*, *Volaterræ*, *Rufellæ*, *Vetulonii* or *Vetulonium*, *Cære*, and *Veii*; to which some add <sup>i</sup> *Luna*, *Fæſulæ*, and *Populonium*. Each of the *Tuſcan* states, or tribes, was governed by its own prince, called in the *Etruscan* language <sup>k</sup> *Lucumo*, and received its denomination from the capital city. As these towns were very famous, not only on account of their antiquity, but likewise of the figure they made in the earliest times, our readers will expect a short description of them here.

Volſinii.

VOLSINII, now *Bolsena*, stood on the confines of *Latium*, about forty-five miles north-west of *Rome*, near a lake called by the antient *Romans* <sup>l</sup> *Lacus Volſiniensis*, and by the modern

<sup>a</sup> STRAB. l. v. PLIN. l. iii. c. 5. CLUVER. ubi sup. <sup>2</sup> HERODOT. PINDAR. EURIPID. HERODOT. THUCYDID. APOLLON LYCOPHR. &c.

<sup>b</sup> CLUVER. Ital. antiq. l. ii. c. 1. sub init. CUMBERL. orig. gent. antiquiss. p. 318. Lond. 1724. <sup>c</sup> HERODOT. l. i.

<sup>d</sup> DIONYS. HALICAR. antiquit. Roman. l. i.

<sup>e</sup> GEN. c. x. v. 12. <sup>f</sup> CUMBERL. ubi sup. & alib. <sup>g</sup> DION.

HALICAR. antiquit. Roman. l. vi. & viii. LIV. l. iv. v. vii. &c. SERV. ad Æn. xi. sub init. <sup>h</sup> DIONYS. HALICAR. LIV.

STRAB. PLUT. SERV. &c. apud Phil. Cluver. ubi sup. p. 453.

<sup>i</sup> THO. DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. iv. c. 14, 19, 20. Florentiæ, 1724. <sup>k</sup> PLUT. in Camil. p. 135, 136. SERV. ad Æn. ii.

viii. xi. & alib. CENSORIN. de die natal. c. 4. <sup>l</sup> COLUMEL.

rufficar. rer. l. viii. c. 16. VITRUV. l. ii. c. 7. PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 22.

LIV. l. xxvii. STRAB. l. v.

## C.I. The History of the Etruscans

*Italians Lago di Bolsena.* That this was one of the most famous and opulent cities of *Etruria*, appears from <sup>m</sup> *Livy*. <sup>n</sup> *Pliny* says, that *Volsinii* was depopulated by the monster *Volta*, in the reign of king *Porfena*. It was likewise <sup>o</sup> once destroyed by lightning, and reduced by the *Romans* <sup>p</sup> under the conduct of *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, in the year of *Rome* 489. as may be evinced from the *Capitoline Tables*. The citizens of *Volsinii* seem to have been skilful artificers, at <sup>q</sup> least in the art of statuary, by the great number of statues carried from thence to *Rome*. *Pliny* <sup>r</sup> affirms, that the invention of hand-mills was owing to the people of *Volsinii*. As this invention was undoubtedly of great antiquity, it may from hence be collected, that the city itself was extremely antient. And indeed this the name itself seems to suggest (C), as being probably Oriental. *Bolsena* is

<sup>m</sup> *LIV.* l. v. ix. x. Vide etiam *DIONYS. HALICAR.* antiquit. Roman. l. xiv. *PLIN.* l. ii. c. 52. *VALER. MAX.* l. ix. c. 1. & *ZONAR.* annal. l. ii. <sup>n</sup> *PLIN.* l. ii. c. 53. <sup>o</sup> *PLIN.* l. ii. c. 52. <sup>p</sup> *Tab. Capitol. A. U. C.* 489. *ZONAR.* annal. l. viii. c. 7. <sup>q</sup> *METROD. SCEPSIUS* apud *Plin.* l. xxxiv. c. 7. <sup>r</sup> *PLIN.* l. xxxvi. c. 18. *DEMOST.* de *Etrur.* regal. l. iii. c. 68.

(C) The *Etruscans* probably wrote the name of this city *Ful-sine*, *Fulfini*, *Fulfinie*, or *Fulfinii*; for, that the V was expressed by the F in antient *Etruria*, appears from the (8) *Eugubian* tables, and several *Etruscan* sepulchral inscriptions. Now, that this word may be derived from the East, will clearly appear from the following etymons: 1. The town here mention'd might properly enough have been called *Volsinii*, *Vulfinii*, *Ful-sine*, *Fulfini*, *Fulfinie*, or *Fulfinii*, i. e. (9) פֹּלֶזָאן *Phole-zan*, or *Fule-san*, the famous city preparing food; which naturally enough alludes to the invention of (1) mills. 2. *Fulfinii*, (2) פֹּלֶזָאן *Ful-zani*, or *Ful-sani*, the tribe, canton, or people, versed

in mechanic arts, is an appellation that extremely well quadrates with what we have observed of *Volsinii*, viz. (3) that it was famous for the art of statuary, and for the invention of mills. That פֹּלֶזָאן, פֹּלֶזָאן, or פֹּלֶזָאן, might, in the earliest times, signify a division, and that this was equivalent to a detached colony, or body of men, that separated themselves from the rest of mankind (4), cannot well be denied. Hence the Greek word τριβύς, *tribus*, a separate, or distinct, body of men; and hence, if we mistake not, the *Tuscan* word *ful*, a tribe, city, or community: we say *ful*, because the *Etruscans* never admitted O into their alphabet, as will hereafter be

(3) *Tab. Eugubin. pass.* Vide etiam *tab. ær.* apud *Gor.* in *mus. Etrusc. pass.*  
 (9) *Val. Scind. lex. pentaglot.* p. 476. & 1444. (1) *Plin.* l. xxxvi. c. 18.  
 (2) *Scind. ubi supra*, p. 1441—1445. & 1555. (3) *Metrodor. apud Plin.*  
*u. & ipse Plin. ubi supra.* (4) *Scind. ubi supra*, p. 1441—1445.

a town of little note, though frequently passed through by travelers, as lying in the great *Roman* road; and consequently no traces at all of its former opulence and grandeur are now to be discovered.

**Clusium.** CLUSIUM, or, as it is now called, *Chiufi*, stood upon the \* *Clanis*, the *Chiana* of the present *Tuscans*, about twenty-eight miles north of *Volsinii*, and sixty-five north-west of *Rome*. The marsh or lake near it was denominated by the antients *Palus* † *Clusina*, and *Lacus Clusinus*; but it has for several ages been considered by the moderns, as part of the *Chiana*, into which the *Tresa* discharges itself, not far from *Chiufi*. This city was justly celebrated for being the seat of the *Tuscan* ‡ kings before the *Trojan* war; as also for being the residence ¶ of *Porfena*, who was at the head of the *Etruscan* lucumonies. For, though the twelve capital cities above-mentioned were immediately governed by their respective princes \*, yet they were all under one supreme head, or sovereign, and, at all critical junctures especially, submitted to his authority. *Clusium* seems to have been built by the † *Umbri*, who, according to *Pliny*, were *indigenæ*, or some of the first inhabitants of *Italy*. The name it went by amongst them was ‡ *Camers*; but, after their expulsion from thence, the *Etruscans* called it *Clusium* †. This suggests to us the reason of the latter appellation, and at the same time indicates

\* POLYB. VIRG. LIV. DIOD. SIC. STRAB. VELL. PATERC. PLIN. PLUT. APPIAN. FLOR. PTOL. &c. Vide & CLUVER. Ital. antiq. l. ii. p. 566, 567, 568. † STRAB. l. v. ‡ SERV. ad ÆN. x. Vide DEMEST. de Etrur. regal. l. ii. c. 41, 43. & l. iv. c. 18. ¶ LIV. l. ii. \* Idem ibid. JUSTIN. l. xliii. DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. i. † POLYB. l. ii. LIV. l. ix. c. 25. FRONTIN. stratag. l. i. c. 2. ‡ Idem ibid. & LIV. l. x. † SERV. apud Cluver. ubi supra, p. 567.

clearly evinced. 3. It is very likely, that בעל סיני (5) *Baal-fini*, or rather, פול סיני *Ful-fini*, might have antiently been a local proper name in the East, and particularly *Phœnicia*, or some adjacent region, from whence the *Tyrscni*, or *Etruscans*, migrated into *Italy*. These three etymons, we say, prove, that the word *Volsinii* may easily, and

even naturally, be deduced from the East; but which of them is the real one, or whether any of them ought to be considered as such, we shall not take upon us to determine: for we know so little of the foundation, and first ages, of this city, that it would be vanity to pretend to demonstrate the true reason of its primitive appellation.

(5) Gen. c. x. v. 17. Exod. c. xiv. v. 9. Isai. c. xlix. v. 12. Ezek. c. xxx. v. Cant. c. viii. v. 11, &c.

the *Etruscans* to have come out of the East: for חלצה *chelutze*, *chlutze*, or *chluse*, the participle pahul of חלץ <sup>b</sup>, signifies *removed, separated from, taken away, &c.* חלשה <sup>c</sup> *cheluse*, or *chluse*, also the same participle of the verb חלש <sup>d</sup>, denotes *conquered, reduced, &c.* Nor can either of these etymons appear forced, or unnatural, since the letter <sup>d</sup> ח had frequently a power equivalent to *ch*; and history admits at least, if it does not require it. As, therefore, the city of *Clusium* was prior to the first settlement of the *Tyrsemi* in *Italy*, and was even the seat of the *Tyrsenian* kings long before the *Trojan* war, it must undoubtedly be one of the most antient cities in *Europe*.

RUSELLÆ, or, as the *Etruscans* antiently wrote it, *Ru-* Rufellæ,  
*sele*, was a city of great antiquity <sup>e</sup>, and the capital of a lucumony: this we learn from *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* and *Livy*. It stood on <sup>f</sup> an hill, at a small distance from the *Lacus Prilis* or *Prelius*, now the *Lago di Castiglione*. Out of its <sup>g</sup> ruins has risen the town of *Moscona*, near the mineral waters called *Bagni di Roselle*, about three miles north of *Grosseto*, as is clearly evinced by *Cluverius*. That *Rufellæ* was a city of <sup>h</sup> vast wealth and power in the year of *Rome* 146. *i. e.* above six hundred years before *Cristi*, and therefore probably preceded the *Trojan* war, may be inferred from the best authors, who have treated of the infancy of the *Roman* state. The name seems to have been deduced from the situation; for רשע <sup>i</sup> *ros oleh*, or rather *rus uleh*, the <sup>l</sup> top of the hill, or *ascent*, is an appellation exactly agreeable to it. *Bochart* <sup>k</sup> supplies us with many parallel instances, which it is unnecessary to transcribe; and that רשע *ros* or *rus* frequently signified the <sup>m</sup> top of a mountain or hill, is evident to all who have been conversant with the sacred writers of the *Old Testament* in the original <sup>l</sup>.

CORTONA, or rather *Croton*, was a city at least coeval Cortona.  
with the first migration of the *Pelasgi*, or *Tyrsemi*, into *Italy*; if it was not of *Umbrian* <sup>m</sup> original. It is seated upon an hill, about thirty miles west of *Perusia*, between a ridge of

<sup>b</sup> VAL. SCHIND. pentaglot. in voc. חלש & חלץ. <sup>d</sup> BOCHART. Chan. l. ii. c. 13. p. 747. l. xxix. c. 15. p. 756. l. xxxvi. p. 761. l. xxxviii. xxxix. Vide etiam p. 384. l. iii. Lugd. Bat. 1692.

<sup>e</sup> DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. iii. Liv. pass. <sup>f</sup> PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 513. <sup>g</sup> Idem ibid. p. 514. <sup>h</sup> DION. HALICAR. ubi supra. <sup>i</sup> VAL. SCHIND. in vocib. רשע, עולה.

<sup>k</sup> SAM. BOCHART. in præf. ad Chan. p. 328. l. 55, 56. Lugd. Bat. 1692. <sup>l</sup> Exod. xxxiv. 2 Sam. xvi. 1. 2 Sam. xv. 32. Vide etiam SCHIND. ubi supra, p. 1677. <sup>m</sup> DION. HALICAR. antiq. Roman. l. i.

mountains, called by <sup>n</sup> *Livy*, from their proximity to it, *the mountains of Cortona*, and the *Lacus Tbrasymenus*, now the *Lago di Perugia*: betwixt this lake and the foot of the above-mentioned mountains there is only a narrow defile, that by degrees grows somewhat wider, and is lined by some little rising hills. Here *Hannibal* <sup>o</sup> encamped only with his *Africans* and *Spaniards* in open view: the *Baleares*, and light-armed troops, he posted behind the hills on the right: his horse he posted under cover of the eminences on the left, near the entry into the defile, that, as soon as the *Romans* entered it, they might all be inclosed by the lake and the mountains, while the horse stood in the mouth of the passage. The consequence of which disposition was, the total defeat of the *Roman* army. The first name of *Cortona* <sup>p</sup> was *Coritus*, *Coriti*, *Corithi*, or *Cerethi*, the same undoubtedly with כרתִי; which sufficiently points out the origin of, at least, one branch of the *Tyrsemi*, or *Pelasgi*: nay, it seems to discover the country from whence the *Umbri*, whose first settlement here preceded that of the *Etruscans*, migrated into *Italy*. This topic we cannot at present expatiate upon; but our readers will find it fully discussed by the <sup>q</sup> authors to which we refer.

**Perusia.**

**PERUSIA**, now *Perugia*, an inland city of *Etruria*, stood <sup>r</sup> upon the *Tiber*, near the famous mount *Ciminus*. It was a place of very considerable note in the earlier ages of the *Roman* republic, and even <sup>v</sup> in the times of the kings. Some take it to have been built by *Tarchon* <sup>t</sup>, a very early *Etruscan* prince; and others, by the <sup>u</sup> *Tyrsenian* king *Ocnus*, who, notwithstanding what has been advanced by *Virgil*, lived long before the *Trojan* war: be that as it will, no (D) one ever doubted

<sup>n</sup> LIV. l. xxii. c. 4.      <sup>o</sup> Idem ibid.      <sup>p</sup> SERV. ad ÆN. ii. v. 170. ÆN. x. & alibi. SII. ITAL. l. iv. & alibi. VIRG. ÆN. l. ix. iii. xi. &c. Vide etiam DEMPST. ubi supra, l. iv. c. 15. <sup>q</sup> CUMBERI. Sanchoniath. p. 467, 483. Dr. CASTLE apud Cumb. ibid. BOCHART. Chan. l. xv. p. 422, 423, 424. Lugd. Bat. 1692. CALMET's dissert. upon the origin of the Philistines, prefixed to the first book of Samuel, and his dictionary under the word *Caphtor*. <sup>r</sup> PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, c. 3. THO. DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. v. c. 10.      <sup>s</sup> APPIAN. bel. civil. l. v. p. 699. LIV. l. ix. <sup>t</sup> SERV. ad ÆN. x. Vide etiam CLUVER. & DEMPST. ubi supra. <sup>u</sup> Idem ibid. & SERV. ad ÆN. x.

(D) Signior (6) *Mariani* in *breuv* is denominated פֶּרֶס (7) forms us, that the symbol of *Perpes*, or *perus*: from hence he *ruffa* is a griffin; which, in *Heduces* the high antiquity of

(6) *Francisc. Marian. de Etrur. metrop.* p. 7. *Liberonym.*

(7) *Lexicog. Hebr. & S.*

doubted of its very remote antiquity. That it was one of the twelve original cities of *Etruria*, is beyond all manner of dispute. As *Perusia* was a frontier town <sup>x</sup> of antient *Etruria*, and situated upon the *Tiber*, which separated *Etruria* from *Umbria*, we may easily account for its name: for פְּרוּשָׁה <sup>y</sup> *perusa*, the participle pāhul of פָּרַשׁ, signifies *separated from, divided from, &c.* or rather, *the city separated from, divided from, &c.* It <sup>z</sup> might likewise at first have been denominated פֶּרֶז *perez*, *peres*, or *perus*, from some overthrow or defeat given the *Umbri* near the spot on which it stands: and this seems the more probable, as by its situation it appears to have been built soon after the *Etruscans* had expelled the *Umbri* from the western bank of the *Tiber*; for that they did expel them from thence, may be inferred from <sup>a</sup> *Pliny*, in conjunction with *Dionysius* <sup>b</sup> *Halicarnassensis*, and <sup>c</sup> *Herodotus*.

*ARETIUM*, or *Arretium*, now *Arezzo*, was an inland city *Arretium*, of *Etruria*, in a mountainous tract, about a thousand stadia from *Rome*, according to <sup>d</sup> *Strabo*. It appears from <sup>e</sup> *Silius Italicus*, and others, that some of the antient kings of *Etruria* held their residence here. That it was a place of great fame in the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*, above six hundred years before the commencement of the Christian æra, we learn from <sup>f</sup> *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*. The wall which surrounded *Arretium*, was so singular a curiosity that it merited the

<sup>w</sup> *APPIAN*. ubi supra. *DIOD. SIC.* l. xx. l. iv. l. ix. x. *STRAB.* l. v. <sup>x</sup> Vide *CLUVER*. & *DEMPST.* ubi supra. <sup>y</sup> *VAL. SCHIND.* pentaglot. in voc. פְּרוּשָׁה, p. 1489. <sup>z</sup> Id. in voc. פֶּרֶז, p. 1485, 1486, 1487. *HANOVIA*, 1612. <sup>a</sup> *PLIN.* l. iii. c. 5. & 14. <sup>b</sup> *DION. HALICAR.* antiquit. Rom. l. i. <sup>c</sup> *HERODOT.* l. i. Vide etiam *CLUVER*. ubi sup. c. 4. p. 595—600. <sup>d</sup> *STRAB.* l. v. <sup>e</sup> *SIL. ITAL.* Punicor. l. vii. *DEMPST.* de Etrur. regal. l. ii. c. 54. p. 220. <sup>f</sup> *DION. HALICAR.* antiquit. Rom. l. iii.

this city; which we readily assent to: but perhaps he is not to be so much regarded, when from a *Tuscan* fragment of antiquity, exhibiting the figure of a griffin, at (8) *Perugia*, he infers, that the griffin was antiently the symbol of that city. This inference is by no means just, since such figures are found in other

parts of *Tuscany*; nor could any one, not unreasonably attached to a favourite hypothesis, have deemed it so. He seems therefore to have but little strength of argument to support him, when he (9) triumphs over our learned countryman *Dempster*, in a manner unbecoming a member of the republic of letters.

(8) *Marian.* ubi sup. & *Dempst.* de Etrur. regal. tom. i. p. 464. (9) *Marian.* ubi supra.



attention both <sup>z</sup> of *Pliny* and *Vitruvius*. This city was famous for the earthen ware <sup>b</sup> it produced. It stood at a small distance from the *Apennines*, as well as the source of a little river, now called the *Cersone*. It was likewise very near the confluence of the *Clanis*, in the middle of whose course was the famous lake above-mentioned, <sup>i</sup> and the *Arno*. Which circumstances being maturely weighed, we shall find, that the name *Aretium*, or rather *Aret*, exactly corresponds with its situation. For <sup>k</sup> אֶרֶת *aret* denotes a lake, pond, or river; or rather, as should seem, a composition of these. That this is an eastern name, is likewise evident from <sup>l</sup> הָרֵד *Hared*, <sup>m</sup> הָרֵת *Hareth*, and <sup>n</sup> עָרָד *Arad*, local proper names that occur in Scripture.

Falerii.

FALERII, or rather <sup>o</sup> *Falefii*, was the capital of the *Falisci*, and is supposed to have occupied that spot of ground on which <sup>p</sup> at present stands *Citta Castellana*. However, the learned are not agreed in this particular. In the word *Falisci* the ancient name *Pelasgi*, or *Phelaghi*, plainly appears. The radix from whence *Falisci* was deduced, must have been either פֶּלֶס or פֶּלֶש, <sup>q</sup> as will clearly appear from *Stillingfleet*, <sup>r</sup> *Gratius*, *Calmet*, and others. That *Falerii*, or *Falefii*, was a place of great antiquity, may be inferred <sup>s</sup> from <sup>t</sup> *Sinabo*. It is likewise represented as a fortress of vast strength <sup>u</sup> by *Livy* and *Plutarch*. *Antonius Massa* <sup>v</sup> *Galesius* has written a particular treatise of the origin and achievements of the *Falisci*; to which, for farther satisfaction, we refer our curious and inquisitive readers.

Tarquii.

TARQUINII<sup>u</sup>, *Tarcunia*, or *Tarchonia*, was a city of great note in the earliest times, and the seat of a lucumo. It is sup-

<sup>z</sup> PLIN. l. xxxv. c. 14. VITRUV. l. ii. c. 8. <sup>b</sup> PLIN. ubi supra, c. 12. <sup>i</sup> POLYB. l. ii. Vide etiam CLUYER. ubi supra, c. 3. p. 571—573. & DEMEST. ubi supra, l. v. c. 7. p. 308—313. <sup>k</sup> VAL. SCHIND. pentaglot. in voc. אֶרֶת, p. 128. <sup>l</sup> JUDG. vii. 1. <sup>m</sup> 1 Sam. xxii. 5. <sup>n</sup> Numb. xxi. 1. <sup>o</sup> SEX. POMP. FEST. apud Gasp. Scioppium, in gram. philosoph. p. 169. Amst. 1659. CIC. ad Pæt. DIOD. SIC. l. xiv. STRAB. l. v. Vide etiam CLUV. ubi supra, p. 537, 538. <sup>p</sup> CLUV. ubi supra, p. 540. LUCAS HOLSTENIUS in not. ad Cluver. p. 57, 59. JUST. FONTANINUS de antiquitat. Hortæ, l. i. c. 4. p. 80. Romæ, 1723. <sup>q</sup> STILLINGF. orig. sacr. l. iii. c. 4. p. 388, 389, &c. Cant. 1702. HUGO GROT. de jur. bel. &c. l. i. c. 3. CALMET. ubi supra. SALMAS. de Hellen. &c. <sup>r</sup> STRAB. l. v. <sup>s</sup> LIV. l. v. PLUT. in Camil. <sup>t</sup> ANTON. MASSA de origine & rebus gestis Faliscorum, p. 699. inter Ital. illustrat. scriptor. Francof. 1600. <sup>u</sup> DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. iv. STRAB. l. v. LIV. l. v. FRONTIN. stratag. l. ii. c. 4. STEPH. in voc. Ταρχώνιον.

posed to have been built by *Tarchon* <sup>w</sup>, a *Tyrſenian* prince, whom some <sup>x</sup> make the same with *Tages*, several centuries before the *Trojan* war. But the precise time of its foundation, for want of sufficient light from antient history, cannot be determined. The ruins of *Tarquini* <sup>y</sup> are still to be seen, at a small village about a mile north of *Corneto*, called by the modern *Tuscans* *Tarquinia*. *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, the fifth king of *Rome* <sup>z</sup>, was born here. As the *Tarquiniian* lucumony extended as far as the *Lago di Bolsena*, we find that lake denominated by *Pliny* <sup>a</sup> *Lacus Tarquiniensis*. The *Tyrſenians*, or *Etruscans* <sup>b</sup>, feigned *Tages* to have first appeared in this district. *Tarquini* stood at a small distance from the sea, upon the *Marta*, which, at present, retains its antient name. That *Tarchon* is a word of oriental extraction, seems pretty clear, from *תרה כון* *Tara Chun*, or *Tarah Chon*, two local proper <sup>c</sup> names that we meet with in Scripture.

*VOLATERRÆ*, now *Volterra*, was the head of a lucumony, *Vola-* and a very antient city. This sufficiently appears <sup>d</sup> from *Di-* *onyſius Halicarnassensis*, *Jully*, *Livy*, &c. as well as from the numerous relics and fragments of antiquity, that have for several ages been discovered in its neighbourhood. From the *Etruscan* manner of writing, and even from the modern name, which <sup>e</sup> favours more of that manner than the *Roman* word *Volaterræ*, we may conclude, that the antient *Tyrſenian* name was *Fultur*, *Fulture*, *Fultir*, or *Fultera*. So that it may either be supposed of the same import with *פל שור* *the tribe, canton, or colony seated on a mountain*; or *על שירה* *the high habitation*, since *F*, <sup>f</sup> amongst the *Etruscans*, sometimes scarce enjoyed the power of an aspirate; or, lastly, <sup>g</sup> *פלג שור* *the high forests*, especially, as *ſal*, *ſol*, or *ful*, in the old *Etruscan* <sup>h</sup> language, signified *high*. Now, any of these will extremely well agree with the situation of *Volaterræ*. For it stood upon the summit of a steep mountain, whose declivity was fifteen stadia, and even many more on one side, according

<sup>w</sup> STRAB. ubi supra. Vide & PHIL. CLUVER. Ital. antiq. l. ii. c. 3. <sup>x</sup> PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra. <sup>y</sup> PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra. <sup>z</sup> DION. HALICAR. l. iii. <sup>a</sup> PLIN. nat. hist. l. ii. c. 95. <sup>b</sup> CIC. divinat. l. ii. CENSORIN. de die natal. <sup>c</sup> CALM. dict. bibl. Vide etiam Gen. xi. 24. Numb. xxxiii 27. Gen. iv. 1. Numb. xxiv. 22. <sup>d</sup> CIC. orat. pro Sex. Rosc. DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. iii. LIV. l. x. c. 12. Vide & PHIL. CLUVER. Ital. antiq. l. ii. c. 3. p. 512, 513. <sup>e</sup> FRANC. MARIAN. de Etrur. metrop. p. 166. Romæ, 1728. <sup>f</sup> Tab. GOR. mus. Etrusc. clxx. Vide & GOR. ibid. p. 423. <sup>g</sup> VAL. SCHIND. lex. pentaglot. p. 696. 1443, 1444. <sup>h</sup> Univ. Hist. vol. vi. p. 29. note (L).

Vetulo-  
nium.

to <sup>i</sup> *Aristotle*, as explained by *Cluverius*. For a further account of this situation, our readers may have recourse to <sup>k</sup> *Aristotle*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, and *Strabo*.

VETULONIUM, in some of the earliest ages at least, seems to have been not only the residence of a lucumo, but even the principal city of *Étruria*. For it was, according to *Silius* <sup>l</sup>, the ornament, and consequently the most illustrious, of all the *Tyrsenian* cities. Nay, it plainly appears, that the *Romans* <sup>m</sup> borrowed their *falces*, *secures*, *lictores*, *sella curulis*, *prætexta*, &c. from the citizens of *Vetulonium*; which is an irrefragable argument of their superior politeness. In point of antiquity likewise, it must be allowed at least equal to the other <sup>n</sup> heads of lucumonies, if it did not exceed them. This may be inferred from *Silius*, as well as *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, who represents *Vetulonium* as a city, or rather state, of great power in the time of *Romulus*; and that it was so seldom mentioned by the *Roman* historians, is owing, according to <sup>o</sup> *Dempster*, to its being destroyed in the infancy of *Rome*. The antient *Etruscans* probably wrote the name of this town *Fetulun*; since *ium* is undoubtedly a *Latin* termination. For that nation generally, if not always, used the *Æolic Digamma* F, instead of the consonant V, <sup>p</sup> as appears from many *Etruscan* inscriptions; and that they wanted the letter O in their alphabet, will be hereafter evinced. After what has been advanced, it may easily be imagined, that *Fetulun* is an *Oriental* word, and possibly equivalent to <sup>q</sup> בית עליון *bet elion*, or *set elion*, the principal tribe, canton, or lucumony. For the *Etruscans* had neither O, nor B, but expressed the former by V, and the latter sometimes by F; and that בית עליון may be taken in the very sense here mentioned, is sufficiently apparent from <sup>r</sup> Scripture. The situation of *Vetulonium* is not now perfectly known; but *Cluverius* seems to have the greatest probability on his side, when he supposes <sup>s</sup> the ruins at present called *Vetulia*, near the *Vetletta*, or *Vetulonian* forest, about a league from the sea, to be the remains of *Vetulonium*. For this notion is not only favoured by the modern names *Vetulia* and

<sup>i</sup> ARISTOT. de mirab. PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 513.

<sup>k</sup> ARISTOT. ubi supra. DIONYS. HALICAR. l. iii. STRAB. l. v.

<sup>l</sup> SIL. ITAL. Punic. l. viii.

<sup>m</sup> Idem ibid. DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. iii. c. 24. p. 306, 307. Vide & PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 473.

<sup>n</sup> SIL. ITAL. ubi supra. DIONYS. HALICAR. l. ii.

<sup>o</sup> DEMPST. ubi supra, l. iv. c. 13. sub fin.

<sup>p</sup> JOAN. SWINTON de primigen. Etrusc. alphabet. in lit. B, Oxon. 1746.

<sup>q</sup> VAL. SCHIND. lex. pentaglot. p. 181—185. 1325.

<sup>r</sup> Idem ibid. p. 182. Exod. iii. 1. Ezech. iii. 1. xxvii. 14.

<sup>s</sup> PHIL. CLUV. ubi supra, p. 472.

*Vesletta*, but likewise by the hot waters which the *Italians* call *Le Caldane*, at a small distance from the *Vesletta*; since these waters undoubtedly answer to the *Aquæ Calidæ*, which *Pliny* places in the neighbourhood of the antient *Vetulonium*.

*CÆRE*, now *Cerveteri*, was built by the *Pelasgi*, after *Cære*. their expulsion from *Theffaly* by the *Hellens* under the conduct of *Deucalion*, as we learn from *Strabo*. It flourished greatly at the time of the *Trojan* war, when *Mezentius* <sup>w</sup>, king of *Etruria*, resided in it. The power and opulence of this city were likewise very conspicuous in the first ages of the *Roman* state, and even long before the birth of *Romulus*, as we find attested by <sup>x</sup> *Lycophron*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Virgil*, *Livy*, and *Strabo*. *Cære* stood upon an eminence, about four miles off the *Tyrrhenian* sea, and not far from the confines of *Latium*. The *Theffalian Pelasgi* <sup>y</sup> at first denominated it *Agylla*, but the *Tyrseians* <sup>z</sup> afterwards *Cære*. Both which words are apparently *Oriental*; nor can any thing be more unsatisfactory, not to say ridiculous, than the reason of the latter name mentioned <sup>a</sup> by *Strabo*. That *Agylla* came originally from the East, is rendered probable by the <sup>b</sup> following words: גללה, or גלל, *gulla*, or *gylla*, a spring, or fountain, to which the heemantic letter נ, or prefix ה, being added, it becomes *Agulla*, or *Agylla*; גולה, *gullah*, or *gyllah*, migration, expulsion, &c. which, by the addition of the aforesaid heemantic letter, or prefix, is *Agulla*, or *Agylla*, the very word under consideration. Now, as *Cære* was situated on a river of the same name, and near the celebrated waters called from it *Aquæ Cæretanæ*; and as the *Theffalian Pelasgi* founded this town immediately after their migration or expulsion from *Theffaly*; either of the above-mentioned words will quadrate with the primitive appellation of this town. And as for that of a later date, *Cære*, it is no other than קרי, or קריה, *cari*, *cori*, *cariab*, or *cere*, city; which, by way of eminence <sup>c</sup>, might be applied to the famous and antient city of *Agylla*.

*VEII* <sup>d</sup> was a very potent and renowned city of *Etruria*, *Veii*: whose district or lucumony might have been considered as the *Etruscan* frontier on the side of *Latium*. From this circum-

<sup>\*</sup> PLIN. l. ii. c. 103. <sup>u</sup> STRAB. l. v. <sup>w</sup> LIV. l. i. VIRG. ÆN. l. vii. viii. <sup>x</sup> LYCOPHR. in Alexand. DION. HAL. antiquit. Roman. l. iii. LIV. & VIRG. ubi supra. STRAB. l. v. <sup>y</sup> STRAB. ubi supra. <sup>z</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>b</sup> VAL. SCHIND. ubi supra, p. 309, 316, &c. <sup>c</sup> BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 42. p. 682. LUGD. BATAV. 1692. <sup>d</sup> DION. HALICAR. l. ii. LIV. l. v. PLUTARCH. in Romul.

stance it probably received its name ; since *סָנַח* *seeb* <sup>c</sup>, or *see*, as the *Etruscans*, in all likelihood, wrote it, signified a *boundary, limit, or frontier*. It was a place of <sup>f</sup> immense wealth, surrounded by an high wall of vast strength, and almost inaccessible by its situation ; but frequently embroiled with the *Romans*. However, at last, after a most vigorous defence, it fell a victim to their resentment, or rather insatiable ambition. In fine, it was taken <sup>g</sup> and demolished by *Camillus*, and the inhabitants transplanted to *Rome*. The district or territory of *Veii* was of a considerable extent, and bounded by the *Tiber* on the side of *Latium* <sup>h</sup>, before the birth of *Romulus* ; and the city itself, at the time of its reduction, larger and more <sup>i</sup> magnificent than *Rome*. Its situation, according to <sup>k</sup> *Cluverius*, was somewhere near the spot upon which *Scrofano* at present stands ; tho' this cannot now (E) be precisely determined. The <sup>l</sup> twelve lucumonies of *Etruria*, by their original constitution, which must have preceded the *Trojan* war several ages, were obliged to act in conjunction on all important occasions ; and therefore the others <sup>m</sup> refused to assist *Veii*, because it had placed itself under regal government without their privity and approbation. This is an incontestable proof of the high antiquity of *Veii*. *Martinus Schoockius* <sup>n</sup> has obliged the learned world with a dissertation upon the republic or lucumony of *Veii*, wherein he gives a true and just account of the perfidious treatment it met with from the *Romans*, which will be related at large in the sequel of this history.

<sup>c</sup> VAL. SCHIND. ubi supra, p. 1415, 1416.

LIV. PLUT. ubi supra.

<sup>g</sup> LIV. l. v. c. 21.

<sup>f</sup> DION. HAL.

& LIV. pass. PLUT. in Romul.

<sup>i</sup> LIV. ubi supra.

<sup>h</sup> DION. HAL.

CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 530, 531.

<sup>k</sup> P. MIL.

<sup>l</sup> LIV. l. v. sub init.

<sup>m</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>n</sup> Respub. Achæor. & Veient. juxta sua fata, in usum præsentis seculi delineat. a Martino Schoockio, Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1664.

(E) The situation of *Veii* seems to have been pretty well determined by the later antiquaries : they place it near the banks of the *Cremena*, now the *Valca*, at a small distance from a famous inn, called *la Storta*, about ten miles north-west of *Rome*. Upon this spot several vestiges of an exceeding large antient city were

to be seen, in the time of *Lucas Holstenius* ; and we are told by the learned *Justus Fontaninus*, that some noble fragments of antient marble pillars, bases, statues, &c. were, not many years since, dug up there by some workmen, employed for that purpose by Cardinal *Chigi* (1).

(1) *Luc. Holsten. in not. ad Cluver. p. 55. Just. Fontanin. de antiquit. Horæ. p. 77, 78. Romæ, 1723.*

SOME writers of credit<sup>o</sup> have considered *Luna*, *Fæsulæ*, *Luna*, and *Populonium*, as heads of *Etruscan* dynasties; but this notion, as running<sup>p</sup> counter to the express testimony of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* and *Livy*, has not met with a general reception. However, as these were places of considerable fame, even before the commencement of the *Roman* power, we must not pass them over in silence.

*LUNA* was not a large town, but famous for its port, according to <sup>q</sup> *Strabo*. It stood on the *Macra*, in the *Etruscan* territories, if we will believe <sup>r</sup> *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*; but in *Liguria*, if any credit is to be given to <sup>s</sup> *Mela* and *Strabo*. *Cluverius*<sup>t</sup> adheres to the last authors; tho', in manifest contradiction to <sup>u</sup> himself, he asserts *Luna* to be a town of *Etruria*. We say, in contradiction to himself, because he admits the *Macra* to be the boundary of *Tuscany* on the side of *Liguria*, and yet affirms *Luna*, which he places on the *Ligurian* bank of that river, to belong to the former country. But that *Luna* was seated on the *Tuscan* bank of the *Macra*<sup>w</sup>, has been clearly proved by *Lucas Holstenius*; and is not now disputed by any one moderately versed in the antient geography. The port here was extremely noble and capacious, and, in every respect, worthy of a nation that commanded the ocean, as the *Etruscans*<sup>x</sup> in the earlier ages did. This may suggest to us the reason of the name. For as a great number of ships probably *rested*, *lodged*, *lay*, or *rode at anchor*, here, the natural appellation of the place, to an *Oriental*, would have been *lun* or *luna*, *lun* signifying to <sup>y</sup> lodge, lie, or rest for a short time, as ships in a port generally do. *Luna* was likewise <sup>z</sup> famous for its augurs and aruspices, wine, cheese, and the quarry of marble in its neighbourhood. The name seems to be still preserved in that of the neighbouring district, called the *Lunigiana*. As for the quarry, it probably now exists in that of *Carrara*, which supplies several parts of *Europe* with the most beautiful kind of marble in great abundance. That *Luna* was built before the *Trojan* war, and was a place of vast trade<sup>a</sup>, will admit of no dispute.

\* Vide DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. tom. ii. & PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra. <sup>p</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>q</sup> STRAB. l. v. <sup>r</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 5. PTOL. geogr. l. iii. c. i. <sup>s</sup> MEL. l. ii. c. 4. STRAB. l. v. <sup>t</sup> PHIL. CLUVER. Ital. antiq. l. ii. c. 2. <sup>u</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>w</sup> LUCAS HOLSTENIUS in annotat. ad Ital. antiq. Cluver. ad pag. 453. & 455. <sup>x</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. v. <sup>y</sup> VAL. SCHIND. ubi supra, p. 935, 936. <sup>z</sup> LUCAN. Pharsal. l. i. v. 586. PLIN. l. xiv. c. 6. MARTIAL. l. xiii. ep. 30. STRAB. ubi supra. SERV. ad ÆN. l. viii. PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 5. Vide DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. iv. c. 20. & FRANC. MARIAN. de Etrur. metrop. p. 8. <sup>a</sup> CATO in origin. Vide & PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 458.

Fæsulæ.

FÆSULÆ, now *Fiesole*, stood at the foot of the *Apennines*, and made <sup>b</sup> a considerable figure long before the *Romans* subjugated *Etruria*. As the *Æolic digamma*, in some *Etruscan* words, almost intirely loses <sup>c</sup> its power, or at most comes up barely to a note of aspiration, the earlier *Tuscans* might pronounce *Fæsulæ*, *Esule*, or *Hesule*, tho' they wrote it *Fesule*. In which case, we may deduce it from the *Arabic* <sup>d</sup> word *لُصْن*, which signifies *a root*, or *foot of a mountain*; and this seems to be countenanced by the local proper name *لُصْن* <sup>e</sup> *Azal*, or *Asal*, that occurs in Scripture. It may likewise be derived from <sup>f</sup> *פסל* *Phasal*, *Phefal*, or *Fesal*, as the *Tuscans* <sup>g</sup> had an excellent quarry of marble near *Luna*, and were famed for their skill in <sup>h</sup> architecture and masonry, from remote antiquity. Be this as it will, that *Fæsulæ* was a very old town, appears both from <sup>i</sup> *Diodorus Siculus*, and an antient *Etruscan* <sup>k</sup> relic, that was not many years since discovered in the neighbourhood of this place.

Populonium.

POPULONIUM, *Populonia*, or *Populonii* (for it went by all these names), in *Etruscan* *Pupulun*, or *Pupulum*, stood <sup>l</sup> upon an high promontory of the same name, that, projecting into the sea, formed a kind of peninsula, according to *Strabo*. It had a very commodious <sup>m</sup> harbour, capable of receiving a large number of ships, and consequently was of great importance to the *Etruscans*. It had also an arsenal, well furnished with <sup>n</sup> all sorts of naval stores, and a quay for the shipping off or landing of goods. Vast <sup>o</sup> quantities of copper, &c. in remote times, were imported here from the island of *Æthalia*, now *Elva* or *Iva*, where they were then produced; but these mines failing, some ages after, iron was discovered in the same place <sup>p</sup>, and, as soon as dug up, carried to *Populonium*. So that the people of *Populonium* made vessels, and other implements, of copper, brass, &c. even in the earliest times; and afterwards fabricated arms, instruments, machines, utensils, &c. of iron, which they continued to do in the days of

<sup>b</sup> POLYB. l. ii. LIV. l. xxii. CIC. in Cat. SAL. pass. PLIN. PTOL. &c. Vide etiam PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 509, 510. & DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. iv. c. 19.

<sup>c</sup> Tab. Eugubin. iv. l. 5, 25, &c. vii. l. 4, &c. Tab. apud GOR. mus. Etrusc. clxx. Vide & GOR. ibid. p. 423.

<sup>d</sup> AL-ZAMAKHSHARIUS. <sup>e</sup> Zach. xiv. 5. SCHIND. ubi supra, p. 113. <sup>f</sup> VAL. SCHIND. ubi supra, p. 1460.

<sup>g</sup> STRAB. l. v. <sup>h</sup> LIV. l. i. FEST. in voc. *Atrium*. Vide etiam SCIP. MAFF. orig. Etrusc. p. 15, 16.

<sup>i</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. xx. <sup>k</sup> PHIL. BONAR. explicat. & conject. ad monument. Etrusc. op. Dempst. addit. p. 95. Florentiæ, 1726.

<sup>l</sup> STRAB. l. v. <sup>m</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>n</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>o</sup> STRAB. l. v. & ARISTOT. de mirab. <sup>p</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>1</sup> *Aristotle and Strabo.* This may possibly point out to us the etymon of *Pupulun*, or *Pupulum*<sup>2</sup>; since בּוֹב הַלֹּם *bob holom*, or, as the *Tuscans* wanted B and O, *pup bulum*, may naturally be supposed to have denoted *the harbour, or mouth of the harbour, that received brass, iron, &c. for the fabrication of arms, vessels, tools, &c.* Nor ought the termination of בּוֹב to be deemed an objection to what is here advanced, since *mem* was frequently used for *nun* amongst the *Hebrews* and other *Oriental*<sup>3</sup> nations. The ruins of *Populonium* are still to be<sup>4</sup> seen about three miles west of *Piombino*, and ten north of the ancient remains of *Vetulonium*. This maritim town was probably built by the *Pelasgi*<sup>5</sup>, or inhabitants of *Volterra*, not long after the erection of the twelve original cities.<sup>6</sup> The port or haven of *Populonium* is now called *Porto Baratto*.

As the limits we have here prescribed ourselves, will not permit us to touch upon every city or town of *Etruria*, mentioned by the ancient geographers and historians, our readers will be satisfied with a brief account of those that were the most famed for their power and antiquity. Nor, indeed, is any thing farther requisite, in a work of this nature. As therefore such an account has been already given, we might easily excuse ourselves from dwelling any longer upon the present topic. However, for the sake of the curious, we shall here insert a short description of the following places, which, on several accounts, seem not unworthy of their attention.

*Pisæ*, now *Pisa*<sup>7</sup>, stood near the confluence of the *Æsar* *Pisæ*, and the *Arnus*, at a small distance from the *Tyrrhenian* sea. *Cato*<sup>8</sup> says it was built by *Tarchon*, the son of *Tyrrhenus*; but its foundation is attributed either to the *Aborigines*, or first *Pelasgi*, by *Dionysius*<sup>9</sup> *Halicarnassensis*. Of course, therefore, the name itself must be *Oriental*; since, in those very early ages, the language of the *Aborigines* and *Pelasgi* approached extremely near to, if it was not intirely the same with, the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*. Now פִּי שַׁחַח *pi soah*<sup>10</sup> signifies, *a place famous for the noise of waters*; which exactly answers to the situation of *Pisæ*, according to<sup>11</sup> *Aristotle and Strabo*. We may likewise

<sup>9</sup> *Iidem* *ibid.* <sup>8</sup> *VAL. SCHIND.* ubi supra, p. 167. 441, 442. <sup>7</sup> *BOCHART.* Phal. l. i. c. 27. p. 277. Chan. l. i. c.

14. p. 408. & l. ii. c. 5. p. 718, 719. <sup>6</sup> *PHIL. CLUVER.*

ubi supra, p. 471. *DEMEST.* de Etrur. regal. l. iv. c. 14.

<sup>5</sup> *SERV.* ad Æn. l. x. <sup>4</sup> *STRAB.* l. v. <sup>3</sup> *CATO* apud

*SERV.* ad Æn. x. Vide etiam *PHIL. CLUVER.* ubi supra, p. 464.

<sup>2</sup> *DION. HALICAR.* antiquit. Rom. l. i. <sup>1</sup> *VAL. SCHIND.* ubi

supra, p. 1422, 1423. 1780. <sup>10</sup> *STRAB.* ubi supra. *ARISTOT.* de mirab.



suppose the word *Pisæ* to correspond with פִּישׁוֹן *Pishon*, which is deduced from פִּישׁ *pus* <sup>b</sup>, or *pis*, on account of the augmentation of its waters. Lastly, *Pisæ*, or פִּי שׁוּאָה *pi soah*, may denote <sup>c</sup> *the port near the noise of waters*; which agrees with what has been extracted from an antient <sup>d</sup> author by *Servius*. The sea between the promontories of *Luna* and *Populonium*, that received the *Arnus*, was called in the *Roman* times the *PISAN gulf*, or bay <sup>e</sup> of *PISÆ*; which shews *Pisæ* to have been then a very considerable town. But what is said of *Pisæ* after the *Romans* conquered *Etruria*, does not properly belong to the history of the *Etruscans*.

**Labro.** LABRO, now *Livorno*, was situated on the gulf of *Pisa* <sup>f</sup>, about twelve miles south of that city. The *Turcans* probably wrote it *Lapra*, or *Lafra*, as may be collected from what has been already observed. *Cicero* <sup>g</sup> calls it *Labro*, and <sup>h</sup> *Zosimus* *Liburnum*. *Cluverius* <sup>i</sup> takes it to be the AD HERCULEM of *Antoninus*. The port, as well as town, of *Labro*, seems to be taken notice of by <sup>k</sup> *Cicero*. As the town stood upon a low marshy ground, <sup>l</sup> at a small distance from the *Piscinæ Pisaneæ*, and not far from the *Vada Volaterrana*, it is no wonder the founders gave it the name of *Labro*, or *Labra*; i. e. לעברא <sup>m</sup> *the city of the Vadum*, or *the city that has a low marshy situation*. *Livorno*, at this day, enjoys a most flourishing and extensive trade.

**Telamon.** TELAMON, now *Talamone*, a maritim town, with a commodious haven, of *Etruria*, stood upon <sup>n</sup> a promontory of the same name, about nine miles south-east of the mouth of the river *Umbro*, the *Ombro* of the moderns. The promontory *Telamon*, from whence the town and port undoubtedly received their denomination, seems to have been so called from <sup>o</sup> its several small projections into the sea, which resemble so many ridges of land between two furrows, and consequently are, not improperly, termed תלמין *Talmin* <sup>p</sup>, or *Telamin*. Such a simile, or metaphor, is extremely agreeable to the genius of

<sup>b</sup> VAL. SCHIND. ubi supra, p. 1432.

<sup>c</sup> SCHIND. ubi sup.

p. 1422, 1423. 1780.

<sup>d</sup> SERV. ubi supra. Vide etiam PHIL.

CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 464.

<sup>e</sup> TACIT. histor. l. iii.

<sup>f</sup> PHIL.

CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 468.

<sup>g</sup> CIC. ad Attic.

<sup>h</sup> ZOSIM.

histor. l. v.

<sup>i</sup> PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 468.

<sup>k</sup> CIC.

ubi supra. Vide etiam DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. iv. c. 67. & PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 468.

<sup>l</sup> PHIL. CLUVER. ubi sup.

p. 467.

<sup>m</sup> SAM. BOCHART. in Chan. l. i. c. 24. p. 482. l. 4.

Lugd. Batavor. 1692. Vide etiam CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 468.

<sup>n</sup> PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 477.

<sup>o</sup> Vide Tab. geograph.

Etrur. antiq. & nov. apud DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. tom. ii.

<sup>p</sup> SCHIND. ubi supra, p. 1973.

the most early *Oriental*s, that first settled themselves here. From the name, therefore, probably arose the fable of the *Argonauts* (F), one of whom was *Telamon*, having landed here. *Bochart* deduces many <sup>9</sup> *Greek* fictions from a similar source.

*Cosæ*, or *Cosa*, the seat of king *Massicus* <sup>1</sup>, one of *Æneas's* *Cosæ* auxiliaries, stood upon an hill and promontory, a little above the *Port of Hercules*, now known by the name of *Porto Ercole*. The <sup>8</sup> inhabitants took great quantities of the tunny-fish, with which the *Tyrrhenian* sea in these parts abounded; in order to which, they found it requisite to erect an high tower, from <sup>1</sup> whence they might view those animals at a considerable distance. This seems to have been a very antient custom amongst them, as may be inferred from <sup>u</sup> *Strabo*. From hence, therefore, may be easily enough deduced the word *Cosa*, *Choze*, or חוז <sup>w</sup>; which strongly alludes to, if it does not expressly import, such a practice.

*FANUM VOLTUMNÆ* was a celebrated city of *Etruria*, *Fanum* where the twelve *Etruscan* lucumonies were convened <sup>x</sup> on all extraordinary occasions, supposed <sup>y</sup>, by *Cluverius*, to stand upon the spot occupied, <sup>z</sup> at present, by the city of *Viterbo*. *The Etruscan* name of this town has not reached us; but that given it by the *Romans*, must convince all reasonable people, were other arguments wanting, that the *Tyrrhenians* came from the east. For it was no uncommon thing for the *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, to denominate their cities the temples of their false deities, as we learn from <sup>z</sup> *Scripture*. Volum-  
næ.

<sup>9</sup> SAM. BOCHART. in *Phal.* & *Chan.* pass. <sup>1</sup> VIRG. *Æn.* x.  
MACROB. *Saturn.* l. v. c. 15. <sup>8</sup> STRAB. l. v. <sup>1</sup> Idem  
ibid. <sup>u</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>w</sup> VAL. SCHIND. ubi supra, p. 551.  
<sup>z</sup> LIV. l. iv. <sup>y</sup> PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 565. <sup>z</sup> Deut.  
xxxiv. 6. Josh. xv. 10. Jer. xliii. 13, &c.

(F) As some of our readers may probably believe the *Argonauts* to have really touched here, it will not be improper to observe, that the name *Telamon* may, upon this supposition, be also deduced from the East. For of חלם *Telcm* (2), a scriptural proper name, may be formed חלמון *Telmon*, or *Tela-* *mon*; in like manner, as of (3)

חבר *Heber*, חברון *Hebron*, (4) שלם *Salem*, or *Selem*, שלמון *Salmon*, (5) נחש *Niesb*, or *Niesb*, נחשון *Naasbon*, &c. But, to omit other instances that occur, (6) טלמון *Talmon*, or *Telamon*, the name of a porter in *Scripture*, puts this beyond all doubt.

(2) *Josh.* xv. 24. (3) *Val. Schind. lex. pentaglot.* p. 513. (4) *Cal-*  
*met's biblical dict.* tom. iii. *Val. Schind. ubi supra*, p. 1879. (5) *Aug.*  
*Calmet, ubi supra.* (6) *1 Chron.* ix. 17.

Fanum <sup>a</sup> FANUM <sup>a</sup> LUCINÆ, <sup>b</sup> Fanum <sup>c</sup> Feroniæ, <sup>d</sup> Aharna, or Ad-barnaba, <sup>e</sup> Artena, &c. towns many ages since extinct, to omit, at present, other proofs that occur, clearly evince the same thing.

SUTRIUM, now Sutri <sup>f</sup>, was a rich and flourishing city in the earlier ages of Rome, and considered, by the Romans, as the key or inlet into Etruria. It was, therefore, undoubtedly esteemed by the Etruscans, when in their possession, as a kind of barrier with regard to Umbria and Latium. Hence might possibly be derived its name <sup>g</sup>, since סוטר may reasonably be supposed to denote such a fortress. It stood about twenty-five or twenty-six miles north-west of Rome; and was taken twice <sup>h</sup> in one day, first by the Etruscans, afterwards by Camillus. The Etruscans, probably, wrote it Sutre, or Sutrium being, in all likelihood, a Roman termination. Sutrium was first <sup>i</sup> an ally of the Romans, and afterwards one of their colonies and municipia. The time or author of its foundation cannot now be determined.

NEPE, Nepet, or Nepete, now Nepi, a town of considerable strength, stood a little to the north-east of Sutrium, upon the borders of the Faliscan territory. Camillus carried this <sup>k</sup> place by assault, and put a body of Etruscans therein to the sword. That the Etruscan name of this town, Nepe, or Nepet, favoured of the East, <sup>l</sup> cannot be denied by any one at all versed in Oriental literature. Nepet, in after-ages, was likewise <sup>m</sup> a Roman colony and municipium.

FESCENNIUM was built either by the Siculi <sup>n</sup> or Pelasgi, and consequently was a town of the highest antiquity. The ruins <sup>o</sup> of it are still visible near Gallese, in the neighbourhood of Citta Castellana. The ancient name seems to have been Fescen, or Fescen; which appears related to כִּיץ Bezck Ken, Phezck Ken, or Fesc Gen, two proper names of <sup>p</sup> towns or districts in the land of Canaan. Nuptial songs or <sup>q</sup> poems are

<sup>a</sup> STRAB. l. v. <sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>c</sup> LIV. l. x. Vide & Bibliotheq. Ital. Sept. Oct. Nov. Dec. 1728. p. 21. à Geneve, 1728. <sup>d</sup> LIV. l. iv. sub fin. Vide & Bibl. Ital. ubi supra, p. 18. <sup>e</sup> STEPH. de urb. PLUT. in Camil. LIV. l. ix. c. 32. & alibi pass. <sup>f</sup> SCHIND. ubi supra, p. 1250. <sup>g</sup> LIV. l. vi. c. 3. <sup>h</sup> VELL. PATERC. l. i. Tab. Capitol. PLIN. l. iii. c. 5. JUL. FRONTIN. de colon. Roman. FEST. in voc. Municipium. LIV. ubi supra. <sup>i</sup> LIV. l. vi. c. 10. <sup>j</sup> VAL. SCHIND. ubi sup. p. 1139. <sup>k</sup> STRAB. l. v. PLIN. l. iii. c. 5. FEST. in voc. Municipium. <sup>l</sup> DION. HALICAR. l. i. <sup>m</sup> PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 551. <sup>n</sup> Jud. i. 4. iv. 11, &c. <sup>o</sup> SERV. ad Æn. vii. MACROB. Saturn. 4. ii. c. 4. HOR. epist. l. ii. ep. 1. & HELI-NIUS ACRON in loc.

said to have been first used by the people of this city, and were therefore called *Versus Fescennini*. *Annianus*<sup>1</sup>, a *Faliscan* poet, had an admirable talent at this kind of poetry. These songs, at first, kept within the bounds that virtue and decency prescribe; but, afterwards, degenerated into a kind of doggerel, or loose verses, which were a jumble of insipid jests, mixed with all sorts of ribaldry. They are<sup>2</sup> taken notice of by some of the best *Roman* authors.

*ALSIUM* was a little east of *Cære*; and, according to <sup>u</sup> *Cluverius*, occupied the spot on which, at present, *Palo* stands. We are told by <sup>w</sup> *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, that judicious antiquary, that *Alsi* was built by the *Aborigines*, long before the *Tyrsenians* arrived in *Italy*. If this be admitted, *Alsi* must have been erected not many generations after the dispersion in the days of *Phaleg*. As therefore it was founded by, and received its name from, one <sup>x</sup> *Alæsus*, *Alesus*, or *Alisa*, it can scarce be denied, that *Alisab* אלִישָׁב, the son of <sup>y</sup> *Javan*, or his posterity, settled here. This seems to be as strong a proof of the migration of the descendants of *Alisa*, or *Elisha*, into *Europe*, as any that has been hitherto produced.

As for *Regisvilla*, *Fregenæ*, *Saturnia*, *Janiculum*, *Statonia*, *Gravisca*, *Pyrgi*, *Horta*, &c. tho' places of great antiquity, as they made no considerable figure within the historical period of time, it would be of no manner of use to take any particular notice of them here. It will be sufficient to touch upon them hereafter, as they occur in the body of the history.

THE chief promontories of *Etruria* were those of *Luna*, *Promontories of Populonium*, *Telamon*, *Cosa*, &c. which, from what has been already observed, are so well known, as not to stand in need of any description.

*ETRURIA* was interspersed with several ridges of mountains, the chief of which were the *Apennines*. The valleys between these hills must have been extremely fertile and pleasant, as may be inferred from their present appearance. Mount *Soracte*, now *Monte di S. Silvestro*, according to some, or, as others will have it, *Monte di S. Oreste*; *Mons Fæsulanus*, taken notice of by <sup>z</sup> *Orosius*; *Montes Cortoneses*, that occur in <sup>a</sup> *Livy*; and <sup>b</sup> *Mons Ciminus*, now *Monte di Viterbo*; were also pretty much celebrated amongst the antients. *Monte Argentaro*

<sup>1</sup> AUL. GELL. noct. Attic. l. vii. c. 7.      <sup>2</sup> LIV. l. ii. c. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Vide DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. iv. c. 46.      <sup>4</sup> PHIL. CLUV. ubi supra, p. 497.      <sup>5</sup> DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. i.

<sup>6</sup> SIL. ITAL. l. viii. VIRG. Æn. l. vii. & SERV. in loc. Vide CLUVER. ubi supra.      <sup>7</sup> Gen. x. 4.      <sup>8</sup> P. OROS. l. vii.

c. 37.      <sup>9</sup> LIV. l. xxii. sub init.      <sup>10</sup> VIRG. Æn. l. vii.

is a rock of vast height, projecting into the sea in the form of a peninsula ; and exactly answers the description of the promontory of *Cosa*\*, given us by *Strabo*. There are likewise other mountains, or rocks, of an uncommon declivity, particularly that on which *Volterra* stands ; but their names have not been transmitted down to us. However, it is probable that some of those which at present prevail, are of a very remote antiquity.

#### Rivers.

THE principal rivers of *Etruria* were the *Macra*, the *Æsar*, the *Arnus*, the *Cecina*, the *Umbro*, the *Albinia*, the *Armine*, *Armenia*, or *Arminia*, the *Marta*, and the *Tiberis*, now the *Magra*, the *Serchio*, the *Arno*, the *Cecina*, the *Ombro*, the *Albegna*, the *Fiore*, the *Marta*, and the *Tevere*, or *Tiber*. These rivers had either their sources in the *Apennines*, or some hills that might be considered as branches of that chain of mountains ; and, after having received many smaller ones, discharged themselves into the *Etruscan* sea. Those of less note, mentioned by the antients, were the *Aventia*, the *Frigida*, the *Vesidia*, the *Lynceus Fluvius*, the *Salebro*, the *Alma*, the *Osa*, the *Minio*, the *Aro*, &c. now the *Lavenza*, the *Frigida*, the *Versiglia*, the *Cornia*, the *Bruna*, the *Osa*, the *Mignone*, the *Arone*, &c. To which we may add the *Clanis*, now the *Chiana*, that ran through the *Palus Clusina* into the *Tiber*. The names of the five greater rivers, *Macra*, *Æsar*, *Arnus*, *Umbro*, and *Tiberis*, discover the high antiquity of those who first (G) imposed them.

THIS

\* STRAB. I. v.  
p. 166. Romæ, 1728.

† FRANCISC. MARIAN. de Etrur. metrop.  
p. 166. Romæ, 1728.

(G) This is clearly evinced by the words themselves, which are all undoubtedly of *Oriental* extraction : 1. *Umbro*, or עמברו, might either have (7) signified a passage, the farthest part, or, a small vessel used in passing rivers ; any of which significations may be considered, as very applicable to the (8) *Umbro*. The mem, מ, in (9) עמברו, is equivalent to the epenthetic N, which

was sometimes inserted by the *Greeks*, when they wrote certain *Oriental* words : thus, מִדְּבָר, in writing, they expressed מִדְּבָר. 2. (1) *Macra*, or, as the present *Italians* more (2) properly pronounce it, *Magra*, in (3) *Arabic* denotes a river, or canal. 3. *Æsar* (4) is an *Etruscan* word, that indisputably came out of the East. 4. *Arnus*, *Arno*, or (5) *Arnon*, is known to be the

(7) Val. Schind. lex. pentaglot. p. 1253 — 1265.

(8) Plin. l. iii. c. 5.

Vide etiam Phil. Cluver. ubi supra, p. 474.

(9) Bochart. Phal. l. iii. c. 7.

p. 168. Littletton in lit. N. See also p. 21.

(1) Plin. ubi supra.

Franc. Marian. de Etrur. metrop. p. 166. Romæ, 1728.

(2) Val. Schind. ubi

supra, p. 340.

(4) Dissert. de ling. Etrur. regal. vernac. p. 20. Oxon. 1738.

(5) Deut. iii. 12.

THIS country likewise had several lakes, the chief of which *Lakes* were the following; 1. The *Lacus Thrasymenus*, now *Il Lago di Perugia*, famous for the signal defeat given the Romans in its neighbourhood by <sup>e</sup> *Hannibal*. 2. The *Lacus Prilis*, now *Il Lago di Castiglione*. 3. The *Lacus Vadimonis*, now *Il Lago di Valdemonio*, and *Il Lago di Bassano*. Upon the <sup>h</sup> banks of this lake, after an obstinate dispute, <sup>Q</sup> *Fabius* overthrew the most numerous army the *Etruscans* ever brought into the field. Some years after, the consul *P. Cornelius Dolabella* likewise gave <sup>i</sup> a total overthrow here to the *Boii*, tho' reinforced by a great body of *Etruscans*. 4. The <sup>k</sup> *Lacus Bacchani*, now *Il Lago di Baccano*, in a plain about sixteen miles from *Rome*. 5. The <sup>l</sup> *Lacus Ciminus*, now *Il Lago di Vico*, or *Il Lago di Ronciglione*, where, according to <sup>m</sup> *Sotion*, a town formerly stood, that was destroyed by an earthquake. <sup>n</sup> *Ammianus Marcellinus* calls this town *Succinium*, and informs us, that the neighbouring country was formerly much subject to earthquakes. Tho' the lake is but small, yet its waters are very rough at certain seasons. What *Servius* <sup>o</sup> has related of it, deserves not the least attention. 6. The <sup>p</sup> *Lacus Sabatinus*, or *Sabatinus*, now *Il Lago di Bracciano*, was supposed likewise to have been formed by an earthquake, according to a tradition that prevailed amongst the *Tuscans*, in the days of <sup>p</sup> *Sotion*. At present it sometimes goes under the name of *Il Lago d' Anguillara*, from the great number of eels there produced. 7. The <sup>q</sup> *Lacus Volsiniensis*, or *Vulsiniensis*, now *Il Lago di Bolsena*, received its name from the city of *Volsinii*, which has been already described. As this lake also bordered upon the lucumony of *Tarquinius*, <sup>r</sup> *Pliny*, in one place, calls

<sup>e</sup> LIV. PLIN. CORN. NEP. SIL. ITAL. &c. <sup>f</sup> CIC. in orat. pro An. Mil. <sup>g</sup> POLYB. LIV. SOT. SENEC. PLIN. FLOR. &c. <sup>h</sup> POLYB. LIV. &c. <sup>i</sup> POLYB. LIV. &c. <sup>k</sup> ANTONIN. itiner. <sup>l</sup> SIL. ITAL. l. viii. VIRG. Æn. l. viii. v. 696. & SERV. in loc. <sup>m</sup> SOTION in fragment. de mirand. font. flum. & loc. <sup>n</sup> AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xvii. <sup>o</sup> SERV. ubi sup. <sup>p</sup> SOTION ubi supra. <sup>q</sup> COLUMELL. rustic. rer. l. viii. c. 16. VITRUV. l. ii. c. 7. PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 22. LIV. l. xxvii. STRAB. l. v. <sup>r</sup> PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 22.

name of a river in Scripture. 5. *Tiber* must be acknowledged an eastern proper name, as being the same with (6) *Diber*, or *Debir*, the *Etruscans* having never admitted *D* into their alphabet: nay, as *T* is frequently a servile letter in the *Oriental* tongues, we may be allowed to derive *Tiber*, as well as *Umbro* (7), from עבר; nor is there any thing forced, or unnatural, in the derivation.

(6) *Josh.* xv. 7.

(7) *Plin. Schind. & Roebart. ubi supra, & alibi.*

it *Lacus Tarquiniensis*. 8. The *Lacus* \* *Statoniensis*, so denominated from the town of *Statonia*, now *Il Lago di Mezzano-Cluverius* †, with great probability, supposes *Statonia* to have been erected upon the spot whereon now stands the city of *Castro*. 9. The *Palus Clusina* seems to have been denominated *The Lake of Clusium* ‡ by *Strabo*; but as this, in conjunction with the *Clanis*, has been ranked amongst the rivers of *Etruria*, it is sufficient just to have mentioned it here.

## Islands.

THE following islands having been taken particular notice of by the antients, our readers will naturally expect a short account of them in the present description of *Etruria*. 1. *Urgo*, † or *Orgon*, the *Gorgona* of the moderns, a small island in the gulf of *Pisa*, famous at this day for the vast quantities of anchovies it sends out every year into various parts of *Europe*. 2. The *Mænaria* ‡, or *Menaria* of *Pliny*, now *Meloria*, at a small distance from the town and port of *Leghorn*. 3. † *Capraria*, *Ægila*, or *Ægilum*, now *Capraia*, in the same parallel with the antient *Vetulonium*, is known to every one in the least acquainted with the *Mediterranean*. † *Varro* calls it ‡ *Caprasia*, and intimates, that it was so denominated from the great number of goats it produced. 4. *Æthalia*, † or *Ilva*, now *Elba*, was celebrated, amongst the antients, for its inexhaustible vein of iron †, with which it plentifully supplied the *Romans*. The *Argonauts* are said to have put in † here, and from them the port they touched at received the appellation of *Portus Argous*, now known by the name of *Porto Ferrajo*. *Ilva* seems to have been an independent state when *Æneas* landed in *Italy*, since it declared itself his ally, and sent him a reinforcement of † three hundred men. 5. *Planasia*, † now *Pianosa*, whither *Augustus* banished *Agrippa*, mentioned by *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, and *Dio*. 6. The *Oglasa* of *Pliny* †, an high rock, the *Monte Christo* of the present *Italians*. 7. *Igilium* †, now *Giglio*, a small island near the *Portus Cosanus*, at present *Porto Ercole*. 8. *Artemisia* †, or *Artemita*, now *Giannuti*, a little to the east of *Igilium*, and in the neighbourhood likewise of the *Portus*

\* VITRUV. & PLIN. ubi supra. † PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 517. ‡ STRAB. l. v. † MEL. PLIN. MARTIAN. CAPEL. ‡ PLIN. l. iii. c. 6. † MEL. l. ii. c. 7. PLIN. l. iii. c. 6. SOLIN. c. 8. MARTIAN. CAPEL. l. vi. † VAR. rustic. rer. l. ii. † HECATÆUS & PHILISTUS apud Stephan. PLIN. l. xxxiv. c. 14. † ARISTOT. de mirab. HECATÆUS & PHILISTUS apud Steph. ubi supra. PLIN. ubi supra. VIRG. ÆN. l. x. SERV. in loc. SIL. ITAL. l. viii. STRAB. l. v. † DIOD. SIC. l. iv. STRAB. l. v. † VIRG. ÆN. l. x. † VAR. ubi supra, l. iii. c. 6. STRAB. l. v. TACIT. ann. l. i. DIOD. lib. iv. † PLIN. ubi supra. † Idem ibid. † SIEPH.

*Herculis.* 9. The <sup>1</sup> two islands in the *Lacus Volturnensis*, the larger of which the *Italians* call the *Island of S. Giacomo*. These are the islands that, according to the old geographers, appertained to the antient *Etruria*.

AMONGST the principal curiosities of this country may be ranked those that follow : 1. The *Lacus Vadimonis* above mentioned, of which, from <sup>k</sup> *Pliny*, take the following description. “ When I came to it, says he, I found it to resemble a wheel. It has no angle, and is every-where so smooth and regular, that it seems to have been made by a line. It is of a deep bluish colour, with a mixture of white and green. Its waters have a sulphureous smell, and mineral taste, and are extremely good to cure fractures. It is of no great extent, but yet rough when the winds are high. It does not admit of vessels of any kind, as being sacred ; but has several floating islands, covered with grass, reeds, and other sorts of weeds produced in fenny grounds, and the sides of lakes. They are of different figures and sizes. Their sides are rendered very naked and bare, by frequently striking one against another, and against the sides of the lake. They are cut smooth at the bottom, and resemble the keel of a ship. They are sometimes dispersed all over the lake, and are as much above the water as under it. Sometimes they are united, and form a sort of continent. Sometimes the violence of the wind separates them ; and being then put in motion, they float as before. The small ones often adhere to the large ones, as long boats do to ships. They frequently seem to be engaged one with another. At particular times, they are all driven together on one shore, and enlarge it. Whichever way they steer their course, they generally drive the waters of the lake before them, and it never returns to its usual level, till they all arrive at the middle. It is certain the cattle come on these islands for pasture, not distinguishing them from the bank of the lake ; nor are they sensible of their floating, till they are struck with terror by seeing themselves surrounded with water. Then following the wind, they go ashore at the first place that offers. This lake discharges itself into a river, which, after running a little way above-ground, falls into a great abyss, and continues its course so freely under-ground, that it brings out any thing with it that had been thrown into it before its descent.” Thus far *Pliny* : and, in confirmation of part of his description, we

<sup>1</sup> *PLIN.* l. ii. c. 95.<sup>k</sup> *PLIN.* epist. l. viii. c. 20.



are told by the learned *Justus*<sup>1</sup> *Fontaninus*, that at this day the *Lake of Bassano* resembles a wheel; is every-where smooth and regular; is of a deep bluish colour, with a mixture of white and green; has waters of a sulphureous smell, and mineral taste, &c. It is, however, now of a narrower extent than it seems to have formerly been. We find the phenomenon of the floating islands accounted for by *Seneca*, and mentioned by *Sotion*, as emended by *Sylburgius*, and the *elder Pliny*. For a farther account of this surprising lake, the curious may have recourse to the above-mentioned *Justus Fontaninus* (H), who will give them full and ample satisfaction. 2. The two floating islands in the *Lacus Volsiniensis*, taken notice of by *Pliny*, that bore some resemblance to those exhibited by the former lake. They were sometimes, according to that author, of a triangular, and sometimes of a circular form; but never assumed that of a square. But we apprehend our naturalist to

<sup>1</sup> JUST. FONTANIN. de antiquit. Hort. l. i. c. 5. p. 104, 105. Roma, 1723.

<sup>2</sup> SENEC. apud Just. Fontanin. ubi supra.

<sup>3</sup> SOTION in fragment. de mir. font. fluv. & lac. inter Aristotelis opuscula varia Græce edita à Frick. Sylburgio, Francof. apud Wechcl. 1587.

<sup>4</sup> PLIN. l. ii. c. 95. SENEC. nat. quest. l. iii.

c. 25. <sup>5</sup> JUST. FONTANIN. ubi supra. <sup>6</sup> PLIN. ubi supra.

(H) The learned *Giusso* (8) *Fontanini* in the same place also observes, that in the neighbourhood of *Nepi* there are several sulphurous springs; which enables us to account clearly for the name: for (9) *nepet*, *napt*, or *naph*, in *Arabic*, signifies *bitumen*, *petroleum*, or a *sulphureous spring*. Signior (1) *Muriani*, after (2) *Dempster*, informs us, that the symbol of this city has from remote antiquity been a scorpion. Now, in the *Arabic* language, the verb *נָפַח*, or *נָפַח*, signifies *longa & ciata fuit res*, and *נָפַח*, or *נָפַח*, *imminuit rei*, *vel imminuit supra eam*. The name, therefore, from either

of these roots, might be given to the *flying scorpion* in particular; such as, we suppose, is meant *Numb. xxi. 6*. In the *Hebrew* language, the verb *נָפַח* signifies *volavit*, &c. (3) *Schindler*. Hence perhaps the scorpion, *i. e.* this species of it, was called *נָפַח*, or *נָפַח*, from whence *napha*, *nepha*, or *nepa*: and that in the pronunciation the *y* in the middle was lost, appears, we think, from hence, that *נָפַח* in (4) *Schindler* is *levavit*, *elevavit*, and agrees exactly with the *Arabic nâph* above: so that in whatever view we consider the word *nepa*, or *nepet*, it must be allowed to have come originally out of the East.

(8) Just. Fontanin. antiquit. Hort. p. 105. Roma, 1723.

(9) Val. Schind.

lex. pentaglot. p. 11, 9. Hanzowia, 1612.

(1) Francisc. Marian. de Etrur.

re-top. p. 8.

(2) Dempst. de Etrur. regal. tom. ii. p. 116, 117.

(3)

Schind. ubi supra, p. 1273-1295, 1293, 1294.

have been mistaken in the point before us ; and that the two islands he represents as floating, were, in reality, fixed and immoveable. For two such islands remain to this day in *The Lake of Bolsena*, as is well known to every traveler who has made the tour of *Italy*. 3. The *Aquæ Calidæ Pisane*, or *Hot Waters of Pisa* ; which, as may be inferred from *Pliny*, were remarkable for the vast number of frogs they produced. 4. The *Aquæ Tauri* of *Pliny* <sup>a</sup>, from whence the people inhabiting the neighbouring district received the denomination of *Aquenses Taurini*. These waters, at present, go under the name of *Bagni de Palazzi*, and are in the neighbourhood of *Civita Vecchia*. 5. The *Thermæ Caretanæ* were some of the most celebrated baths in *Etruria*, according to <sup>t</sup> *Strabo*. These medicinal waters were the same with those now called *Bagni del Sasso*, about three miles from *Cerveteri*, as has been observed by the learned *Lucas* <sup>t</sup> *Holstenius*. They issue from two fountains, about half a mile distant from each other : the upper one on an hill is called *The Old Bath*, and the lower in a plain, *The New Bath* ; and both of them are at present pretty famous amongst the *Italians*. 6. The *Aquæ Calidæ* <sup>u</sup> of *Vetulonium* may likewise be esteemed as one of the principal curiosities of *Etruria* ; since, if we will believe <sup>w</sup> *Pliny*, notwithstanding the intense heat of these waters, there were fishes found alive in them. <sup>x</sup> *Busbequius* saw such a lake or fountain as this at *Buda* in *Hungary* ; which, however incredible at first sight it may seem, supports what has been advanced by *Pliny*, and merits the attention of the curious. 7. The <sup>y</sup> veins of brass and iron in the isle of *Ilua* above-mentioned. 8. The ruins and foundations of two towns formerly visible in the *Lacus Ciminius* and *Lacus Sabatius*, according to the *Italian*, or rather *Tuscan*, tradition mentioned by <sup>z</sup> *Sotion*. 9. The violent shock and prodigious elevation of the water near *Pisa*, occasioned by the junction of the *Æsar* and the *Arnus*, as we learn from <sup>a</sup> *Aristotle* and *Strabo*. 10. The tower <sup>b</sup>, or observatory, erected on the promontory of *Cosa*, from whence the inhabitants of that town could descry the tunny-fishes sporting themselves. 11. The <sup>c</sup> floating island in the *Lacus Statoniensis*, mentioned by *Seneca*. 12. The quarries near *The Lacus Vol-*

<sup>r</sup> PLIN. l. ii. c. 103.    <sup>a</sup> DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. i. c. 13.  
<sup>t</sup> STRAB. l. v. & LUCAS HOLST. in not. ad Cluver.    <sup>u</sup> PLIN.  
l. ii. c. 103.    <sup>w</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>x</sup> BUSBEQ. epist. i. p. 10.  
<sup>y</sup> ARISTOT. STRAB. PLIN. &c. ubi supra.    <sup>z</sup> SOTION ubi  
supra.    <sup>a</sup> ARISTOT. de mirab. STRAB. l. v.    <sup>b</sup> STRAB.  
ubi supra.    <sup>c</sup> SENEC. nat. quæst. l. iii. c. 25. PLIN. l. ii.  
c. 95.

*sinensis*, and *The Lacus Statoniensis*, whose stone <sup>d</sup> was neither to be injured by fire nor time, and which, therefore, frequently served for sepulchral monuments, as well as moulds to cast figures of brass in. <sup>e</sup> This stone, a species of the *silix*, was black, red, and sometimes white; and neither affected by heat nor cold. 13. The quarry of marble near *Luna*, which subsists to this day, in that of *Carrara*. 14. The *Vada* <sup>g</sup> *Volaterrana*, for a description of which, we must refer our readers to *Cluverius*. 15. The *Salinae* <sup>h</sup>, or Salt-pits, of *Volaterræ*, *Veii*, &c. which certainly deserve a place in the natural history of antient *Etruria*.

Situation,  
extent,  
climate,  
&c. of  
*Etruria*.

ETRURIA lies in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth degrees of longitude from *London*; and the forty-second, forty-third, and forty-fourth degrees of north latitude. In the maritim parts the air is extremely noxious, and even sometimes pestilential; though no part of *Italy*, nor even *Europe*, can be deemed more salubrious than the mountainous and mediterranean districts. Such also, antiently, was the temperature of the air, and the nature of the climate, as appears from <sup>i</sup> *Pliny*. With regard to the quality of the soil, as this country was beautifully diversified <sup>k</sup> with craggy hills, fruitful valleys, and delicious plains; some parts were barren, whilst others produced corn, wine, oil, fruits, &c. in vast abundance. The woods, likewise, <sup>l</sup> or forests, with which this region abounded, were plentifully stocked with all sorts of game; as were the sea and rivers appertaining to it <sup>m</sup> with fish. In fine, the tract we are now upon has always, even from the remotest antiquity to the present time, been <sup>n</sup> productive, not only of the necessaries, but even many of the elegancies, of life; with which observation we shall beg leave to close our description of *Etruria*.

<sup>d</sup> PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 22.      <sup>e</sup> Idem ibid.      <sup>f</sup> STRAB. l. v. SERV. ad ÆN. viii. PLIN. nat. hist. l. xxxvi. c. 5. CORN. NEP. VAR. SÆTON. NON. &c. Vide etiam DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. iv. c. 20.      <sup>g</sup> PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 468.      <sup>h</sup> Idem ibid. p. 469, & alibi.      <sup>i</sup> PLIN. epist. l. v. ep. 6. & l. ix. ep. 40. Vide DEMPST. ubi supra, l. i. c. 13.      <sup>k</sup> DEMPST. ubi supra, l. i.      <sup>l</sup> Idem ibid.      <sup>m</sup> Idem ibid.      <sup>n</sup> Idem ibid.

## S E C T. II.

*The antiquity, government, laws, religion, language, and learning of the Etruscans.*

**T**HE *Tyrsenians*, or *Etruscans*, were a branch of the *Pe- Etruscans*  
*lasgi*, that migrated into *Europe* <sup>a</sup> not many ages after <sup>a branch</sup> the  
 dispersion. Some of them marched by land as far as <sup>of the Pe-</sup>  
<sup>b</sup> *Lydia*, and from thence detached a colony under the con- *lasgi*.  
 duct of *Tyrsenus* <sup>c</sup> to *Italy*. *Tyrsenus* <sup>c</sup>, having constructed a proper  
 number of vessels at *Smyrna*, set sail from that port in  
 quest of new dominions; and, after sustaining various hard-  
 ships and fatigues, at last made a descent in that part of *Italy*  
 called *Umbria*. Here he built many cities, which <sup>d</sup> remained  
 even to the days of *Herodotus*. He also expelled the *Umbri*  
 from a very considerable extent of territory, and took from them  
 three hundred <sup>e</sup> towns. This first colony of *Tyrsenians*, from  
*Lydia*, seems to have been joined by a body of *Pelasgi* <sup>f</sup> al-  
 ready settled in some of the islands of the *Archipelago*. For,  
 that some of the *Pelasgi*, in the neighbourhood of *Lemnus* and  
*Imbrus*, sailed with *Tyrsenus* the son of *Atys* to *Italy*, we learn  
 from *Anticlides* in <sup>g</sup> *Strabo*.

If this last point be admitted, it will follow, that the *Ly- Lydian*  
*dian Pelasgi*, or *Etruscans*, conducted by *Tyrsenus* to *Italy*, <sup>and Gre-</sup>  
 and the first *Pelasgi* that inhabited *Greece*, were the same *lasgi the*  
 people. For the <sup>h</sup> *Pelasgi*, mentioned by *Anticlides*, were un- *same peo-*  
 doubtedly some of the latter; and from the name *Tyrsenians*, *ple*.  
 given them by <sup>i</sup> *Thucydides*, they appear to have been of the  
 same origin with the former. Nay, this may be inferred from  
*Dionysius Halicarnassensis* <sup>k</sup>, when he cites, with approbation,  
 the passage we have here in view; tho' it must be owned,  
 that this author afterwards <sup>l</sup> contradicts not only *Thucydides*, but  
 himself; when, without any manner of reason, he makes the  
*Tyrsenians* and *Pelasgi* two different nations.

WE have already observed, that the *Etruscans*, from their *Etruscans*  
 leader *Rasen*, or *Resen*, denominated themselves *Raseni*; <sup>called</sup>  
<sup>themselves</sup> *Raseni*.

<sup>a</sup> DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. i. <sup>b</sup> HERODOT. l. i.  
 DION. HALICAR. ubi supra. STRAB. l. v. <sup>c</sup> HERODOT. ubi  
 supra. <sup>d</sup> HERODOT. & DION. HALICAR. ubi sup. <sup>e</sup> PLIN.  
 l. iii. c. 14. <sup>f</sup> STRAB. l. v. <sup>g</sup> ANTICLIDES apud Strab.  
 ubi supra. <sup>h</sup> STRAB. ubi supra. <sup>i</sup> THUCYDID. apud  
 DION. HALICAR. l. i. SOPHOCLES ibid. APOLLON. ARGONAUT. l. iv.  
 POLYÆN. Strat. l. vii. <sup>k</sup> DION. HALICAR. ubi supra.  
<sup>l</sup> Idem ibid.

and that *Tyrſenus*, or *Tyrſen*, is only the name *Reſen*, with the ſervile letter T ſuperadded. This ſeems clearly to evince, not only that the *Etruscan* name of the people under conſideration agreed with that of the *Greeks*, but likewise that they were both of *Oriental* extraction <sup>m</sup>.

**Pelaſgi** THE *Pelaſgi* muſt be allowed to have been one of the moſt  
*one of the* antient nations in the world, and, as appears from their colo-  
*moſt anti-* nies, in the earlieſt times <sup>n</sup>, very numerous and powerful.  
*ent nations* With regard to their origin, the learned are not agreed.  
*in the* Some <sup>o</sup> make them the deſcendents of *Peleg*, or *Phaleg*, who  
*world.* have very probable arguments on their ſide ; others deduce  
 them from the antient <sup>p</sup> *Canaanites* and *Phœnicians*, who have  
 likewise much to urge in vindication of their opinion ; and,  
 laſtly <sup>q</sup>, others ſuppoſe them to have been of a *Celtic* original,  
 which ſeems to be more remote from truth. However, that  
 ſome of the poſterity of *Javan* ſeated themſelves, not many  
 ages after the deluge, both in *Italy* and *Greece*, we think can-  
 not well be denied.

**Etymons of** THE reaſon of the name *Raſeni*, *Tyrſeni*, or *Tyrrhemi*,  
*the words* from what has been already advanced, is obvious and clear ;  
*Raſeni*, nor is that of *Etruri*, or *Etruſci*, very perplexed. That  
*Tyrſeni*, *Etruri*, and even *Eturi*, was the antient name of the *Etruſ-*  
*Etruſci*, *cans*, may be collected from <sup>r</sup> *Servius*. That the *Etruſcans*  
 likewise derived the appellation they went under from *Athuria*,  
 or *Aturia*, that of their parental country, may be proved from  
*Dionyſius* <sup>s</sup> *Halicarnaffenſis*, *Strabo*, and *Dio*. Now *Aturia*  
 and *Aſſyria* differ only in dialect, the former being equivalent  
 to the *Chaldean* word אַתּוּרִיָּא, and the latter to the *Hebrew*  
 אֶתּוּר, as may be evinced from <sup>t</sup> *Bochart*, and others. Since,  
 therefore, nothing is more frequent than the permutation of  
 A and E in *Oriental* words <sup>u</sup>, eſpecially when written\* in *Greek*  
 letters, *Atura* and *Etura* muſt be looked upon as the ſame

<sup>m</sup> CUMBERL. connect. of the *Greek* and *Roman* antiquit. p. 318.  
<sup>n</sup> HERODOT. HELLANICUS LESBIUS, DION. HALICAR. STRAB.  
 PLUT. SOPHOCLE. THUCYDID. POLYÆN. aliiq. quam plurim.  
 ſcript. Græc. & Latin. <sup>o</sup> HUGO GROT. in lib. de jur. bell.  
 &c. c. 3. CLAUD. SALMAS. de Hellen. STILLINGF. orig. ſacr.  
 l. iii. c. 4. p. 388, 389, &c. Cant. 1702. <sup>p</sup> SCIP. MAFFI orig.  
 Etruſc. & Latin. c. 5, 6, 7, 8. Lipſ. 1731. ANTONIN. FRANCISC.  
 GOR. muſ. Etruſc. diſſert. i. <sup>q</sup> Anonym. in nov. act. erudit.  
 Lipſ. menſ. Jun. 1744. <sup>r</sup> SERV. in ÆN. l. xi. v. 596. <sup>s</sup> DION.  
 HALICAR. l. i. STRAB. l. xvi. DIO in Trajan. SUID. in voc.  
 Nivos. <sup>t</sup> BOCHART. Phal. l. ii. c. 3. JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS  
 apud Cl. Salmaſ. in Solin. p. 1235. <sup>u</sup> STEPH. in voc. *Acad-*  
*emia*. PLAUT. BOCHART. TURNER. apud Franc. Marian. ubi ſup.  
 p. 13.

word, and as the <sup>w</sup> antient name of *Etruria*. Nor can this be wondered at, if we consider, that *Resen* <sup>x</sup> was a city of *Aturia* or *Affyria*, from whence, probably, the leader of the *Eturian*, or *Etruscan*, colony was denominated *Raseni*, or *Reseni*; and that, from the sacred historian <sup>y</sup>, we may conclude *Ashur* to have been the brother of *Lud*, or great ancestor of the *Lydians*. All which, to omit other observations that occur in favour of what has been advanced, being maturely weighed, we think the etymons of *Tyrsemi*, *Etrusci*, &c. as well as the true origin, and high antiquity, of the *Etruscan* nation, will appear in the clearest light (A).

As for the word *Tusci*, or <sup>z</sup> *Thusci*, that is of a later date, *Etymon* of and seems to have been given the *Etruscans* by the *Greeks*, the word The sacrifices, or use of frankincense, that prevailed amongst *Tusci*. the *Tuscans* in after-ages, probably suggested this appellation to that people. However, be this as it will, that *Tusci*, or *Thusci*, was not the primitive name of the *Etruscans*, we find asserted by <sup>a</sup> *Pliny*, and has been evinced by other authors. This word frequently occurs in the *Eugubian tables*, and, consequently, proves those tables to be more modern than father <sup>b</sup> *Gori* seems willing to allow.

<sup>w</sup> FRANC. MARIAN. ubi supra, p. 12, 13. <sup>x</sup> Gen. x. 12.  
<sup>y</sup> Ibid. 22. <sup>z</sup> PLIN. l. iii. c. 5. <sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>a</sup> ANTON.  
 FRANC. GOR. mus. Etrusc. in prolegom. ad interpret. Etrusc. tab.  
 Eug. & alibi pass.

(A) From what we have observed, it must appear extremely probable, that different colonies might have been detached at different times out of the East, and even *Greece*, into *Italy*. Nor is it necessary to suppose, that these all came out of the same country. *Affyrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Pelasgi*, and other nations, might in the earlier ages make settlements in *Etruria*. Be this as it will, the famous *Scipio Maffei* has rendered it not a little probable, from the similitude of manners observable in the two nations, that the *Etruscans* were the descendants of the *Canaanites*, or

*Phœnicians*. The learned Signor *Mariani* has likewise as strongly proved, that some at least of the *Etruscans* came from *Affyria*: and to deny, that the *Pelasgi* settled in *Etruria*, would be to run counter to the whole stream of profane history. We have not room to insert all the arguments brought by the authors here cited in support of their respective opinion; but take for granted, that the most curious of our readers, who are friends to the *Etruscan* antiquities, will peruse those authors with great pleasure and attention (1).

(1) *Scip. Maff. orig. Etrusc. & Lat. Franc. Marian. de Etrur. metrop. Antiqu. Francisc. Gor. mus. Etrusc. p. 28.*

A LATE celebrated author, thinking himself to have discovered some traces of an *Egyptian* original in *Etruria*, supposes a body of *Egyptians* to have passed to *Italy*, immediately after the irruption of the *Phœnician* shepherds into the lower *Egypt*. But this we cannot readily assent to. For, supposing the *Etruscans* to have agreed with the *Egyptians* in several points, and even to have come from *Egypt*, yet we are inclined to believe, that they ought rather to be considered as *Phœnicians* than true *Egyptians*. For, to omit other arguments that might be produced, the true *Egyptians* never used human sacrifices; whereas the *Phœnicians*, whilst in *Egypt*, offered men to their fictitious deities, as did also the *Etruscans*. It is therefore probable, that if any colonies came from *Egypt* to *Etruria*, they must have been *Phœnicians*, and, in all likelihood, some of those who were forced by *Amosis* to abandon the lower *Egypt* <sup>c</sup>.

AFTER the expulsion of the *Pelasgi* from *Theffaly*, or *Æmonia*, by the *Hellens*, many of them retired to *Italy*. Some of these seated themselves at one of the mouths of the *Po*, and the rest at *Croton*, or *Cortona*, in *Tuscany*. This happened in the time of *Deucalion*, several ages before the destruction of *Troy*. For a farther account of this transaction, our readers may consult *Hellanicus Lesbius*, and *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* <sup>d</sup>.

A WRITER of the first class in the learned world has clearly proved, that the *Etruscans*, in many, not to say most, points, exactly agreed with the antient inhabitants of *Canaan* <sup>e</sup>. It likewise appears from <sup>f</sup> *Livy*, not to mention other authors, that the antient *Tuscans* imitated the *Israelites*, in a custom which was of divine institution. They must therefore have had this custom communicated to them after the time of *Moses*, and that, as must naturally be supposed, by the *Phœnicians*; for, with the *Israelites*, it does not appear, that they had ever any manner of intercourse. We may therefore presume, that, after the expulsion of the *Phœnician* shepherds, considerable numbers of them took refuge in *Italy*; and that even in *Jeshua*

<sup>c</sup> PHIL. BONARROT. ad monument. Etrusc. explicat. & conject. p. 103—107. MANETH. apud Porphyrt. π:π: α:π:ο:χ:ς, l. i. sect. 35. EUSEB. præp. evang. l. iv. c. 16. p. 155. Deut. xii. 31. Psal. cv. 37, 38. 2 Kings xxiii. 10. & xvii. 31. DIOD. SIC. l. xx. SJL. ITAL. CALMET, &c. PORPHYR. de abstin. & alibi. CUMBERL. orig. gent. ant. DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. iii. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 45.

<sup>d</sup> HELLAN. LESBIUS apud Dion. Halicar. l. i. ut & ipse DION. HALICAR. ibid. STRAB. l. v.

<sup>e</sup> SCIP. MAFF. ubi supra.

<sup>f</sup> LIV. l. v.

and *David's* time, both of whom, probably, expelled many *Canaanites* out of *Asia*, several bodies of that people retreated to the same country.

THE custom here hinted at was, that of the priesthood's being in one family amongst the *Israelites*, which <sup>g</sup> was of divine institution. To which we may add, that *Etruria* consisted of twelve different tribes or cantons; which exactly corresponded with the primary and original division of the *Israelite* nation. It can therefore scarce be denied, that a similar form of government, at least, in some respects, prevailed amongst the *Israelites* and *Etruscans*: which if we admit, it seems to follow, that some bodies of *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, fled to *Italy*, after the *Israelites* had conquered the land of *Canaan*<sup>h</sup>. For, that the *Canaanites* imitated the *Israelites* in some things of divine institution, and, consequently, might communicate them to other nations, is a point that at this time will not be disputed amongst the learned<sup>i</sup>.

ACCORDING to the most approved writers of the *Latin* affairs, the *Arcadian* colony under *Evander*<sup>k</sup> confined themselves to a small part even of *Latium*. However, it is probable they might intermix with the *Etruscans*. But whether this be admitted or not, it will very little affect what has been already advanced. For, in the former case, it may be supposed, that they adopted the *Etruscan* customs, as being too inconsiderable a body of men to new-model that powerful nation; in the latter, that they had scarce any manner of communication with them.

THE *Etruscan* government we have already, in some *Government*<sup>l</sup> measure, given our readers an idea of. *Etruria* was divided<sup>l</sup> into twelve tribes, or cantons, called in the *Tuscan* language *lucumonies*. Each of these was governed by its own prince or *lucumo*, and over (B) the whole<sup>m</sup> a king presided. Every *lucumo*

<sup>g</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>h</sup> SCIP. MAFF. ubi supra. Vide etiam PROCOPIUS. S. AUGUST. HYD. not. in Perist. aliosque quam plurim. autor. <sup>i</sup> Univ. hist. l. iii. c. 37. <sup>k</sup> DION. HALICAR. SERV. VIRG. CEDREN. Vide etiam PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, l. iii. <sup>l</sup> DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. vi. & l. viii. LIV. l. iv. v. vii. &c. SERV. ad ÆN. l. vii. sub init. <sup>m</sup> SERV. ad ÆN. l. ii. viii. x. xi. VARRO apud SERV. ibid. Vide PHILIP. CLUVER. ubi supra, P. 434.

(B) The (2) king, or presiding *lucumo*, seems to have been governed them; and this in time elected by the twelve *Etruscan* of war chiefly, when he was

(2) Dion. Halicar. l. iii. Vide Franc. Marian. ubi supra, p. 196.



lucumo took upon himself the administration of affairs in his own province, and distributed justice to his subjects. The king, or chief potentate, was consulted on all extraordinary occasions, and convened the general diet of the twelve nations on all pressing emergencies. This diet was held at the temple of *Voltumna*<sup>n</sup>, where measures were concerted for making war upon, or concluding peace with, their neighbours. That the power of every lucumo was limited, must be naturally supposed; but the *Etruscan* kings seem to have been vested with a sort of absolute authority, consonant to the first *Oriental* form of government. As the *Etruscans* were a very warlike nation, and spoke, at first, a language not very different from the *Hebrew*, or *Phœnician*, the word lucumo might, possibly, have denoted a warrior, or captain. The *Hebrew* לוחם *lochem*<sup>o</sup>, or *luchem*, had undoubtedly such a signification.

*Laws.*

Some of the principal *Tuscan* laws we shall exhibit to our readers in the concise manner possible: 1. By the<sup>p</sup> original constitution of *Etruria*, no single state or lucumony could enter upon a war, or conclude a peace, with any neighbouring power, without the participation of the whole *Etruscan* body. 2. The *Etruscans*, by a particular law<sup>q</sup>, admitted their women to all nocturnal entertainments; in which they were afterwards followed by the *Romans*. 3. They<sup>r</sup> obliged themselves to treat all foreigners with the utmost humanity and politeness. 4. They gave<sup>s</sup> all possible encouragement, and

<sup>n</sup> LIV. l. iv.    <sup>o</sup> VAL. SCHIND. ubi supra, p. 944.    <sup>p</sup> LIV. l. v. sub init. alibi. DION. HALICAR. pass.    <sup>q</sup> ATHEN. deipnosoph. l. i. p. 23.    <sup>r</sup> HERACL. PONTICUS apud Athen. deipnosoph. ut & ipse ATHEN. ibid. l. iii. p. 123. & l. x. p. 700.    <sup>s</sup> HERACL. PONTICUS ubi sup. ut & ipse ATHEN. ibid. Vide etiam DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. i. c. 22, 23.

created general of all the *Etruscan* forces. Upon such a supposition, our etymon of the word lucumo must be indisputable. The *Greek* and *Latin* writers sometimes call the inferior lucumoes (3) kings; but this is not to be wondered at, since they enjoyed a sort of regal power in their respective territories. The earliest *Etruscan*

government we apprehend to have been of the same form with that of the country from whence the first *Atyrian* or *Tyrscian* colonies came, and consequently in many respects monarchical, if not intirely so. But the antients afford us so little light in this affair, that we cannot pretend to determine any thing absolutely concerning it.

(3) Dion. Halicar. ubi supra. Serv. pass. Plutarch. in problem. Rom. Solis. c. 2. 8. Plin. l. iii. c. 12. Vide etiam Franc. Marian. ubi supra, p. 197.

that,

## C. I. *The History of the Etruscans.*

that, as should seem, by virtue of their constitution, to all polite arts and artificers. 5. In order to deter people from contracting larger debts than they were able to pay, the *Tuscan* boys, by way of ridicule, followed all insolvent debtors ' with an empty purse. 6. They must have had many good moral institutions, since from them the *Romans* " received a supplement to their twelve tables. 7. The *jura feccialia* were first observed by the *Etruscans*. 8. The *Etruscan* polity, in general, seems to have been founded upon maxims of the most consummate wisdom, as may be collected from " *Aristotle*, and *Heraclides Ponticus* in *Athenæus*, to whom, for farther satisfaction in this point, we must beg leave to refer our curious and inquisitive readers.

THE religion of the *Etruscans* was a gross and multifarious idolatry. They worshiped, in common with the ancient *Greeks* and *Phœnicians*, the *Cabiri*, or *Dii magni majorum gentium*. They were also initiated in the *Samothracian* or *Cabirian* mysteries, as appears not only from various authors, but likewise from a curious *Etruscan* fragment of antiquity. Besides the *Greek* and *Roman* deities, they had several peculiar to themselves; some of which were confined to particular towns and districts. Thus *Nortia* was a goddess held in the highest veneration at *Vulfinii* and *Volaterræ*; *Viridianus* at *Narnia*; *Valentia* at *Ocrinum*; &c. *Vertumnus*, *Volumnus*, *Volumna*, *Voltumna*, *Pilumnus*, or *Picumus*, *Ancharia*, *Volturnus*, *Fortuna*, *Portunus*, *Vitumnus*, *Manturna*, *Vacuna*, &c. were some of the principal *Etruscan* deities. The ancient *Tuscans* had likewise their *Dii Præfites*, and *Indigetes*, as well as the *Latius*, and other *Italian* nations.

UNDER this head may be considered the divine service, sacred mysteries, holy-days, solemn processions, supplications in honour of the gods, &c. as also the sacred rites and ceremonies, the *ministri sacrorum* (C), pontifices, sacerdotes, *falii*,

' HERACL. PONTICUS ubi supra. Vide etiam DEMPST. ubi sup. c. 25. " SERV. in *Æn.* l. vii. " ARISTOT. & HERACL. PONT. apud Athen. deipnosoph. ubi supra. \* DION. HALIC. LIV. STRAB. ARNOB. LACTANT. TERTUL. alique quam plurimi script. antiq. pass. Vide etiam DEMPST. SCIP. MAFF. MARIAN. GOR. &c.

(C) It appears, from the following passage in (4) *Livy*, that the *Etruscans* had a pontif, or high-priest, that was elected by the twelve *lucumonies* of *Etruria*; and that they had no notion of a regal government, when the *Romans* took *Veii*. The pass-

(4) *Liv. l. v. c. 1.*



cans, required the persons initiated in them not only to be baptized, or purified by water, but likewise to be purged or refined by fire. The SACRA ACHERONTICA were introduced first into *Etruria* by *Tages*, in order to appease the *Dii Inferi*, or infernal deities, to render departed souls more divine, and, consequently, to translate them from the infernal regions to the mansions of bliss. In order to which, it was thought requisite to sprinkle the altars and sepulchres of the *Dii Manes* with human blood. But for a more particular and distinct account of all these religious mysteries, and the service, ceremonies, &c. judged necessary, in order to a participation of the benefits supposed to flow from them, our readers must have recourse to the authors here cited in the margin <sup>2</sup>.

2. As the *Romans*, before they became acquainted with the *Greeks*, received every thing relating to religion, and even, as may be naturally supposed, their kalendar itself, from the *Etruscans*; the festivals, holy-days, and stated times of public worship, of the two nations, must have agreed in most particulars. To omit many<sup>a</sup> authors that might be produced on this occasion, it will be sufficient to observe, that a bare sight of the antient *Roman kalendar*, wherein many of the principal *Etruscan* deities, and their festivals, are exhibited to our view, puts the point here insisted on beyond dispute <sup>3</sup>.

3. THE *Etruscans* borrowed of the *Egyptians*, or rather the *Phœnician* shepherds expelled *Egypt*, their public supplications, pomps, solemn processions, &c. which happened on some of their principal festivals. They supposed the gods more particularly honoured to be always present at such solemnities. Which notion they likewise received from the *Egyptians*, or, at least, the *Phœnician* shepherds above-mentioned. This we learn from the *Menfa Isiaca*, and from what has been advanced by the famous *Gori*, in a noble piece lately published, for which he justly merits the thanks and applause of the whole learned world <sup>b</sup>.

4. THE rites and ceremonies used by the haruspices, augurs, pontifices, &c. at *Rome*, were derived from the *Etruscans*. Nay, the *Etruscans* seem to have been the most celebrated nation, in the pagan world, for skill in augury and di-

<sup>2</sup> CIC. DION. HALICAR. LIV. VIRG. STRAB. FEST. SERV. &c. Vide etiam DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. FRANC. MARIAN. de Etrur. metrop. SCIP. MAFF. orig. Etrusc. & Latin. ANTON. FRANCISC. GOR. mus. Etrusc. pass. <sup>a</sup> CIC. DION. HALICAR. LIV. STRAB. FEST. SERV. &c. ut & DEMPST. MAFF. MARIAN. GOR. ubi supra. <sup>b</sup> ANTON. FRANC. GOR. mus. Etrusc. p. 22. 316

vination, as well as knowledge of the nature of sacrifices, to all which rites and ceremonies necessarily relate. At least, they had this character amongst the *Romans*, as appears from <sup>c</sup> *Cicero* and *Livy*. It is no wonder therefore, that the branch of literature, including every thing appertaining to the provinces of the augures, haruspices, pontifices, salii, sacerdotēs, vates, hymnologi, &c. should have been emphatically <sup>d</sup> stiled at *Rome*, *Arts Etrusca*, and *Disciplina Etrusca*. Hence we find *Etruria* <sup>e</sup> called by *Arnobius*, the mother of superstition.

5. As for all the aforesaid sacred officers, their habits, instruments, &c. the tibicines, fidicines, and other persons who assisted in the divine music on all solemn occasions, the above-mentioned work of father *Gori* <sup>f</sup> gives us a clear idea of them. Those therefore, who desire to be farther instructed in this part of the *Etruscan* antiquities, will peruse it with great pleasure.

6. THE same thing may be <sup>g</sup> said of the *Etruscan* temples, donaria, peculiar sacrifices, various kinds of lustrations, prodigies, altars, expiations, &c. which are there treated of with great accuracy and learning.

WE have before hinted, that, in many points, the learned have discovered no small affinity between the antient *Etruscans* and the *Egyptians*. And, perhaps, they resembled each other in nothing more than their religious institutions; and, particularly, their sacrifices, and manner of public worship. Father *Gori* <sup>h</sup> seems to evince this most clearly in several places of the above-mentioned performance. This, we doubt not, will open a new scene in antiquity, and pave the way to many noble discoveries; for which we shall be intirely obliged to the unwearied labours of that very learned and ingenious gentleman.

THAT the *Phœnicians*, and neighbouring nations, were much addicted to augury and divination, may be collected from <sup>i</sup> Scripture. It is no wonder, therefore, that their descendants, the *Etruscans*, should have discovered the same disposition. Their writers pretend, that *Tages*, whom some have taken for a god, others for a man, but *Tully* <sup>k</sup> scarce knows

<sup>c</sup> Cic. epist. familiar. l. vi. ep. 6. Liv. l. iv. Cic. de divin. l. i. Val. Max. l. i. c. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Cic. ubi supra. Diod. Sic. l. v. p. 316. Fest. l. xviii. Dio, l. xxxvii. Ammian. Marcell. l. xxiii. Vide etiam Dempst. de Etrur. regal. l. iii. c. 6. p. 255, 256.

<sup>e</sup> Arnob. cont. gent. l. vii. <sup>f</sup> Anton. Franc. Gori. mus. Etrusc. Florentiæ, 1737.

<sup>g</sup> Idem ibid. pass. <sup>h</sup> Idem ibid. p. 310—322. & alibi pass.

<sup>i</sup> Deut. xviii. 14. Isai. ii. 6. Vide Scip. Maff. orig. Etrusc. p. 20, 21. <sup>k</sup> Cic. de divin. Fest.

in what light to consider him, was the inventor of every thing relating to augury and divination. To him, likewise, the *Etruscans* owed their *Acherontian books*, which were kept with as much care and vigilance, and held in as great repute, by them, as those of the *Sibyls* were at *Rome*. These they consulted on all dubious occasions, and looked upon the responses they received from them as infallible. In fine, *Tages* taught the *Etruscans* many useful arts and disciplines, as well as the knowledge of future events <sup>l</sup>.

NEITHER the *Etruscans* nor the *Romans* had any magnificent temples in the earlier <sup>m</sup> ages. The *Etruscans* adorned the images of their gods with <sup>n</sup> wings, in the same manner as the *Egyptians*, and even the *Phœnicians*, according to <sup>o</sup> *Sanchoniatho*. In fine, the *Etruscan* images, statues, vases, &c. discover a taste and elegance different from those of all other nations, tho', as has been already observed, they sometimes seem to favour of *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*. It is certain, that, in the main, the *Etruscan* artificers had a manner very different from those of *Greece* and *Rome*, as is fully demonstrated by many *Etruscan* images and vases still preserved in the cabinets of the curious <sup>p</sup>.

THE *Etruscans* had some particularities in their religion, which distinguished it from that of every other nation; of which the various deities peculiar to them, the *Tuscan* names of those deities, the monster *Volta*, &c. are sufficient proofs. But the antient *Egyptian* and *Phœnician* modes of worship were the same with those, for many of the earliest ages, used in *Etruria*. Nor can any material difference be found between the oldest *Oriental* and *Etruscan* divinities <sup>q</sup>.

THE *Etruscan* language must have been the same, or nearly so, with the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*. This will follow from what has been already delivered concerning the origin of the *Tuscan* nation. For, whether we consider them as descended from *Abhur*, *Peleg*, the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, or even *Celtes*, and from some of these they undoubtedly descended, their language must have been either the same with the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*, or nearly related to them. From what has been advanced, the first *Pelasgic* settlements in *Etruria* could not have been many centuries after the deluge, and very few after the dispersion; and at that time the languages, or rather dia-

*Language.*

<sup>l</sup> SERV. in *Æn.* l. viii. v. 398. ANTON. FRANC. GOR. ubi supra, p. 43—49. <sup>m</sup> PHIL. BONARROT. ubi supra, p. 77. <sup>n</sup> ANT.

FRANC. GOR. ubi supra, p. 3. & alibi. <sup>o</sup> SANCHONIATH. apud Euseb. præp. evang. l. i. c. 10. <sup>p</sup> DEMPST. MAFF. & GOR. pass. <sup>q</sup> DEMPST. MAFF. MARIAN. GOR. pass.

lects, of the *Egyptians*, *Affyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Celtes*, *Syrians*, *Arabs*, &c. must have approached extremely near to the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*, which the learned allow to have been almost the same. With regard to the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians* migrating into *Etruria*, after the first colonies of the *Pelasgi* or *Tyrsenians* settled there, it cannot be denied, that their language had received but little alteration from the primitive *Hebrew*. So that both sacred and profane history concur to evince the *Hebrew*, *Phœnician*, and *Etruscan* tongues to have been, in the earlier ages, nearly the same <sup>r</sup>.

THIS likewise farther appears from the letters and manner of writing antiently used in *Etruria*. The <sup>s</sup> letters are almost the same with those of the earliest *Greeks*, brought by *Cadmus* out of *Phœnicia*. The manner of writing is purely *Oriental*, the letters <sup>t</sup> being drawn from the right hand to the left, consonant to the practice of the Eastern nations. The former point is rendered indisputably clear by the *Eugubian* <sup>u</sup> tables, in conjunction with the *Sigean inscription*, and the latter by a bare perusal of the generality of the *Etruscan* <sup>v</sup> inscriptions. Nay, the very remote antiquity of the first colonies that settled in *Etruria*, as well as of the *Etruscan* language and alphabet, may be easily inferred from these inscriptions. For as the *Pelasgic* alphabet, that prevailed in <sup>x</sup> Greece before the age of *Deucalion*, consisted of sixteen letters, the *Etruscan* or *Pelasgic* alphabet, first brought into *Italy*, composed of <sup>y</sup> only thirteen letters, must have preceded the reign of that prince. But we shall not expatiate upon this topic here, since the high, not to say almost incredible, antiquity of the *Etruscan* language and alphabet, has been clearly evinced in <sup>z</sup> two dissertations printed at *Oxford* in the year 1746.

FATHER *Gori* <sup>a</sup>, in his *Museum Etruscum*, published at *Florence* in 1737, endeavours to give us the powers of all the *Etruscan* letters. M. *Bourguet* <sup>b</sup>, professor of philosophy in

<sup>r</sup> Dissert. de ling. Etrur. regal. vernac. Oxon. 1738. <sup>s</sup> DEMPST. BONARROT. MAFF. GOR. pass. <sup>t</sup> Ibidem ibid. <sup>u</sup> Tab.

*Eugubin.* apud Dempst. de Etrur. regal. tom. i. p. 91. Florentiæ, 1723. Inscript. Sig. Lond. 1721. <sup>v</sup> Vide DEMPST. MAFF. GOR. & Saggi di dissertazioni accademiche pubblicamente lette nella

nobile accademia Etrusca dell' antichissima città di Cortona, tom. ii. In Roma, 1735. 1738. <sup>x</sup> J. BOUHIER dissert. de prisce Græc. & Latin. lit. ad calc. palæograph. D. BERN. DE MONTFAUCON.

<sup>y</sup> Dissert. de primig. Etrusc. alphabet. Oxon 1746. <sup>z</sup> Ibid. p. 4.

<sup>a</sup> ANTON. FRANC. GOR. mus. Etrusc. p. 401—419.

<sup>b</sup> Saggi di dissertaz. accad. di Cortona, tom. i. p. 1—23. In Roma, 1735.

the university of *Neufchatel*, did the same thing in a dissertation inscribed to count *Harrach*, in 1733. But the foundation on which both these gentlemen built, seems to have been laid by the senator *Buonarota* of *Florence*<sup>c</sup>, in 1726. It seldom happens, that men of genius bring their discoveries to perfection; and therefore we are not to be surpris'd, that many mistakes have been committed by this triumvirate. In fine, as we apprehend the *Etruscan* alphabet drawn by Mr. *Swinton*<sup>d</sup> from a great number of inscriptions, which first saw the light lately at *Oxford*, is much more perfect and complete than any that has hitherto appeared, we hope an insertion of it here will not prove unacceptable to our learned and curious readers.

To these letters may be added the four following complex characters *H*, *A*, *T*, or *T*, and *J*, which our readers will find decyphered in one of the above-mentioned dissertations:

WE cannot help believing the alphabetic characters, exhibited by some of the *Etruscan* inscriptions, to be the most antient of any now remaining. No *Phœnician* legends on coins, if we remember right, precede the time of *Alexander the Great*. All the genuine *Samaritan* coins, with legends upon them, are undoubtedly<sup>e</sup> posterior to that prince. The *Sigeian* inscription, whose letters, probably, approached pretty near the *Cadmean* alphabet, did not precede the *Christian æra* above six hundred years. M. l'Abbé de *Fourmont's* *Lacedæmonian*<sup>g</sup> inscriptions, coeval with the commencement of the first *Messenian war*, published in the last volume of the *Memoires de Literature de l'Academie Royale des inscriptions & belles lettres*, are drawn from the left hand to the right, and consequently later than the alphabet brought into *Iturria* out of *Asia*. Nay, the inscription copied by M. *Fourmont*, done in the reign<sup>h</sup> of *Sous* and *Echestratus* (D), and,

<sup>c</sup> PHIL. BONAR. ad monum. Etrusc. op. Dempst. addit. explicat. & conject. Florentiæ, 1726. <sup>d</sup> JOAN. SWINT. de primig.

Etrusc. alphabet. dissert. Oxon. 1746. p. 4. <sup>e</sup> ADRIAN. RE-

LAND. de numis veterum Hebræorum dissert. ii. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1709. <sup>f</sup> CHISH. inscript. Sig. p. 1, 2. Lond. 1721.

<sup>g</sup> Memoir. de literat. de l'acad. roy. des inscript. & bel. let. tom. quinzieme, à Paris, 1743. <sup>h</sup> Memoir. de literat. tom. quinz.

p. 400. à Paris, 1743.

(D) If we mistake not, this inscription will open a new scene both in grammar and antiquity.

It seems greatly to shake, if not intirely to overthrow, the principles upon which Mr. *Chishul* proceeds.



and, consequently, scarce an hundred and sixty, or an hundred and seventy, years later than the *Trojan war*, is written in the  
*Boufiro-*

proceeds, in his explication of the *Sigean* inscription. The remarks upon the *Lacedæmonian* inscriptions, discovered lately in *Greece* by M. l'Abbé *Fourmont*, and his companions, published in the literary (5) journal here referred to, certainly merit the attention of the curious. For, if these inscriptions are genuine, they will not only contribute towards evincing the very remote antiquity of some *Etruscan* inscriptions, but likewise correct several errors that have hitherto prevailed in the learned world. We say, if genuine: for as M. l'Abbé *Fourmont* has given us different (6) figures of the letters, that compose the three principal *Lacedæmonian* inscriptions, in the body of his remarks, and the plates he exhibits, we know not rightly what to make of them. It is to be hoped, that, for the benefit of the learned world, especially as so much depends upon this point, that learned and illustrious au-

thor will give us the ducts of those letters, as nearly as possible approaching the originals: those inserted in the body of the (7) remarks, we take to be so, as being more rude, simple, and having a greater air of antiquity than the others; but, as these are extremely few, and not preferred to the others by M. l'Abbé, we want an explicit declaration on this head. In the mean time our learned readers will, we apprehend, think themselves obliged to us for the following short account of the two most ancient of the *Lacedæmonian* inscriptions.

1. The first of these appears upon the ruins of an antient temple (8), which, it informs us, was consecrated to *Onga* by *Eurotas* king of the *Icetercerates*, which, as we learn from (9) *Hesychius*, was the most antient name of the *Lacedæmonians*. M. l'Abbé *Fourmont* has given us two words of this inscription (1); viz. ΔΔΑΙ *Ogai*, i. e. *Onga*, and

### ΙΚΕΤΕΡΚΕΑΤΕΕΣ • •

the Ἰκετεράταις of *Hesychius*. Now it appears from (2) the antients, particularly *Pausanias* (3), that *Eurotas*, the grandson of *Lelex*, must have been at least cotemporary with *Cadmus*. Sup-

posing, therefore, this inscription to be genuine, many fine observations are deducible from it. We must not here omit informing our readers, (4) that *Onca*, or *Onga*, was the *Phænician*

(5) *Memoir. de literat. tir. des registr. de l'acad. roy. des inscript. & bel. lett. tom. quinze. p. 395—420. à Paris, 1743.*

(6) *supra, p. 397, 398, 399.*

(7) *Memoir. &c. ubi supra, p. 398, 399, 400.*

(8) M. l'Abbé *Fourmont*, ubi supra, p. 403.

(9) *M. l'Abbé Fourmont* ubi supra, p. 403.

(2) *Apollodor. l. iii. Stephan. in voc. Ταύρατον Plut. de flumin. Scholiast. Euripid. ad Orest. Scholiast. Pind. Pyth. od. iv.*

(3) *Pausan. l. iii. p. 158. l. 12, 13. Hanovæ, 1613.*

(4) *Euphorion apud Stephan. Byzant. Non. Dionysiac. l. 44. Hesych. in voc.*

*Oγγα.*

*Boustrophedon* manner, and, therefore, as may reasonably be presumed, more recent than some of the *Etruscan* inscriptions. So

name of *Minerva*; nor that *Bochart* (5) seems to have given us the true etymon of that name.

2. From the second inscription M. l'Abbé has extracted the following words:

IKTEOKAAT  
ΛΟΙΜΕΙΤΟΑΕΛ

(6), of which he gives a very clear and satisfactory explication. The former seems equivalent to the above-mentioned *Ἰκτεονπαρεῖς* of *Hesychius*, and the latter to *φῆμιοι*, or *ὑφημιοι*, a sort of priests, who prayed for all the people, when they offered sacrifices to the gods. Nor can his interpretation of the last word admit of any dispute; when it is considered, that of these (7)

ΛΟΙΜΕΙΤΟΑΕΛ

one is said to belong to *Jupiter*, another to *Juno*, another to *Mars*, another to *Onga*, another to *Clesta*, another to *Mercury*, &c. deities that were held in great veneration amongst the antient inhabitants of (8) *Laconia*. *Sous* and *Echestratus*, with whom this inscription is supposed to be coeval by M. *Fourmont*, lived within 160, or (9) 170, years of the *Trojan* war: nor can we well refuse assenting to his supposition, since the names of those princes are at the head of the inscription, and the forms of the letters such as indicate a very remote antiquity. However, we

hope M. *Fourmont*, for many reasons that might here be offered, and which he cannot be a stranger to, will, in due time, favour the learned world with a just delineation not only of these, but of all the other principal inscriptions he brought with him out of *Greece*.

Father *Gori* has (1) published an *Etruscan* inscription on a gem, which seems to be equally curious, and at least equally antient, with either of those here mentioned. The letters that compose it resemble those of the *Lacedæmonian* inscriptions; but appear more rude, and approach nearer to the primeval alphabet. We shall therefore beg leave to insert it here; especially, as every one, moderately versed in this branch of literature, will allow it to be a most noble and singular curiosity.

A: : : : : A1A1IM

*Mipapa* (2), seems to have consisted of two *Etruscan* words; some of whose letters, or, at least, some letters of one of which words, are apparently lost; for which reason it may, possibly, prove a difficult matter to explain it. Father (2) *Gori* owns, that he has not been able to arrive at such an explication. However, we doubt not, but this inscription will hereafter meet with a true interpretation. Be this as it will, the high anti-

(5) *Sam. Bochart. in Chan. l. i. c. 16. p. 427. & alibi. Vide etiam Seld. de diis Syr. syntagm. ii. c. 4.* (6) M. l'Abbé *Fourmont*, ubi supra, p. 400, 401, 402.

(7) *Idem ibid. p. 401, 402.* (8) *Pausan. p. 15. aliquæ complur. script. antiq.* (9) *Pausan. & Euseb.* (1) *Anton Franc. Gor. mus. Etrusc. p. 435, 437. Tab. apud Gor. clxxxviii. n. 6.* (2) *Anton Franc. Gor. ubi supra p. 436.*

So that several of the literary monuments of *Etruria* may vie, for antiquity, with any at this time extant, not excepting even those of *Egypt*, which have been hitherto considered as the most antient in the world.

THE letters we are now upon were, undoubtedly, the first alphabetic characters of *Italy*. Nay, they prevailed at *Rome*<sup>i</sup>, and every part of *Italy*, till after the regifuge. This has been fully proved in one of the above-mentioned dissertations, and, from it, many curious points are deducible. To omit others that occur, from hence it plainly follows, that those inscriptions on the *Eugubian tables*, consisting of *Latin* letters, or the more modern characters of *Italy*, are more recent than the regifuge. Nay, in one of the aforefaid dissertations, they have<sup>k</sup> been demonstrated inferior, in point of antiquity, to the *Duilian inscription*; and consequently father *Gori*<sup>l</sup> must be egregiously mistaken, when he makes all the inscriptions on those tables some generations older than the *Trojan* war.

So great an affinity will be found between the sepulchral *Etruscan* inscriptions, that, when one of them is truly decyphered, it will serve as a key to most of the rest. As, therefore, in one of the above-mentioned dissertations, Mr. Swinton<sup>m</sup> seems to have hit upon the explication of two of them, we doubt not but the others will soon be interpreted; and all the literary fragments of antient *Etruria*, that have escaped

<sup>i</sup> De prisç. Roman. lit. dissert. Oxon. 1746. <sup>k</sup> De prisç. Roman. lit. dissert. sub fin. <sup>l</sup> ANTON. FRANC. GOR. proleg. ad interp. Etrusc. tab. Eugubin. Florentiæ, 1737. <sup>m</sup> JOAN. SWINT. de prim. Etrusc. alphab. dissert. Oxon. 1746.

quity of the inscription sufficiently appears from the forms and ducts of its letters, to say nothing of the *Oriental* manner of writing, to which they correspond. The  $\Delta$  differs very little in figure from the old *Iceterceratian* and *Lacedæmonian Alpha*; and the  $\Psi$  is perfectly *Phœnician*. The  $\mid$  is no other than the *Iota* that occurs in M. Fourmont's *Iceterceratian* and *Lacedæmonian* inscriptions; but the *Tuscan*  $\uparrow$  is of a more rude and antient form than the *Pi* exhibited by those inscriptions. We must not omit observing, that

the letters are drawn from the left hand to the right on the gem, which answers to the contrary manner of writing on paper, or impressing on wax.

We could with pleasure have dwelt longer upon M. Fourmont's inscriptions, would the limits, we have prescribed ourselves, have permitted, and had not one of us written a dissertation upon them, which he intends, if the *French* will give us just and accurate delineations of the letters they exhibit, hereafter to make public.

the injuries of time, be perfectly understood by every member of the learned world.

MANY advantages will accrue to the republic of letters from such a discovery, a discovery that has been attempted, in vain, by many of the greatest geniuses for above three hundred years. For an interpretation of all the antient *Etruscan* inscriptions will not only most intimately connect the *Greek* and *Roman* antiquities, but illustrate several points both in sacred and profane history. By an explication of these curious relics, many difficult passages, in antient authors, relating to the *Hebrew*, *Phœnician*, *Egyptian*, *Chaldean*, *Syrian*, *Arab*, &c. customs and antiquities, will be cleared up; several new discoveries made; and even some texts of Scripture, however strange this may at first sight appear, hitherto not understood, be truly explained. The mistakes of father *Gori*, *M. Bourguet*, and other illustrious members of the *Etruscan* academy of *Cortona*, will likewise be frequently corrected. In fine, a new province will be added to the learned world, which may prove a source of more real benefits and advantages to the whole than can at present be discerned.

It may not be improper here to observe, that *M. Bourguet* and father *Gori* seem to have adopted a wrong hypothesis in their learned inquiries. They <sup>a</sup> suppose the antient *Etruscan* language to have been but little different from the *Greek*; which certainly runs counter to what has been advanced on this head by <sup>o</sup> *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* and *Herodotus*. Those noble historians, whose authority will undoubtedly bear down all that oppose them, must convince every sober and rational inquirer, that the *Greek* and *Etruscan* tongues were vastly different. Father *Gori*, in order to <sup>p</sup> support his hypothesis, confounds the *Pelasgi* with the *Hellens* and later *Greeks*, in direct contradiction to <sup>q</sup> *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, not to mention other celebrated writers. As for *M. Bourguet*, he brings scarce any historical proofs in favour of his opinion. Nor can it with any colour of reason be imagined, that the *Greek* tongue could have almost intirely agreed with the language of *Ashur*, *Peleg*, the *Hebrews*, *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, or even primitive *Celts*.

<sup>a</sup> Differtazione di *LODOV. BOURGUET*, &c. sopra l'alphabeto Etrusco, &c. in Roma, 1735. *GOR.* ubi supra, & alibi. <sup>o</sup> *HERODOT.* l. i. f. 57. edit. *GRONOV.* *DIONYS. HALICARNASS.* l. i.

<sup>p</sup> *ANT. FRANC. GOR.* prolegom. ad interp. Etrusc. tab. Eugubin. & alibi pass. <sup>q</sup> *HERODOT. DIOD. SIC. DION. HALICARNASS.* pass.

History is absolutely repugnant to such a supposition. Nor can many of the *Etruscan* words, without extreme violence and torture, be deduced from a *Greek* original.

THE learned <sup>r</sup> M. *Bochart*, it must be owned, has given a sort of sanction to the afore said notion, by asserting, that the antient *Tuscan* language bore no resemblance to any of the *Oriental* tongues. But M. *Bochart* destroys his own authority in this particular, by <sup>s</sup> palpably contradicting himself; and the *Etruscan* words he produces, as intirely remote from the languages of the East, have been proved agreeable to those <sup>t</sup> languages. What he has advanced, therefore, on this head, must be exploded by all who have made any researches into the *Oriental* and *Etruscan* antiquities.

A LEARNED German, in the *Nova Acta Eruditorum Lipsiæ*, seems <sup>u</sup> to have deviated still farther from truth. For he would have the antient *Etruscan*, and even modern *German* or *High-Dutch*, languages to be nearly the same. This must be owned a profound paradox, and, indeed, the reasons he proposes for the defence of it, deserve likewise that appellation. The small piece he published, was intended as a critique upon Mr. *Swinton*'s dissertation *de lingua Etruriæ regalis vernacula*, printed at *Oxford* in 1738. However, as he behaves with good manners, and even politeness, all his objections will be answered in form. The *Germans*, especially the gentlemen of *Leipsick*, are so passionately fond of their own country, and every thing that bears any relation to it, that we are not surprised to find such a paradox come from that quarter. Nor ought such a passion to be deemed criminal, as long as it is conducted by good manners and good-nature, and is not indulged at the expence of truth. We have good reason to believe, from several circumstances, that the famous Dr. *Masheu*, professor of history in the university of *Leipsick*, was the author of the performance here hinted at.

As the branch of literature we are now upon, is cultivated with great ardor in several parts of *Europe*, particularly *Italy*, and is like, hereafter, to make a very considerable figure, our readers of taste and curiosity will not be displeased to see a catalogue of the pieces lately published for the promotion of it. But this is not so perfect or complete as we could desire.

<sup>r</sup> SAM. BOCHART. Chan. l. i. c. 33.      <sup>s</sup> Idem in Phal. l. i. c. 3. Vide etiam SWINT. de ling. Etrusc. reg. vernac. dissert. p. 21. Oxon. 1738.      <sup>t</sup> SWINT. ubi supra, p. 21—28.      <sup>u</sup> Nov. act. eruditor. Lipsiæ.

1. THO. DEMPSTERI de Etruria regali lib. vii. edit. curante THO. COKE, Mag. Britan. Armig. &c. Florentiæ, 1723, 1724.

2. Ad monument. Etrusc. oper. Dempst. addit. explicat. & conject. a Phil. Bonarrot. Florentiæ, 1726.

3. FRANCISCI MARIANI Viterbiensis Vatican. Basilicæ benefic. & bibliothecæ scriptoris Græci de Etrur. metrop. &c. Romæ, 1728.

4. Bibliothèque Italique, tom. troisiem. art. 1. p. 1—54. A Geneve, chez Marc-Michel Bouffquet, & compagnie, &c. 1728.

5. Scipionis Maffei origines Etruscæ & Latinæ. Ex Italico sermone in Latinum convertit Joannes Georgius Lotterus Augustan. Lipsiæ, apud Jo. Fried. Gleditsch. B. Fil. 1731.

6. Saggio delle transazione filosofiche della Società Regia dall' anno 1720, a tutto l'anno 1730. &c. In Napoli, 1733.

7. Dissertazione di Lodovico Bourguet, &c. sopra l'alphabeto Etrusco, in faggi di dissertazioni accademiche pubblicamente lette nella nobile accademia Etrusca dell' antichissima città di Cortona. In Roma, 1735.

8. Musæum Etruscum, exhibens insignia veterum Etruscorum monumenta æreis tabulis 200. nunc primum edita, & illustrata observationibus Antonii Francisci Gorii, publici historiarum professoris, vol. ii. Florentiæ, anno MDCCXXXVII.

9. De lingua Etruriæ regalis vernacula dissertatio. Autore Joanne Swinton, A. M. Coll. Wadh. Oxon. Soc. & R. S. S. Oxonii, è Theatro Sheldoniano, 1738.

10. Dissertazione di Annibale degl' Abati Olivieri, Gentiluomo Pesarese, sopra alcuni monumenti Pelasgi, diretta al Signor Marcello Franciarini Giurisperito e Patrizio Eugubino. In Roma, 1738.

11. Dissertazione di Annibale degl' Abati Olivieri, Gentiluomo Pesarese, sopra due medaglie Sannitiche. In Roma, 1738.

12. Dissertazione del Cavalier Lorenzo Guazzesi Aretino sopra un' iscrizione Etrusca. In Roma, 1738.

13. Dissertazione del Dottore Pierfrancesco Foggini Fiorentino sopra una patera Etrusca. In Roma, 1738.

14. Ad dissertationem de ling. Etrur. regal. vernæ. annotationum J. G. W. Lipsiæ, 1744.

15. De primigenio Etruscorum alphabeto dissertatio. Autore Joanne Swinton, A. M. ex Æde Christi, Oxon. & R. S. S. Oxonii, è Theatro Sheldoniano, 1746.

16. De prisca Romanorum literis dissertatio. Autore Joanne Swinton, A. M. ex Æde Christi, Oxon. & R. S. S. Oxonii, è Theatro Sheldoniano, 1746 (E).

As for the principal authors who endeavoured, tho' ineffectually, to decypher the old *Etruscan* inscriptions, from the year 1444. when the *Eugubian tables* were discovered, to the year 1723. when the first part of *Dempster's* work was published, we have a sort of literary history of their attempts, given us by the learned *Giusto<sup>w</sup> Fontanini*, archbishop of *Ancyra*, in his admirable piece *de antiquitatibus Hortæ*. All our curious readers, therefore, who are desirous of encouraging this branch of literature, still in its infancy, will be fond of consulting him.

THE *Etruscan* inscriptions, of which a great variety has been already discovered, are of different ages, and therefore cannot be supposed to favour equally of the East. They approach nearer the *Oriental* languages, in proportion to their antiquity. Some of them consist chiefly of words apparently deducible from those languages, and therefore were the produce of the earlier ages. Others indicate a lower period, by the *Greek* words incorporated in them. And, lastly, others

<sup>w</sup> JUST. FONTANIN. antiquit. Hort. l. i. c. 7. p. 120—147. Romæ, 1723. PHIL. BONAR. ubi supra, p. 84, 85.

(E) The following pieces of father Gori were (3) in the press at Florence, in the year 1743.

1. *Difesa dell' alfabeto Etrusco degli antichi Toscani, pubblicato nel 1737. dell' autore de musco Etrusco, disapprovato dal Sig. Marchese Scipione Maffei, nel tomo v. delle sue osservazioni letterarie, date in luce in Verona, con tav. ix. e con monumenti insigni. In Firenze, per Anton. M. Albizzini.* Premette l'autore in principio la storia letteraria del principio, e de progressi fatti sino al presente tempo nello studio sopra le antichità degli Etrusci. 2. *Osservazioni critiche sopra alcuni paragrafi del ragionamento degli Itali primitivi, in cui dal Sig. Marchese Scipione Maffei si vu-*

*ole che gli Etrusci vengono dagli Ebrei. Si aggiungono altre osservazioni in difesa del musco Etrusco. In Firenze, per Anton. M. Albizzini.* 3. *Museum Etruscum, exhibens insignia veterum Etruscorum monumenta, eaque præsertim, quæ in Guarnacciano, cæterisque Volaterranis extant. Æreis tabulis C. nunc primum edita. Vol. tert. cum indicibus, &c. Accedunt dissertationes tres.* V. C. Jo. Bapt. Passerii, J. C. Pisauri, &c. As the *Nouveau Acta Eruditorum Lips.* which is the most universal literary journal, has not mentioned the publication of any of these pieces, we suppose none of them have yet seen the light.

(3) *Nov. act. eruditor. Lips. mens. Jul. 1743. p. 431, 432, Lipsæ, 1743.*

demonstrate

demonstrate an age not preceding the sixth century of *Rome*, by several infallible criterions, as will very clearly appear to every sagacious examiner of them. However, the *Etruscan* alphabet was used in some parts of *Italy*, and the *Etruscan* language spoken, till, at least, very near the *Augustan* age. This we learn from the express testimony of *Gellius*<sup>x</sup> and *Strabo*, and from two *Samnite* medals, whose *Etruscan* legends have been lately explained by a<sup>y</sup> most ingenious *Italian* author.

THAT the most antient *Greek* tongue approached much nearer the Eastern languages than those dialects of it used by even the oldest *Greek* classics, appears from the obsolete radices of that tongue, which, generally speaking, discover a near relation to the East. If the *Etruscan* resembled any of the *Greek* dialects, it must have been the *Æolic*. Now, that the antient and later *Æolic* dialects were pretty widely different, has been evinced by<sup>z</sup> *Salmasius*; and yet the last discovers a considerable affinity with the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*. Supposing, therefore, the old *Etruscan* language to have been related to the *Greek*, as *Mo Bourguet* and father *Gori* contend, every rational critic will understand this of the first dialects that prevailed in *Greece*, which, if admitted, will exactly coincide with what we have advanced; but will by no means hold true of the *Greek* tongue current in the classic times, at least, not so strongly as of the former. The proximity of the earliest *Greek* language to the *Oriental* tongues, was well known to *Isaac*<sup>a</sup> *Casaubon* and *Erpenius*, and may be so to any one who examines the *Greek* roots with proper attention. If therefore the learned men above-mentioned mean only, that the *Etruscan* language agrees with that first spoken in *Greece*, we readily subscribe to their opinion; but, if they are to be understood of the later or *Hellenical Greek*, we must beg leave to dissent from them. Nor indeed can any thing more clearly demonstrate the absurdity of this last notion, than the forced and unnatural etymons *M. Bourguet* and father *Gori* make use of in their interpretations of two of the inscriptions exhibited by the *Eugubian tables*.

THE *Etruscans* were extremely well versed in all the arts *Arts, &c.* of war and peace, as may be collected from an infinity of antient authors. Nay, from them the *Romans* learned those arts and sciences that paved the way to the empire of the

<sup>x</sup> AUL. GELL. noct. Attic. l. xi. c. 7. SFRAB. l. v. <sup>y</sup> Dissertazione di ANNIBALE degl' Abbati Olivieri sopra due medaglie Sannitiche. In Roma, 1738. <sup>z</sup> SALMAS. in Hellen. <sup>a</sup> MER. CASAB. de ling. Hebr. & THO. ERPEN. in orat. de ling. Hebr. ed. 1621.



world. The best writers agree, that these arts and sciences were most conspicuous in *Rome*, before its citizens had any intercourse with the *Greeks*. Luxury, effeminacy, and the indulgence of many criminal passions, succeeded that intercourse; which indeed rendered the *Romans* more polite, but at the same time more vitious, than their ancestors. Of course, therefore, in the best ages of *Rome* the *Romans* imitated the *Etruscans*. However, it must be owned, that in after-ages the *Etruscans* became thoroughly debauched both in principle and practice, as may be inferred from *Athenæus* <sup>b</sup>. But, to descend to particulars, the best way to come at the knowledge of the arts and sciences the *Etruscans* were famous for, is pointed out to us by those authors, who have informed posterity what this nation communicated to the *Romans*.

AUGURY, and divination of all kinds, observations of thunders and prodigies, expiations, &c. several of the antients supposed to have been invented by *Tages*. His scholar *Baccheticus* likewise excelled in these; and committed all the rules, precepts, and observations relating to them to writing. The *Libri Acherontici* of *Tages*, as well as the observations of *Baccheticus*, were held in great repute amongst the *Etruscans*, who formed their system of augury and divination upon them. This system, the articles of which we have not room to expatiate upon, passed from the *Etruscans* to the *Romans*. The same may be said of ceremonies, the parentalia, *falii* sacerdotess, *Samothracian* mysteries, and all the principal religious institutions. Temples likewise, statues of the gods and heroes, the manner of building cities and raising them, *pomæria*, the æras of cities, their walls and fortifications, consecrations, nuptial rites, &c. amongst the *Romans*, were derived from the same source <sup>c</sup>.

THE ensigns of royalty, distinction of nobles from plebeians, the *bullæ prætextæ*, and other marks of such distinction, the *celeres*, *secures* and *fascès*, the *lictors*, *sella curulis*, and, in fine, almost every thing that bore any relation to the civil government at *Rome*, has been considered by the best writers in the same light <sup>d</sup>.

RINGS of all kinds, arms, instruments of military music, every species of accoutrements and military decorations, trophies, triumphs, triumphal chariots, triumphal crowns, *fœciales* or heralds, form of declaring war, and, in short, every thing of moment belonging to the art of war, or military exercises that prevailed at *Rome*, undoubtedly came out of *Etruria* <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> *ATHEN.* deipnosoph. l. xii.  
Gor. pass.

<sup>d</sup> *Iidem* *ibid*.

<sup>c</sup> *DEMPST. MAFF. MARIAN.*  
<sup>e</sup> *Iidem* *ibid*.

MONEY, locks and keys, lamps, candlesticks, glasses and cups, or drinking vessels of most kinds, banquets and entertainments, as well as the laws or customs appertaining to them, not to mention other social amusements and recreations, some good writers suppose the earlier *Romans* to have received from the ancient inhabitants of *Tuscany* <sup>f</sup>.

AGRICULTURE, planting of vines, all kinds of instruments requisite thereto, mills, architecture, particularly that order called the *Tuscan*, music, and a great variety of musical instruments, many sorts of plays and diversions, especially tragedies, various kinds of garments, and even the rudiments of physic, at least, seem to have been introduced into *Italy* by the *Etruscans* <sup>g</sup>.

SCENICAL diversions, masks, pantomimes, the schools of gesticulators, *bigæ* and *quadrigæ*, wrestlers, and the custom of anointing their bodies, the use of wool, plastic, statuary, the *fabulæ Osciæ*, or *Atellane*, nuptial verses, or *versus Fescennini*, the art of making earthen ware, &c. the *Romans* owed to the *Etruscans* <sup>h</sup>.

THE art of constructing ships, and navigating them, which, from small beginnings arrived at a great degree of perfection, the various branches of naval exercise and discipline, the method of equipping of fleets, the forming of magazines, and all kinds of armaments, nay, even the fitting out of corsairs, the *Etruscans* seem to have been acquainted with before the birth of *Romulus* <sup>i</sup>.

THIS nation, therefore, must have been a maritim power, and consequently have enjoyed an extensive commerce in the earlier ages of the world. And, indeed, this sufficiently appears from ancient history. For from hence it is not only apparent, that the *Etruscans* made a great figure at sea, but likewise, that they were a most luxurious and opulent nation. From whence we may rationally conclude, that they carried on a great and flourishing trade. But this will more naturally fall under the following article <sup>k</sup>.

WE have already observed, that the *Etruscans* were once *Poiver*. in possession of all *Italy*, or, at least, by far the greatest part of that country. Nay, some of their colonies spread themselves over the *Alps*, and even occupied the region known afterwards by the name of *Rhætia*, but called now the country of the *Grisons*. As *Livy's* testimony <sup>l</sup> is very clear and express in this particular, and fully proves the *Etruscans* to have

<sup>f</sup> *Iidem* *ibid.*      <sup>g</sup> *Iidem* *ibid.*      <sup>h</sup> *Iidem* *ibid.*      <sup>i</sup> *Iidem* *ibid.*  
<sup>k</sup> *Iidem* *ibid.*      <sup>l</sup> *Liv.* l. v. c. 33.

been a most potent nation long before the *Romans* made any considerable figure, we shall beg leave to extract the whole passage containing it, from that excellent historian. “ For, “ before the *Roman* empire, the *Tuscan* dominions extended “ very far both by sea and land, even to the upper and lower “ sea, by which *Italy* is surrounded in form of an island. “ Their very names are an argument of the vast power of “ this people ; for the *Italian* nations call the one the *Tuscan* “ sea, from the common name of the people ; and the other “ the *Adriatic*, from *Adria*, a *Tuscan* colony. The *Greeks* “ call them the *Tyrrhenian* and *Adriatic* seas. This people, “ in twelve cities, inhabited the country extending to both “ seas ; and by sending out colonies equal in number to their “ mother cities, first on this side the *Apennines*, towards the “ lower sea, and afterwards as many on the other side, possessed all the tract beyond the *Po*, even to the *Alps*, excepting the corner belonging to the *Venetians*, who dwelt round a bay of the sea. Nor can it be questioned, that this was the original of the *Alpine* nations, especially of the *Rheti*, who by the situation of their country are grown so barbarous, that they retain nothing of their original, but some remains of their language, and even that is corrupted.” Which famous passage, especially in conjunction with the epitomizer of <sup>m</sup> *Stephanus*, *Pliny*, and *Justin*, sets the point here insisted on beyond dispute.

BUT, had all those authors been silent on this head, that the *Etruscans* were a very formidable power in the remoter ages of antiquity, may be clearly evinced from <sup>n</sup> *Homer*, *Herodotus*, *Heraclides*, *Aristides*, and *Diodorus Siculus*. For, that they possessed territories of a vast extent, is intimated by the three <sup>o</sup> former ; and that they were extremely potent in their flourishing state, may be inferred from the two latter <sup>p</sup> of those writers. Nay, *Diodorus* <sup>q</sup> *Siculus* tells us in plain terms, that they were lords of the sea ; and *Aristides* asserts the *Indians* to have been the most powerful nation in the East, as the *Etruscans* were in the West. But then this was in very remote times, even when *Bacchus*, that early conqueror, aspired almost to universal monarchy. For, afterwards, to the commencement of the *Roman* grandeur, they gradually declined. In fine, one would almost imagine, from what has

• <sup>m</sup> STEPH. PLIN. l. iii. c. 20. JUST. l. xx.      <sup>n</sup> HOM. apud Herodot. & in Odyss. HERODOT. in lib. de vit. Homer. HERACL. περὶ τῶν ποταμῶν. DIOD. SIC. l. v. ARISTID. orat. in Bacch. dict.      <sup>o</sup> HOMER. HERODOT. HERACLID. ubi supra.      <sup>p</sup> DIOD. SIC. ARISTID. ubi supra.      <sup>q</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.

been advanced by *Aristides*, that the world was divided between the *Indians* and the *Etruscans*; the former assuming to themselves the eastern, and the latter the western division of the globe. But this cannot be considered as any thing more than an hyperbolical description of the immense power, most flourishing commerce, incredible resources, and prodigious wealth of both those nations.

A TOLERABLE idea of the *Etruscan* learning (F) may be formed from what has been already advanced; however, as it

is

† ARISTID. ubi supra.

(F) That the *Etruscans* were famed for literature, as well as their civil and religious institutions, may be collected from the antients. The *Romans* (4) sent their sons for instruction into *Etruria*, in the earliest ages of the republic, as we learn from *Cicero* and *Livy*. This country, therefore, at that time, must have been considered by them as the principal seat of literature. *Aristotle*, according to (5) *Athenæus*, wrote a particular treatise upon the *Etruscan* institutions. *Theophrastus* also, according to the scholiast (6) on *Pindar*, composed an intire book concerning the *Tuscan* nation; as did *Softratus*, if we will believe (7) *Stobæus* and *Plutarch*. The emperor *Claudius* finished a piece of the same kind, which (8) consisted of twenty books: this, and a treatise on the *Carthaginian* republic, he commanded to be (9) read every year alternately at *Alexandria*. *Volumnius* (1), or, as some call him, *Volnius* (2), was a writer

of *Tuscan* tragedies. *Livy* (3) represents *Cincius Alimentus* as a diligent researcher into the *Etruscan* monuments. *Suidas* (4) mentions a *Tuscan* author, who wrote an history of the creation of the world, and a dissertation upon the completion of it in six days. *Censorinus* (5) from *Varro* cites several *Etruscan* historians, who described every age of the *Etruscan* empire, and predicted its destruction in the tenth. Great numbers of books (6) relating to the *Tuscan* mysteries and superstitions, seem to have been burnt and destroyed by the earlier *Christians*. Amongst these were, probably, the pieces containing the *Disciplina Eclispicii*, wrote by the *lucumones* of *Etruria* (7), according to *Censorinus*, and the books of *Tages* and (8) *Bacchetis*, which, *Labeo* and *Fulgentius* say, consisted of fifteen volumes. Some of these were extant in the days of (9) *Pliny*. *Festus* (1) takes notice of the *Libri Rituales* of the *Etruscans*, as *Censorinus* (2) does of their *Libri*

(4) *Cic. de legib. l. ii. Liv. l. ix. Val. Max. l. i. c. 1. Athen. deipnosoph. l. xii.* (6) *Scholiast. Pind. in Pyth. od. 2.* (7) *Stob. ser. 105. Plut. in parallel.* (8) *Sueton. in Claud. c. 41.* (9) *Idem ibid.*  
(1) *Var. de ling. Lat. l. iv.* (2) *Franc. Marian. de Etrur. metrop. p. 198.*  
*Romæ, 1728.* (3) *Liv. l. vii. c. 2.* (4) *Suid. in voc. Τυρρηνία.*  
(5) *Censorin. de die nat.* (6) *Franc. Marian. ubi supra.* (7) *Censorin. ubi supra.* (8) *Labeo apud Fulgent. de prisce. serm.* (9) *Plin. l. ii. c. 52.*  
(1) *Fest. post.* (2) *Censorin. ubi supra.*

is a curious topic, we shall be a little more explicit and particular on this head. Augury, and divination of all kinds, the ancestors of the *Tuscans* seem to have brought out of the East. The augural discipline had for its object both the celestial and terrestrial globes; and, in order to facilitate the augural operations, the heavens were divided into sixteen parts. Several small images or statues of *Tages* with the augural symbols have been discovered of late years in *Tuscany*, as appears from *Giusto Fontanini*, father *Gori*, and others. We find several particulars in *Cicero* and *Pliny*, not to mention other authors, relating to the *Etruscan* augury and divination<sup>x</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> SCIP. MAFF. orig. Etrusc. c. 5. p. 19, 20, 21. Lipsiæ, 1731.

<sup>t</sup> ANTON. FRANC. GOR. mus. Etrusc. clas. i. p. 45.

& PLIN. apud Anton. Franc. GOR. ubi supra.

<sup>u</sup> CIC. de antiquit. Hort. p. 146. Romæ, 1723. PHIL. BONAR. ad monument. Etrusc. oper. Dempst. addit. explicat. & conject. p. 23. ANTON. FRANC. GOR. ubi supra.

<sup>x</sup> TIB. GRAC. apud Cic. de nat. deor. ut & Cic. ibid. Cic. de divinat. l. ii. & alibi pass. PLIN. l. ii. c. 52, 53. & alibi. Vide etiam ANTON. FRANC. GOR. ubi supra.

*Fatales*; which seem likewise to have been mentioned (3) by *Tully*. The *Sacra Acherontia*, or, (4) as some will have it, *Aruntia*, and the *Libri Haruspiciæ*, are mentioned by (5) *Servius* and *Arnobius*. *Carminius* in (6) *Macrobius* cites the *Sacra Trajeda Titia*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* (7) and *Fulgentius* speak of the system of divination formed by *Tages*. *Pliny* (8) and *Seneca* refer to the books of *Umbritius Melior*, *Ju. Aquila*, and *Cecina*. *Servius* (9) relates the nymph *Bygois* to have wrote a piece, intitled, *Arv Fulgitrarum*. *Tarquinius* (1) *Tuscan* composed several pieces, particularly the *Ostentarium Etruscum*, the *Ostentarium Arborarium*, a treatise de

*Rebus divinis*, and an history of several illustrious men. The (2) *Jus Pontificium* was a book likewise mentioned by *Macrobius*. The *Etruscan* augurs and aruspices were in such repute at *Rome*, that the (3) *Romans* were enjoined by law to consult them on all extraordinary occasions. To the authors already mentioned, may be added *Aristides Milesius*, *Alexarchus*, *Theotimus*, *Clitonymus*, *Theophilus*, *Pithocles*, *Dorotheus*, *Aristocles*, *Myrsilus Lesbios*, *Cbrysippus*, *Agessilaus*, *Aristobulus*, *Dositheus*, *Dercillus*, and *Alexander Polyhistor*, every one of whom, if we will believe *Plutarch* (4), at least touched upon the *Tuscan* affairs.

(3) Cic. in orat. de aruspice. respons. p. 199.

(4) Francisc. Marian. ubi supra, ad verba Nec pater omnipotens, &c. *Arnob.* adv. gent. l. ii.

(5) *Carminius* apud *Macrobius*. Saturn. l. v.

(6) *Amian. Marcell.* l. vii. *Fulgent.* de prisce. sermon. in voc. Prælegmina.

(7) *Plin. pass.* *Senec. quæst. natur.* l. i. ii.

(8) *Plin.* l. ii. *Macrobius*. Saturn. l. iii. c. 7. 20. *Amian. Marcell.* l. xxv. *Lactant.* l. i. c. 10. Vide etiam *Scalig.* Pontan. & *Morbof.* apud Francisc. Marian. ubi supra.

(9) *Cic. de leg.* l. iii.

*Liv.* aliquæ script. pass. (4) *Plut.* in parallel.

WITH

WITH regard to the theological notions of the *Etruscans*, they believed one supreme Being, whom they called *Juve*, or *Joue*. They considered him as the great governor of the universe, as the principle of life and motion. This we learn from <sup>y</sup> *Seneca*, who informs us, that the *Etruscans* entertained very rational notions of the Deity. But this, we apprehend, must be understood of the philosophers amongst them. The immortality of the soul they were firmly persuaded of; and, therefore, believed a future state of rewards and punishments; tho', in later times, they seem to have followed the system of *Pythagoras*, and consequently to have adopted the *metempsychosis* of that philosopher. But this is not to be wondered at, since <sup>z</sup> *Pythagoras* himself was an *Etruscan*. However, the generality of the *Tuscans* adhered to the *Sabian* superstition, as did most of the inhabitants of the East.

As the *Etruscans*, at least in our opinion, seem to have been followers <sup>a</sup> of *Pythagoras*, they, undoubtedly, must be supposed to have cultivated, with great ardour, the principles of the *Italic* <sup>b</sup> philosophy. <sup>c</sup> *Pythagoras* himself was an improver, but not the founder, of that philosophy. Music they considered <sup>c</sup> as a divine art, and seem to have been greatly delighted with it. They were likewise famous for their curious <sup>d</sup> researches into the productions, operations, and phænomena of nature, and consequently well versed in natural philosophy and <sup>e</sup> astronomy. Nor, indeed, could less than this be expected from their profound skill in augury <sup>f</sup> and divination. They were <sup>g</sup> also acquainted with poetry, frequently celebrating the praises of their gods, and relating the great achievements of their heroes, as well as describing the arcana of astronomy, philosophy, &c. in verse. Tragedy, in particular <sup>h</sup>, owed its birth to this nation; or, at least, they first communicated it to the *Romans*. *Varro* <sup>i</sup> mentions one *Volumnius*, whom he represents as a famous writer of tragedies in the *Tuscan* language. Nay, the people we are considering, had a peculiar taste for all kinds of theatrical representations, as may be in-

<sup>y</sup> *SENEC.* nat. quæst. l. ii. c. 45, 46. Vide etiam tab. Eugubin. pass.

<sup>z</sup> *CLEM. ALEXAND.* Stromat. l. i. *DIOG. LAERT.* in vit. Pyth. Vide etiam *ANTON. FRANC. GOR.* mus. Etrusc. tom. ii. dissert. i. xxviii.

<sup>a</sup> *Iidem* ibid. <sup>b</sup> *CLEM. ALEXAND.* ubi supra. *ANTON. FRANC. GOR.* mus. Etrusc. tom. ii. dissert. i. xxviii.

<sup>c</sup> *STRAB.* l. x. *ANTON. FRANC. GOR.* ubi supra, p. 161.

<sup>d</sup> *DIOD. SIC.* l. v. p. 219. Vide etiam *GOR.* ubi sup.

<sup>e</sup> *PLIN.* l. i. c. 52, 53, 54. Vide etiam *GOR.* ubi supra. <sup>f</sup> *PLIN.* & *GOR.* ubi supra.

<sup>g</sup> *ANTON. FRANC. GOR.* ubi supra, p. 161.

<sup>h</sup> *TERTUL.* de spectac. *VAR.* de ling. Lat. l. iv. *LIV.* l. vii. sub init.

<sup>i</sup> *VAR* ubi supra.

ferred from several <sup>k</sup> authors. To which we may add, that they abounded with actors, who danced not ungracefully <sup>l</sup>, after the *Tuscan* manner; and that the first actors, who appeared upon the stage at *Rome* <sup>m</sup>, were sent for from *Etruria*.

It cannot be conceived, that the followers and disciples of *Pythagoras* were ignorant of geometry. The shining figure that philosopher made, according to <sup>n</sup> some good authors, in the mathematical world, will not admit of such a supposition. Nor can it be imagined, that any people tolerably versed in astronomy and astrology, as the *Tuscans* are allowed to have been, should be totally unacquainted with the elements of geometry. We may therefore conclude, from what has been already observed of the *Etruscan* literature, that the antient *Tuscans* were no strangers to geometry, nor indeed to any of the mathematical sciences <sup>o</sup>.

MILITARY learning they were famous for <sup>p</sup>, especially that branch relating to the drawing up an army in battalia, and making the proper dispositions for an engagement. That the formation of the phalanx <sup>q</sup>, and manner of fighting consequent thereupon, was invented by the *Etruscans*, at least borrowed of them by the *Romans*, we learn from *Athenæus*. This, likewise, most evidently appears, from what may be collected from the antients concerning the *Tuscan* naval and military inventions <sup>r</sup>.

THAT history was cultivated in *Etruria*, we have no reason to doubt. The very genius of the *Tuscan* nation evinces this, as well as several hints that have been given us by the antients. *Suidas* mentions <sup>s</sup> a *Tuscan* historian, who treated largely of GOD, and of the creation of the world completed in six days by HIM. *Censorinus* <sup>t</sup>, from *Varro*, cites some *Etruscan* histories, which described the several ages of the *Etruscan* empire, and predicted its destruction. Lastly, *Cincius*, an <sup>u</sup> author quoted by *Livy* with great marks of approbation, seems to have consulted the historical monuments of

<sup>k</sup> LIV. & TERTUL. ubi supra. GOR. ubi supra, p. 391. Vide & tab. apud DEMPSTER. lxxiii. tab. apud GOR. clxxxvi. clxxxvii. clxxxviii. &c. <sup>l</sup> LIV. ubi supra. <sup>m</sup> Idem ibid. Vide etiam GOR. ubi supra, p. 391.

<sup>n</sup> TERTUL. de anim. l. xi. SUID. DIOG. LAERT. in præfat. AEOLLOD. epigram. apud Plut. Vide etiam DEMPST. de Eurur. regal. l. iii. c. 44, 45. <sup>o</sup> DEMPST. & GOR. ubi supra. <sup>p</sup> ATHEN. deipnosoph. l. iv. Vide etiam DEMPST. ubi supra, l. iii. c. 62 - 65. <sup>q</sup> NICIAS apud Athen. deipnosoph. l. vi. Vide etiam DEMPST. ubi supra. <sup>r</sup> Vide DEMPST. & GOR. pass.

<sup>s</sup> SUID. in voc. Τυρρηνία. <sup>t</sup> VAR. apud Censorin. de die natal. <sup>u</sup> CINC. ALIMENT. apud Liv. l. vii. sub init.

*Etruria*, as may be inferred from the express words of that excellent historian.

In fine, the *Etruscan* literature, politeness, and genius, will most clearly appear from the following observations :  
 1. The <sup>w</sup> *Greeks* themselves received several ceremonies and religious institutions from the *Etruscans*. 2. The *Romans* <sup>x</sup>, as has been remarked, were obliged to the same nation for most of their religious institutions. 3. *Romulus* <sup>y</sup> was instructed in some important points by the *Etruscans*. 4. The *Romans*, in the <sup>z</sup> earlier ages, sent their children, to be liberally educated, into *Etruria*. 5. Six of the most noble <sup>a</sup> *Roman* youths were sent to as many states in *Etruria*, in the more remote ages of *Rome*, to be instructed in religious matters. 6. *Diodorus Siculus* represents *Etruria* <sup>b</sup> as the source of learning and philosophy. 7. *Pythagoras* himself; that <sup>c</sup> prodigy of learning, was an *Etruscan*. 8. In every thing relating to the military art <sup>d</sup>, both by sea and land, the *Etruscans*, at first, excelled all other *European* nations. 9. This nation shone in almost all arts and sciences, according to <sup>e</sup> *Heracides Ponticus*. 10. The *Tuscan* mechanics and artificers were in high repute <sup>f</sup> amongst the *Greeks*. 11. When *Tarquin* resolved to build a <sup>g</sup> temple for *Jupiter Tarpeius*, he sent to *Etruria*, not *Greece*, for workmen. 12. *Atria*, or courts, were originally owing <sup>h</sup> to the *Tuscans*. 13. The *Doric* <sup>i</sup> *epistylum*, at first, likewise, proceeded from that people. 14. The <sup>k</sup> most grand and superb amphitheatres in the world were those of the *Tuscans*. 15. The *Etruscans* <sup>l</sup> had brought painting to great perfection before the birth of *Romulus*. 16. The celebrated statue <sup>m</sup> of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was made by a *Tuscan* statuary. 17. The colours on many *Etruscan* <sup>n</sup> vases, lately discovered, appear as fresh and recent as if done not many years ago. 18. *Tertullian* <sup>o</sup> deduces plays and theatrical representations

<sup>w</sup> PLAT. de legib. l. v.

<sup>x</sup> DION. HALICAR. LIV. FEST. &

SERV. pass.

<sup>y</sup> PLUT. in Romul.

<sup>z</sup> CIC. de divinat. l. i.

Vide SCIP. MAFF. orig. Etrusc. p. 13. Lipsia, 1731.

<sup>a</sup> CIC.

ubi supra. LIV. l. ix.

<sup>b</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. v.

<sup>c</sup> DIOC.

LAERT. & CLEM. ALEXAND. ubi supra. PLUT. in sympo. l. viii.

<sup>d</sup> NICIAS apud Athen. deipnos. l. vi. ut & ipse ATHEN. l. iv.

PLIN. l. vii. c. 56. HYGIN. fab. 134. Vide etiam SCIP. MAFF.

ubi supra, p. 14, 15.

<sup>e</sup> HERACLID. PONTIC. in fragment, ad

calc. Ælian. vulgat.

<sup>f</sup> PHERECRATES apud Athen. deipnos.

l. x.

<sup>g</sup> LIV. l. i.

<sup>h</sup> VAR. & FEST.

<sup>i</sup> LEO BAPT.

ALBERT. architect. l. vii. c. 6.

<sup>k</sup> MAFFEI degli antichit.

l. i. c. i.

<sup>l</sup> PLIN. l. xxxv. c. 2.

<sup>m</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

<sup>n</sup> SCIP. MAFF. orig. Etrusc. p. 17.

<sup>o</sup> TERTUL. de spectac.

c. 2. LIV. l. vii. sub init.



from *Etruria*. 19. Horse-races and gladiators passed to *Rome* from *Etruria*<sup>p</sup>, according to *Tacitus* and *Athenæus*. 20. The golden crown used in triumphs<sup>q</sup> had likewise the same origin. 21. The vast extent of the *Tuscan* dominions, the great achievements of the *Etruscans*, the glory they acquired by their numerous discoveries and inventions, their very remote antiquity, their stupendous wealth and power, their writers and learned men, and, lastly, the excellent form of government prevailing in *Etruria*, all which are attested by many reputable authors, rendered the antient *Tuscans* as celebrated a nation as almost any that made a figure in profane history during the mythic period of time<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> TACIT. ann. l. xiv. c. 21. ATHEN. deipnosoph. l. iv.

<sup>q</sup> TERTULLIAN. de coron. milit. c. 3.

<sup>r</sup> Vide autor. supra laudat.

### S E C T. III.

*The history of the Etruscans, to the conquest of their country by the Romans.*

*several  
aftern co-  
nies, little  
Etruria  
at many  
centuries  
fter the  
deluge.* IT has been already observed, that some *Asiatic* colonies settled in *Etruria* not many centuries after the deluge. These were probably followed by others at different periods of time. *Affyria*, *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Lydia*, and other countries, in all likelihood, contributed to people *Italy*, which was antiently subject to the *Etruscans*. Some of the posterity of *Javan*, likewise, undoubtedly seated themselves here, not long after the dispersion, which happened in the days of *Pele*. Nay, we may venture to pronounce it not improbable, that the leader of the sons of *Javan* was the *Janus* of the *Latins*, who seems<sup>a</sup> to have been the first king of *Etruria*, and the most antient of the *Italian*<sup>b</sup> deities. As *Javan*, in the original, is יָוָן, which may be read *Jon*, and *us* in *Janus* is a *Roman* termination, such a supposition may be easily admitted from the affinity of names. It has also other proofs to support it. For *Elisha*<sup>c</sup> and *Kittim*, *Javan's* sons, or at least

<sup>a</sup> ARNOB. cont. gent. l. iii. MACROB. Saturn. l. i. c. 7. SERV. ad Æn. l. x. TERTUL. apol. c. 10. Vide etiam DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. i. c. 16. p. 64, 65. & l. ii. c. 3. p. 112—117.

<sup>b</sup> C. LUCIL. sat. LACTANT. instit. divin. l. iv. c. 3. OVID. metamorph. l. xiv. DEMPST. ubi supra, l. i. c. 16. p. 66, 67.

<sup>c</sup> BOCH. Phal. l. iii. c. 4, 5. p. 155—161. STILLINGFL. orig. sacr. l. iii. c. 4.

some

some of their posterity, have left footsteps of their settlement here : and that the (A) *Isles of the Gentiles*, i. e. *Greece*, including the isles of the *Archipelago*, as is generally allowed, in the neighbourhood of *Italy*, received some of *Javan's* sons, we find asserted by the sacred historian<sup>d</sup>. Nay, *Javan* himself might come to *Italy*, immediately out of the East, and send a considerable part of his family to *Greece*, and the aforesaid islands. Be this as it will, *Janus* fixed monarchical government in *Etruria*<sup>e</sup>, and was in after-ages deified there for being a singular benefactor to his<sup>f</sup> subjects. He was supposed by<sup>g</sup> some of the antients to have erected a town or castle on one of the seven hills of *Rome*, from him called *Janiculum*, and there to have held his residence. These writers represent him as having first inspired the<sup>h</sup> *Etruscans* with proper sentiments of religion. He was also, according to them, the inventor of agriculture, and first taught the people of *Italy* the use of wine. But the last event proved fatal to him. For, after he had civilized his subjects, he was destroyed by a body of them intoxicated<sup>i</sup> with wine, who imagined themselves to be poisoned by him. *Numa Pompilius* paid a great regard both to his civil<sup>k</sup> and religious institutions, and from him denominated the first month of the year *Januarius*.<sup>l</sup> As he first introduced money into *Italy*, and came thither from *Asia* in a ship, some of the most antient pieces struck in *Etruria*, *Latium*, and *Rome*, alluded to both those events. The faces ex-

<sup>d</sup> GEN. x. 5.      <sup>e</sup> ARNOB. ubi supra. DEMPST. ubi supra, l. iii. c. 20. p. 298, 299.      <sup>f</sup> CAT. de re rust. c. 134, 141, &c. XENON rer. Ital. l. i. CIC. de nat. deor. l. ii. FEST. in voc. *Cbaos*. Vide etiam DEMPST. ubi supra, & alibi.      <sup>g</sup> PLIN. l. iii. c. 5. DRACO CORCYRÆUS apud Athen. deipnosoph. l. xvi. SERV. ad ÆN. l. viii.      <sup>h</sup> PLUT. problem. Roman.      <sup>i</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>k</sup> PLUT. ubi supra, p. 274.      <sup>l</sup> DRACO CORCYRÆUS apud Athen. ubi supra. OVID. fast. l. iii. v. 228. VAR. VER. FLAC. MACROB. &c.

(A) Bishop *Stillingfleet* has (1) proved, that the *isles of the Gentiles*, mentioned by *Moses*, Gen. x. 5. comprehended both *Greece* and *Italy*: and indeed this has been clearly evinced by M. *Bouchart* (2), who has demonstrated, that some, at least, of the descendants of *Kittim* migrated to *Italy*. We have also (3) rendered it extremely probable, that *Alfus*, the founder of *Alsum*, or *Alifum*, was the אלפיז *Alifa*, or *Elisba*, of *Moses*. It can scarce, therefore, be denied, that some of *Javan's* posterity fixed their habitations in the country of which we are speaking.

(1) *Stillingf. orig. sacr. l. iii. c. 4. p. 384. Cambr. 1702.* (2) *Bouchart. Pbal. l. iii. c. 5. p. 157---161.* (3) See the account we have given of the very antient town of *Alsum*, in the first section, p. 25.

hibited the double head of *Janus*, and the reverses a sort of ship. *Ovid*<sup>m</sup> intimates, that he was superior to all the *Greek* deities in point of antiquity.

The Jani-  
genæ.

As for *Venilia*, this prince's wife, and *Camefes* (B) his sister, of them we have not much to say. The antients have told us, that the former bore *Janus* a child; and that from the latter, who reigned jointly with her brother, the tract about *Janiculum* received the (C) name of *Camefene*. As little can we say, with any appearance of probability, of the *Janigenæ*, or descendents and successors of *Janus*. Some inform us, that *Janus* had (D) one son, and four daughters; that his son, whose name was *Tiberinus*, succeeded him; that *Vertumnus*, or *Vadimon*, mounted the *Tuscan* throne after *Tiberinus*, and had for his successor *Aunus*. But how far this short relation may be depended upon, we shall not take upon us to determine. Thus much is, however, certain, that the fabulous lists of the *Janigenæ*, or *Etruscan* princes of *Janus*'s line, founded upon the spurious fragments of *Annius*, deserve not the least attention<sup>n</sup>.

Janus and  
Oenotrus  
not the  
same per-  
son.

SOME take the *Oenotrus* of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* to be the same person with *Janus*, and consequently the *Oenotri*, so denominated from him, to be no others than the *Janigenæ*.

<sup>m</sup> OVID. fast. l. i. Vide etiam FRANC. MARIAN. de Etrur. metrop. p. 11. 152, 153, &c. <sup>n</sup> OVID. metamorph. l. xiv. v. 333. HYGINUS & PROTARCHUS TRALLIANUS apud Macrob. Saturn. l. i. c. 7. SERV. ad Æn. l. viii. DRACO CORCYRÆUS apud Athen. ubi supra. PIER. VALERIAN. hieroglyphic. p. 527. SIL. ITAL. l. v. Vide etiam DEMPST. ubi supra, l. ii. c. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

(B) The antients did not agree in their sentiments of *Camefes*. Some (4) took her to have been a foreigner, whom *Janus* invested with the royal dignity; others (5) affirmed, that she was both his sister and his wife; and lastly, others (6) believed this person to have been *Janus*'s brother. But, at such an immense distance of time, we cannot pretend even to guess, which of these were in the right.

(C) Bochart (7) makes *Came-*

*sene*, or *Camas*, *Kittim*, and *Latium*, words of the same signification in different languages; though, in (8) another place, he does not seem intirely consistent with himself in this matter.

(D) *Arnobius* (9) mentions *Fontus* the son of *Janus*, who had divine honours paid him after his death. The memory of this prince was long preserved at *Rome*, (1) as appears from the *Fontinalia* celebrated there the thirteenth day of *October*.

(4) Macrob. Hygin. & Protarchus Trallianus.

(5) Draco Corcyraeus apud Athen. l. xv. Serv. in Virg. Æn. l. viii.

(6) Cat. in origin.

(7) Boch.

Pbal. l. iii. c. 5. p. 157--161.

(8) Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 33. p. 588. l. 44.

(9) Arnob. cont. gent. l. iii.

(1) Var. de ling. Lat. l. iv.

These authors suppose *Janus* to have deduced his name from *wine*, the radix of which is *Jon*, or *Jan*; which they insinuate to be probable enough, as *Janus* was the first who discovered the art of making that liquor. If this be admitted, it will follow, that *Janus* and *Oenotrus* are words of the same import, the one denoting in *Hebrew* what the other does in *Greek*; which, they believe, will amount to a pretty strong presumption, that *Janus* and *Oenotrus* were the same person. But to this conjecture, however ingenious, we cannot readily subscribe. For, as *Janus* is supposed to have discovered other things of far greater importance to society than wine, we cannot see why some of them should not rather have supplied him with a name. Besides, the reasons already offered in support of another etymon intirely overturn the probability of such a notion; especially, as some of *Javan's*, *Jon's*, or *Jan's* descendants<sup>p</sup> undoubtedly settled in *Italy*, and its neighbouring country *Greece*. To which we may farther add, that what *Dionysius* has related of *Oenotrus*<sup>q</sup> will by no means quadrate with the above-mentioned supposition. However, we think it not improbable, that *Italy*, in the earliest ages, might have gone under the appellation of *Ionis*, *Jaonia*<sup>r</sup>, or *Janis*, any one of which words may be fairly derived from *Jon*, or *Jan*. This seems to appear from that part (E) of the *Mediterranean* in the neighbourhood of *Sicily* and *Magna Græcia*, which was called the *Ionian*<sup>s</sup> sea. Now, as *Jon* in the first *Pelasgic*, or *Etruscan*, tongue, probably signified wine, the

\* AD. LITTLE. in voc. *Oenotrus*. FRANC. MARIAN. ubi supra, p. 186. <sup>p</sup> SAM. BOCHART. & STILLINGFL. ubi supra. Gen. x. 5. <sup>q</sup> DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. i. <sup>r</sup> ARI-STOPH. scholast. HESYCH. STEPH. BYZANT. de urbib. Hom. il. γ. DIONYS. perieg. v. 416. Vide etiam STILLINGFL. orig. sacr. l. iii. c. 4. p. 384, 385. <sup>s</sup> DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. i. BOCHART. Phal. l. iii. c. 3. Vide etiam PHIL. CLUVER. Ital. antiq. l. ii. c. i. p. 430.

(E) That the part of this sea washing the *Italian* shores was called the *Ionian* sea, or the *Ionian* gulf, appears from (2) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, who says, that the river or mouth of the *Po*, called *Spines*, was in the *Ionian* gulf. Since therefore (3)

*Bochart* infers from the name of this sea, that the *Greeks* in general antiently went under the name of *Ionians*, we may with as much reason, from *Dionysius's* words, conclude, that the *Italians* likewise in the earlier ages had the same appellation.

(2) *Dion. Halicar. antiquit. Rom., l. i. Vide etiam Phil. Cluver. Ital. antiq. l. ii. c. i. p. 430.* (3) *Bochart. Phal. l. iii. c. 3.*

Greeks afterwards might convert it into *Oenotria*, a word of nearly the same import in their own language, not considering that (<sup>1</sup>) *Javan*, *Jaon*, *Jon*, or *Fan*, was originally the proper name of a man. Those who have perused the learned *Bochart*<sup>1</sup>, with proper attention, will see nothing forced or unnatural in what is here advanced.

The Etruscans descended from Mizraim.

THAT the *Etruscans*, or *Pelasgi*, were descended from the *Curetes*, we learn from <sup>u</sup> *Valerius Maximus*. Now the *Curetes*, *Cretans*, *Crethites*, or *Cerethites*, and *Philistines*, were <sup>w</sup> undoubtedly the same people. Of course, therefore, the *Cretans*, *Cerethites*, or *Crethites*, *Philistines*, *Pelasgi*, and *Etruscans*, or, at least, some part of these last, as being the progeny of *Mizraim*, must have had *Ham* for their common progenitor. In this they agreed with the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians*, part of whose country the *Philistines* possessed for so many ages. The people, therefore, under consideration, must have agreed in their religion, form of government, customs, manners, language, arts, learning, &c. with the *Phœnicians*, who were one of the most famous nations in the East. They must likewise have derived many religious and civil institutions, customs, arts, &c. from *Egypt*; so that it is no wonder the learned <sup>x</sup>, of late, should have discovered such an agreement, in many points, between the *Etruscans* and the *Egyptians*. The famous father *Calmet*<sup>y</sup> has most clearly shewn the isle of *Caphor*, from whence the *Philistines* came to the land of *Canaan*, to be *Crete*. Now, as the *Philistines* had been settled in the land of *Canaan*, a considerable time before <sup>z</sup> *Abraham's* arrival there, we may reasonably suppose the *Philistines*, *Crethites*, or *Pelasgi*, to have detached a colony from *Crete* to *Italy* in *Abraham's* days. This may be considered as an additional proof, that *Etruria* was not void of inhabitants four hundred years after the deluge. But not to found what has been here advanced solely upon the authority of *Valerius Maximus*, that the *Philistines*, and, at least, one part of the *Pelasgi*, had the same origin, appears from the names themselves. For *Philistines* and *Phelasges*, or *Pelasgi*, are words

<sup>1</sup> SAM. BOCHART. in *Phal.* & *Chan.* pass. Vide etiam STILLING, ubi supra, c. 5. <sup>u</sup> VALER. MAXIM. l. ii. c. 4. <sup>w</sup> 1 Sam.

xxx. 14. 16. ZEPHAN. c. 2. v. 5. Vide etiam SAM. BOCHART, l. i. c. 15. p. 420—425. <sup>x</sup> PHIL. BONAR. ad monum. Etrusc.

oper. Dempst. addit. explicat. & conject. sect. xlvii. p. 103—106. Florentiæ, 1726. ANTON. FRANC. GOR. mus. Etrusc. pass. Florentiæ, 1737. <sup>y</sup> Dissertation sur l'origine, & sur les divinités

des Philistins, & commentaire littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien & du Nouveau Testament, par R. P. D. AUG. CALM, &c. tom. ii. p. 321—325. A Paris, 1724. <sup>z</sup> Gen. xx. 2. <sup>3</sup>

that resemble one <sup>a</sup> another in sound, and they <sup>b</sup> all denote wanderers or strangers. Nor can any word be applied with greater propriety to that people, who had seated themselves in Greece, Italy, several parts of Asia, and Crete, before the <sup>c</sup> Trojan war. But we would not be understood as asserting here, that Italy, or Etruria, received all the first colonies from Crete; for we have intimated above, that these sallied from different parts. However, that some of them came from that island, we think has been rendered abundantly clear. From the authors here cited, it more fully appears, that a migration of the Phelafges, Pelasgi, Pelethites, or Philistines, from the isle of Caphtor, into Etruria, may fairly be supposed to have happened as early as the days of Abraham.

THAT the Philistines, like all the other eastern nations, Their first were, at first, under the domination of one prince, we learn from of from the sacred <sup>d</sup> historian. Their government was perfectly <sup>e</sup> monarchical when Abraham and Isaac sojourned amongst them, government. tho' afterwards it assumed a different form. When the first Pelasgic settlement in Etruria therefore happened, the constitution introduced into Italy by Janus still prevailed. But soon after the arrival of the Lydian colony under the conduct of Tyrsenus, this received a very considerable alteration, as <sup>f</sup> we learn from Strabo. Tyrsenus <sup>g</sup>, or Tarchon his cotemporary, divided Etruria into twelve dynasties, over which their respective princes presided, who, in extraordinary emergencies only, were subject to <sup>h</sup> one supreme head; and that head seems to have been chosen by the suffrages of those princes. We are, therefore, firmly persuaded, that Tyrsenus's expedition happened after Isaac's death, and consequently not in the year of the world 2011. as the learned bishop <sup>i</sup> Cumberland has fixed it.

THE same thing may be observed of the expulsion of the The Pelasgi out of Emonia by Deucalion. Dionysius Halicarnas- lasgi mi- sensis tells us, that after this expulsion, the greatest part of the grate from Pelasgi went to their old kindred about Dodona, who enjoyed Emonia into Italy. peace, because they were protected from the calamities of war by the temple there. But, afterwards, finding the country too small for them, they were admonished by the oracle to retire to Italy. They therefore equipped a fleet, with an intention to land at the next port of Italy; but were, by stress

<sup>a</sup> D. AUG. CALM. ubi supra.

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>c</sup> BOCH.

STILLINGFL. CALM. ubi supra.

<sup>d</sup> Gen. xx. xxvi.

<sup>e</sup> STRAB.

l. v. Vide etiam FRANC. MARIAN. ubi supra, p. 185.

<sup>f</sup> Idem

ibid.

<sup>g</sup> SERV. ad Æn. l. viii. & l. x.

<sup>h</sup> CUMBERL. con-

nect. of the Greek and Roman antiq. p. 336.

of weather forced up the *Adriatic*, till they came to one of the mouths of the *Po* called *Spines*. Some of them remained here, and built a city, which they denominated *Spina*. But others advanced farther, and penetrated into the inland parts of *Italy*. Those left at *Spina* fortified themselves, got great supplies of provisions by sea in a short time, became masters of the *Adriatic*, and long possessed the sovereignty of that <sup>1</sup> sea. Now this part of the primitive *Etruria*, stiled by *Dempster* \* *Etruria Transpadana*, was, long before the *Trojan* war, divided into twelve lucumonies <sup>1</sup>, as well as the *Proper Etruria*. Nor has the least intimation been given in antient history, that it was ever under absolute regal government. From whence it may, not unjustly, be inferred, that this colony of *Pelasgi*, who planted themselves at *Spina*, and met with considerable success in the *Interior Etruria*, were by no means acquainted with such government. Nay, from hence it seems farther to follow, that absolute monarchy was not then known in *Æmonia*, at least, not when that country was in their occupation. But we have no need to push this argument, since even bishop <sup>m</sup> *Cumberland* himself does not place the flood of *Deucalion* higher than the year of the world 2475. which is almost two centuries lower than the above-mentioned period.

*They join*  
*the Umbri*  
*against the*  
*Siculi.* HOWEVER, the *Pelasgi*, tho<sup>s</sup> expelled *Æmonia*, were not obliged totally to abandon *Greece* in the reign of *Deucalion*. They remained in several parts of this country, and the adjacent islands, long after the death of that prince. The *Pelasgi*, who left their brethren at *Spina*, first advanced to *Reate*, where they entered into an alliance with the *Aborigines* against the *Umbri*. This was followed by an irruption into *Umbria*. The first place taken by the allies was *Croton*, or *Coriona*, a fortress of great strength, which they carried by assault. But their success was, in a good measure, owing to surprise, *Croton* being extremely well fortified, the *Pelasgi* and *Aborigines* formed their principal magazine there, and made it a place of arms. They also reduced many other *Umbrian* towns. Some time after they undertook an expedition against the *Siculi*, seized upon several of their towns, and, at last, forced them to retire to *Sicily* <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Roman. l. i.      \* DEMPST. de Etrur. regal. l. iv. c. 8. p. 40.      <sup>1</sup> THO. DEMPST. SCIP. MAFF. ANTON. FRANC. GOR. &c. Vide etiam PHIL. CLUVER. ubi supra, p. 435—438.      <sup>m</sup> CUMBERL. chronological table for the ages succeeding the flood.      <sup>a</sup> DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. i.

MANY years must have elapsed between the first junction of *Most of* the *Æmonian Pelasgi* with the *Aborigines*, and the retreat of *them re-* the *Siculi*. For, according to ° *Hellanicus Lesbios*, that retreat *turn to* happened about three generations before the *Trojan* war. And *Greece.* ° *Philistus* of *Syracuse*, a writer of good authority, makes it about eighty years older than that war. The *Æmonian Pelasgi* had a large extent of ground granted them by the *Aborigines*, for the important services they had rendered them in the preceding wars. The *Aborigines* also adopted many of the *Pelasgic* customs, and religious ceremonies. As for the *Æmonian Pelasgi*, they did not long remain in a flourishing situation. For, if any credit may be given to *Myrsilus* ° *Lesbios*, about two generations before the *Trojan* war, the country they inhabited was so parched by an immoderate drought, that it produced scarce any thing for the sustenance either of man or beast. In consequence of which, the fountains, springs, and rivers, being in a manner dried up, a great mortality ensued; nor had animals of any kind strength to bring forth their young. In fine, not being able to bear up against the infection of the air, occasioned by the excessive heats, and divers other calamities, with which they were afflicted, they, for the most part, returned to *Greece*. Here they retained the name of *Tyrsemi*, or rather *Tyrseian Pelasgi*, which they had gained by being in the neighbourhood of that nation, if not intermixed with part of them, during their stay in *Italy* °.

HOWEVER, some of the *Æmonian Pelasgi* remained in *Some rep* *Etruria* till very near the commencement of the *Trojan* war. *main in* Nay, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* seems to intimate, that their posterity continued in possession ° of *Cortona*, the antient *Croton*, almost to his time. This branch of the *Pelasgi* spoke a dialect of the old *Pelasgic* tongue, something different from that used by the *Tyrsemi* in the days of *Herodotus*. Nor can any thing more than this be inferred from the passages of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* and *Herodotus* †, now before us. For, as the *Æmonian Pelasgi* and the *Tyrseians* were originally branches of the same nation, and had in the first ages the same language, we cannot suppose their tongues to have been vastly different even in the age of *Herodotus*. The *Pelasgi* of *Cortona* had all along, probably, kept themselves more unmixed with strangers than their neighbours. And this might have been the

° HELLANICUS LESBIUS apud Dion. Halicar. l. i. P PHILIST.  
SYRACUS. apud Dion. Halicar. ubi supra. ° MYRSILUS LES-  
BIUS apud Dion. Halicar. ibid. † DION. HALICAR. antiquit.  
Rom. l. i. ° Idem ibid. † HERODOT. in Clio. DION.  
HALICAR. ubi supra.



reason why their language, in the main, was preserved more pure and inviolate. We say, more unmixed with strangers than their neighbours; since the *Etruscans*, in general, had had an intercourse for some ages with the *Romans* and *Hellenical Greeks*, when *Herodotus* wrote<sup>u</sup> his history. Nor can it be doubted but that such an intercourse must have greatly contributed to a depravation and corruption, or, at least, an alteration, of their primitive language. The *Etruscan* inscriptions of the *Herodotean* age, of which several are still extant, put this point beyond dispute.

*The Etruscans were a maritim power before the Greeks.* THAT the *Etruscans* were a maritim power in the time of the *Argonauts*, we find intimated by *Possis* <sup>w</sup> *Magnesium*. For that writer mentions a bloody engagement between them and the *Argonauts*, when the god *Glaucus* appeared, in order to animate *Jason*. This engagement probably happened in the *Adriatic*, not far from *Tergeste*, the *Trieste* of the moderns; since that *Jason* passed by that place, may be inferred from <sup>x</sup> *Pliny* and *Strabo*. This notion seems likewise to be countenanced by *Valerius Flaccus* <sup>y</sup>.<sup>c</sup> From these authors it appears, that the *Etruscans* demanded respect on the watry element a generation before the *Trojan* war, nay much earlier, according to <sup>z</sup> *Aristides* cited above, and made a figure at sea before the *Greeks*.

*The Latin kings descended from the Etruscans.* Now we approach so near the commencement of the *Trojan* war, it may not be improper to insert what we find related of *Anius*, an antient king of the *Tuscans*, by <sup>a</sup> *Alexander Polyhistor* and *Aristides Milesius*. That prince, according to these authors, had a beautiful daughter, whose name was *Salia*; with whom one *Cathetus*, an *Etruscan* nobleman, fell desperately in love. The lady, in all probability, had no dislike to *Cathetus*, as she gave him an opportunity of carrying her off. *Anius* pursued the fugitives; but, not being able to come up with them, he threw himself into a river, which, from him, was afterwards called the *Anio*. *Cathetus* had by *Salia* two sons *Latinus* and *Salius*, the heads of two most noble families. This fragment of history is the more remarkable, as it clearly evinces king *Latinus* himself to have been of *Etruscan* extraction.

<sup>u</sup> DION. HALICAR. LIV. aliiq. script. antiq. pass. <sup>w</sup> POSSIS MAGNESIUS apud Athen. deipnos. l. vii. <sup>x</sup> PLIN. l. iii. c. 18. STRAB. l. i. <sup>y</sup> M. VAL. FLAC. Argonaut. l. iv. Vide etiam DEMOST. ubi supra, l. i. c. 9. p. 32, 33. <sup>z</sup> ARISTID. orat. in Bacch. <sup>a</sup> ALEX. POLYHIST. & ARIST. MILES. apud Plut. in parallel. p. 315. Lutet. Paris. 1624.

WE have already observed, that, according to <sup>b</sup> *Myrsilus* *The Etrus-*  
*Lesbius*, the greatest part of the *Æmonian Pelasgi* left their cans take  
 habitations in *Italy*, about two generations before the *Trojan* possession of  
 war, and retired to *Greece*. The *Tyrsenians*, with some of the cities  
 whom the *Æmonian Pelasgi* seem to have been intermixed, abandoned  
 reaped considerable advantage from their departure. For they by the *Æ-*  
 possessed themselves of the cities and towns the *Pelasgi* had monian  
 abandoned, and remained masters of them till they were obliged Pelasgi  
 to submit to the *Roman* yoke. They probably made a con-  
 siderable figure, during the interval between this period and the  
 conclusion of the *Trojan* war, tho' we find little said of them  
 in antient history. Nor ought this to be greatly regretted by  
 the learned. For *Dismyfius Halicarnassensis* seems to intimate,  
 that all accounts of the *Pelasgic* and *Tuscan* affairs in these early  
 ages must be considered, as pretty strongly tinctured with  
 fable <sup>c</sup>.

MEZENTIUS king of *Etruria*, being alarmed at *Æneas's* Mezen-  
 arrival in *Italy*, entered into a league with the *Rutuli* against tius joins  
 that prince <sup>d</sup>. He beheld, with a jealous eye, the numerous the Rutuli  
 settlements made in *Italy* by colonies from the eastern nations, against the  
 and the incroachments they were going to make upon the lands Trojans  
 of the most antient inhabitants. In pursuance therefore of and La-  
 his engagements, he took the field with a powerful army. rins.  
 But finding no enemy to oppose him, he marched towards *La-*  
*vinium*, then the residence of *Æneas* and his queen, with an  
 intention either to besiege it, or draw the king of *Latium* to  
 a general action. *Æneas*, at the head of the *Latin* and *Tro-*  
*jan* forces, marching out of the town, gave *Mezentius* battle in  
 the neighbourhood of *Lavinium*. Both sides behaved with  
 great bravery, and night alone put a stop to their obstinate fury.  
 However, *Mezentius* seems to have had the advantage, if he  
 did not give the enemy a defeat. For *Æneas* being pushed to  
 the banks of the *Numicius*, was drowned in that river; upon  
 which the army he commanded thought proper to retire to  
*Lavinium* <sup>e</sup>. *Livy* says <sup>f</sup>, that at this time *Etruria* was a very  
 powerful state; and that the whole continent of *Italy*, from  
 the *Alps* to the streights of *Sicily*, was filled with the fame of  
 its great exploits. *Mezentius* presided immediately over the  
 lucumony of *Cære*, tho' it plainly <sup>g</sup> appears, that he was the  
 supreme head of the *Tyrsenian* body. *Cornificius* in *Festus* <sup>h</sup>

<sup>b</sup> MYRSILUS LESBIUS apud Dion. Halicar. ubi sup. <sup>c</sup> DION.

HALICAR. ubi supra.

<sup>d</sup> DION. HALICAR. ubi sup. LIV. l. i.

sub init. JUST. l. xliii.

<sup>e</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>f</sup> LIV. ubi supra.

<sup>g</sup> DION. HALICAR. LIV. & JUST. ubi supra.

<sup>h</sup> CORNICIUS

apud Fest. in voce *Oscillum*.

affirms king *Latinus* himself to have been slain in the battle of the *Numicius*; which, if admitted, will give us reason to believe, that the *Latins* were worsted in that battle. Several of the *Roman* writers represent <sup>1</sup> *Mezentius* as a cruel and inhuman tyrant, as a prince of the greatest impiety. This may be true; but that it really is so, because attested by those writers, we can by no means bring ourselves to believe.

*Ascanius makes overtures to Mezentius for an accommodation.*

MEZENTIUS, after the late action, drew near with his army to *Lavinium*, and fortified himself at a small distance from it. This seems to have terrified the young king of *Latium*, who, according to *Livy*, was not fourteen years of age. For, upon so near an approach, he made overtures to *Mezentius* for an accommodation. *Mezentius*, elevated by his late success, prescribed to the *Latins* the severest conditions; which, perhaps, was not good policy. Amongst other things, he demanded of them all the wine produced every year in the territory of *Latium*. This so incensed the *Latins*, that neither they, nor their posterity, ever forgave him. In consequence of which they gave out, that he was guilty of sacrilege, and a contemner of the gods; since, after this demand, they offered their wine to *Jupiter*. Notwithstanding, therefore, a body of *Etruscans*, under the command of *Lausus*, *Mezentius's* son, were intrenched close to the very gates of *Lavinium*, *Eurileon*, *Aeneas's* successor, broke off the negotiation, and made all the necessary dispositions for vigorously carrying on the war<sup>k</sup>.

*Ascanius continues the war, and at last concludes a peace with Mezentius.*

EURILEON, surnamed *Ascanius*, having rejected the conditions prescribed by *Mezentius*, assembled a considerable army, in order to attack the *Etruscans*. His first view was to dislodge *Lausus* from the post he had occupied, the vicinity of this prince to *Lavinium* threatening the *Latins* with immediate destruction. *Lausus* having more courage than precaution, had not taken care to secure himself against a surprise<sup>l</sup>. The *Latins*, therefore, falling upon him in the night, after an obstinate dispute, forced his intrenchments; and this put the whole *Etruscan* army into disorder; which *Ascanius* taking advantage of, pushed *Mezentius* to a considerable distance from *Lavinium*, and remained master of the field of battle. As *Lausus* was killed in the action, and probably by his own men, the confusion into which they were thrown, and the obscurity of the night, rendering them incapable of distinguishing between friends and foes, the loss sustained on this occasion was very considerable to the *Etruscans*. The *Latins* likewise, the next

<sup>1</sup> SERV. ad *Æn.* l. x. CAT. apud Macrob. Saturn. l. iii. c. 5. VIRG. pass.

<sup>k</sup> DION. HAL. LIV. VIRG. CAT. SERV. MACROB. ubi supra.

<sup>l</sup> DION. HAL. ubi supra, p. 52. LIV. ubi sup. c. 3.

morning, presented themselves before a little hill, whither *Mezentius*, with a body of troops he had rallied, thought proper to retire; and closely invested him there. This reduced the *Etruscan* monarch, who was greatly dejected by the untimely death of *Laufus*, to some streights. He therefore, as should seem, at the solicitation of *Ascanius*, however inflexible he might have been before, concluded a peace with that prince: we say, at the solicitation of *Ascanius*; for, as the principal article of this treaty was, that the *Tiber* should be the common boundary of *Etruria* and *Latium*, the peace must be considered, in the main, as honourable to the <sup>m</sup> *Etruscans*. *Livy* informs us, that the antient name of the *Tiber* was <sup>n</sup> *Albula*, and that it was so called at the conclusion of this treaty. But we cannot help thinking, with *Servius* °, that *Tiber* was the primitive name.

THE *Etruscans* observed so religiously the afore said treaty, *The Etruscans observe religiously this treaty.* that from the conclusion of it they never interfered with the *Latin* affairs. From hence, therefore, we may judge, notwithstanding the silence of the *Roman* writers, that they were good friends and allies to that people. For, had they been inclined to attempt disturbing their repose, what power could have prevented them, or frustrated such an attempt? From the account <sup>p</sup> *Livy* himself, partial as he is, has given us of the *Etruscans*, in the reign of *Mezentius*, no neighbouring nation, nor even combination of such nations, was at that time capable of coping with them. This we say, upon supposition that all the *Etruscan* lucumonies had acted under the direction of one common head. For, upon the contrary supposition, they must have been as incapable of invading their neighbours, or even defending their own territories, as the LAUDABLE *Germanic* body have of late years shewn themselves to be.

FROM the death of *Aeneas* to the birth of *Romulus*, history *A chasm in the Etruscan history.* is profoundly silent as to the *Tuscan* affairs. But as it cannot in the least be doubted, that the *Etruscans* had good historians, and even pontifical annals, since the *Romans* <sup>q</sup> received the custom of keeping such annals from that people, such a chasm is not to be imputed to them, but to the *Romans*. That haughty nation destroyed all monuments, as far as in them lay, that evidenced the brave and upright behaviour of the nations they enslaved, as well as their own opposite conduct. Of this barbarous disposition we shall have occasion to speak

<sup>m</sup> *Iidem* *ibid.*    <sup>n</sup> *LIV.* *ubi supra.*    ° *SERV.* *ad* *Æn.* *l.* *viii.*  
*Vide etiam* *DEMPST.* *ubi supra*, *l.* *ii.* *c.* *17.* *p.* *149.*    <sup>p</sup> *LIV.*  
*ubi supra*, *c.* *3.*    <sup>q</sup> *JUST. FONTAN.* *de antiquit. Hort.* *l.* *i.* *c.*  
*7.* *p.* *133--137.* *Rome*, *1723.*

hereafter in the history of the *Carthaginians*; and to that history we beg leave to refer our readers. Nor can any thing be a greater indication of a mean and ungenerous spirit. Notwithstanding this, two late *French* authors affirm, “ That it is “ hard to determine whether the bravery, policy, or civil “ virtues of the *Romans* contributed most to the enlarging of “ their empire.” But this observation, however it might be intended, considering the quarter from whence it came, is so far from being a panegyric, that it is in reality a satire upon the *Romans*.

*The Etruscans were a powerful and polite nation in the time of Romulus.* THAT the *Etruscans* were a powerful and polite nation when *Romulus* founded, or rather restored *Rome*, appears from some good authors. That prince could not carry the design he had formed into execution, without the assistance of the *Etruscans*. This, certainly, does great honour to that nation. From them he derived all his civil and religious institutions; which could not but induce him to give all the *Etruscans*, disposed to settle in his new city, a kind and favourable reception. Cæle<sup>u</sup> *Vibenna*, a *Tuscan* general, being apprised of this disposition, led a body of *Tuscan* troops under his command to *Rome*. *Romulus*, upon his arrival, either out of policy, or for want of room, placed him upon a hill near the city, which had then no name; but ever since has been called *The Hill Cælius*, from the *Tuscans* taking possession of it, to build and settle there. *Tacitus* says, that this hill, when uninhabited, was covered with<sup>w</sup> oaks, and from thence called *Mons Quercetulanus*. But, from several circumstances that have been suggested in a former section, this seems absolutely improbable.

*An Etruscan lucumo assists Romulus against the Sabines.* WHEN the *Sabines* made preparations to attack the *Romans* for the rape of their daughters, an *Etruscan* lucumo<sup>o</sup> marched with a body of troops to assist the latter. The *Romans* and *Etruscans*, at the approach of the *Sabines*, divided their forces into two bodies. *Romulus*, with the former, took possession of the hill *Esquilinus*; and the lucumo, with his troops, posted himself on the hill since called *Quirinalis*. They came at last to a general action with the *Sabines*. *Romulus* commanded the right wing, and the lucumo the left. Both the generals

<sup>u</sup> The fathers CATROU and ROVILLE in the beginning of their *Roman* history.

<sup>o</sup> ALCIM. vetustiss. histor. & CUMAN. histor. aut. apud Fest. PLUT. in Romul.

<sup>t</sup> DEMPST. SCIP. MAFF. FRANC. MARIAN. ANTON. FRANC. GOR. aliiq. script. pass.

<sup>w</sup> TACIT. ann. l. iv. Inscript. vet. Lugdun. apud Gruter. p. 502. DION. HALICAR. l. ii. VAR. de ling. Lat. l. iv. FEST. in voce Cælius. Vide DEMPST. ubi supra, l. ii. c. 46. p. 195, 196.

<sup>w</sup> TACIT. ubi supra.

behaved with great bravery, and repulsed the *Sabines*. But *Romulus*, being wounded, fell down senseless; and whilst his men were carrying him to the city, the *Sabines* recovered their courage, took the advantage of his absence, and fell with fury upon the right wing of the *Romans*, which had lost its commander. The *Lucumo*, in the mean time, did more than make a brave resistance: he penetrated into the *Sabine* legions; till, at length, being pierced with a javelin, he died upon the spot. In fine, he kept the enemy in play till *Romulus* recovered himself, and rallied his troops; some time after which, the *Sabines* were driven back to the capitol. So that the preservation of *Rome*, in its infancy, as well as the foundation of it, may, in a great measure, be ascribed to the *Etruscans* \*.

It deserves to be remarked, that *Livy* takes not the least notice of the succours the *Etruscans* afforded *Romulus* in the *Sabine* war. That historian was afraid it would reflect too much honour upon the *Etruscans* to mention them on this occasion. A signal proof this of his great partiality, which we shall hereafter have occasion to touch upon, as well as of the *Roman* disposition above-mentioned! but it carries with it, besides, an instance of ingratitude, which does not much redound to the honour of the *Romans*.

THE hill *Cælius*, occupied by *Cæle Vibenna* \*, was but thinly inhabited; which renders it probable, that the greatest part of the *Tuscan* troops under the command of the aforesaid *Lucumo* perished in the late action. For, had many of them survived it, they would undoubtedly have settled upon this hill. Be that, however, as it will, the *Romans* some years after, by the reduction of *Fidenæ*, drew new enemies upon themselves. Tho' that town stood on this side the *Tiber*, it was looked upon as appertaining to the *Etruscans*, or, at least, a city in alliance with them. The whole *Tyrsenian* body, therefore, were extremely uneasy at its being taken by the *Romans*. But the city of *Veii*, thinking itself more affected by this event than any of the other *Etruscan* states, immediately declared against the conquerors. The *Veientes* sent an embassy to *Rome*, to demand the restoring of the *Fidenates* to their liberty, the withdrawing the foreign garison, and the re-instituting of that people in the lands which had been taken from them †.

THIS conquest was too convenient for the *Romans* to dispossess themselves of it; and therefore they refused to comply

\* DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. ii. PLUT. in Rom. LUC. PISO apud DION. HALICAR. ubi supra. AUR. VICT. † DION. HALICAR. ubi supra. † Idem ibid. LIV. ubi supra, c. 14, 15. PLUT. in Romul.

with the demands of the *Veientes*. Upon this refusal, the *Veientes* had immediately recourse to arms. They blocked up *Fidenæ*, and encamped within sight of its walls. *Romulus* being apprised of this, advanced with part of his army to support the new colony. He first entered the city with succours, and then marched out to attack the *Veientes*. The first day neither side could boast of any great advantage; but the second the *Veientes* were put to the rout. The slaughter was not great during the action; but the *Veientes* lost a very considerable number of men in the pursuit. Many of them were forced headlong into the *Tiber*, and there found that death from the waters, which they had escaped from the sword<sup>2</sup>.

Over-  
throw  
them in a  
second bat-  
tle.

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS informs us<sup>3</sup>, that *Veii* at this time was as large and populous as *Athens*. It is no wonder, therefore, that the late defeat did not lessen the courage of its citizens. They raised another army, solicited succours of their allies, and returned to *Fidenæ* to make a second attempt upon it. They likewise plundered the lands of the *Romans* contiguous to their territories, and carried their booty to *Veii*. These motions<sup>b</sup> brought on, at last, a second engagement, which ended in the total overthrow of the *Veientes*. Few of the particulars of this battle have reached us: only *Livy*<sup>c</sup> assures us, that *Romulus* got the victory without any stratagem, by the strength and bravery of his troops; and<sup>d</sup> *Plutarch*, that of fourteen thousand men who remained dead upon the spot, *Romulus* killed half with his own hands. That general pursued the fugitives to the walls of *Veii*; but as the city was strongly fortified by nature and art, he did not offer to invest it. In his return he ravaged the lands of the enemy, more through a desire of revenge than greediness of plunder. Great treasures were found in the *Veientine* camp, and a considerable number of prisoners taken. The old king of *Veii* fell into the hands of the *Romans*, and was conducted, with the other prisoners, in boats down the *Tiber* to *Rome*. It is intimated by some authors, that the *Veientine* captives were sold for slaves; and that, during the sale, the king was dressed in a child's coat, and people cried all around him, *Sardians to sell*. By which cries and ceremony *Plutarch* says the *Romans* alluded to the weak conduct of the old king of *Veii*, and to the *Lydian* extraction of the *Etruscans*. Be that as it will, as often as the *Roman* people offered sacrifices to the gods, in

<sup>2</sup> DION. HALICAR. & LIV. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in Romul.

<sup>3</sup> DION. HALICAR. l. ii.

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>c</sup> LIV. ubi sup.

c. 15. <sup>d</sup> PLUT. in Romul.

thanksgiving for any victory, this custom ever after prevailed \*.

VEII was built upon a steep rock, which it was extremely difficult to ascend. Tho' *Romulus* therefore presented himself before the town, he was not able to attack it. However, in order to intimidate the *Veientes*, he threatened to return in a short time, and reduce their city to ashes. This, with the two severe blows they had already received, had the desired effect. The *Veientes* sent deputies to *Rome* to sue for peace; and peace the conqueror granted them upon his own terms. In consequence of the treaty, the citizens of *Veii* surrendered up to *Romulus* a little district upon the banks of the *Tiber*, in which were seven small towns. They also resigned to him their right in some salt-pits, which were near the mouth of the river. He obliged them likewise to give hostages for their fidelity; and fifty of their chief citizens were sent to *Rome*, as securities for the treaty. And in return for the cession they had made to him of part of their territories, he granted them a truce of an hundred <sup>1</sup> years. Thus ended the first war the *Romans* had with any of the *Etruscan* states. A war that was more than sufficient to give the *Lucumonies* a taste of what they had one day to expect from a neighbour, that already discovered marks of a boundless ambition.

In the reign of *Tullus Hostilius*, the third king of *Rome*, the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* formed a design to render themselves entirely independent on the *Romans*. The disputes between the *Romans* and the *Albans* at this juncture, which were upon the point of breaking out into an open rupture, gave rise to and favoured that design. The two *Tuscan* cities took care, under-hand, to form alliances with the neighbouring nations, and assembled a good body of troops to be ready, on occasion. The plot was fully formed, and their intention was to watch the time of the engagement between the *Romans* and *Albans*, whose armies were drawn up in battalia with a view to a decisive action, and force both the conquerors and conquered to a fresh battle with them. Had a general action between the *Romans* and *Albans* ensued, the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* would, in all probability, have carried their point, and have cut off, or taken prisoners, the remainder of both armies. And this must have been attended with a perfect recovery of their independency. But an unforeseen event prevented this salutary

\* Idem ibid. Cic. fam. epist. l. vii. ep. 25. PLUT. in problem. Rom. <sup>1</sup> DION. HALICAR. LIV. & PLUT. ubi supra.



design from taking effect, of which our readers will find a full and ample account in the *Roman* history <sup>a</sup>.

*The Fidenates refuse to submit to Tullus.*

HOWEVER, as the *Romans* had got intelligence of their design, the two *Tuscan* cities thought proper to keep together their forces. Nor was this measure imprudent. For *Tullus*, after having suspended the effects of his resentment about a year, summoned the *Fidenates* to appear before the senate, to give an account of their artful conduct at the time the *Romans* and *Albans* were ready to engage. But they refused such a submission, as incompatible with the liberty which they imagined themselves to enjoy <sup>b</sup>.

*Tullus defeats the Etruscans.*

FUFFETIUS, the *Alban* general, had motives to enter into a secret league with *Fidenæ* and *Veii* against the *Romans*. He promised those cities, that he would desert the *Romans*, when they stood in the greatest need of his assistance. He represented them as an imperious colony, which made it her glory to reduce her neighbours to slavery; and protested that he was ready to contribute as much as in him lay towards their extirpation. Upon the hopes therefore, that he gave them, the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* took up arms against *Rome*. They raised fresh troops by public edicts, and, depending on the defection of the *Albans*, took the field. At last, after several movements, the two combined armies faced each other in the plains of the *Anio*, not far from the confluence of that river and the *Tiber*. The *Fidenates*, who were posted in the left wing, extended themselves to the hills: the *Veientes*, who formed the right wing, had the river in flank. In the disposition of the *Roman* forces *Tullus* opposed himself to the *Veientes*, and ordered *Fuffetius* to encounter the *Fidenates*. Before the beginning of the action, *Fuffetius* left the place he was posted in open to the *Fidenates*, who immediately took possession of it. This step might have proved the total ruin of the *Roman* army, had not *Tullus*, with great presence of mind, immediately given out, that this motion was made by his order. Such a declaration did not only prevent the *Roman* soldiery from desponding, but encouraged them to exert themselves in an extraordinary manner. It likewise struck terror into the *Etruscans*, who began to suspect the sincerity of *Fuffetius*. In fine, this lucky stratagem threw the victory into *Tullus's* hands, and of course riveted the *Roman* chains upon the *Fidenates* more strongly than ever <sup>c</sup>.

*The Fidenates served to submit to the Romans.*

BUT the *Fidenates*, notwithstanding this misfortune, were resolved not to submit to the *Roman* tyranny, till their affairs

<sup>a</sup> DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Roman. l. iii.

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. LIV. ubi supra, c. 27.

were absolutely desperate. They found means to replenish their city with provisions, and to hire troops for their defence. Having made these dispositions, they waited for the *Romans* under their walls, in order to give them a warm reception. But, being overpowered by numbers, and deserted by their allies, they retired within the gates of *Fidenæ*, which they immediately shut, with a resolution to hold out a siege. *Tullus*, for the present, contented himself with blockading it, and drawing a line round it, in order to cut off all succours and provisions. But, at last, he reduced this unfortunate people to so great extremities, that they were obliged to surrender at discretion. They were therefore fixed in their dependency on *Rome*; but *Tullus*, after he had taken off some of the principal heads of the revolt, suffered them to live under the same form of government as before<sup>k</sup>.

*ANCUS MARCIUS*, successor to *Tullus Hostilius*, seized upon the hill *Janiculus*, which belonged to the *Etruscans*. This *Marcus* was done in contempt of the faith of treaties. His pretext for violating these treaties was, that the *Etruscans* made frequent incursions upon the banks of the *Tiber*, that the *Roman* merchants had been by them often plundered there, and that they had rendered the navigation up and down the river very unsafe. *Dionysius* adds, that *Ancus* thought this slight encroachment upon the *Etruscans* necessary for the public good, and the common safety. By the same way of reasoning, the *Romans* doubtless, in after-ages, vindicated all those barbarous and unjustifiable measures they made use of to enslave their neighbours on every side<sup>l</sup>.

THIS iniquitous procedure, and the more iniquitous principle avowed, in order to support it, in all probability, gave great disgust to the neighbouring nations. Be that as it will, we find that the *Fidenates* revolted a second time, a few years after this affair happened. But *Ancus* laid siege to their city, penetrated into it, and took it by sap. This is the first instance of such an attack, which we meet with in the old *Roman* story. *Ancus* actually dug a way under-ground, from his camp quite under the walls of *Fidenæ*; which way was probably divided into several branches. Through these subterranean passages some *Roman* soldiers passed quite under the ramparts of the city: and, when the works of the miners were sufficiently advanced, *Ancus* led up the bulk of his army to the foot of the wall, as if he intended to scale it, in places which were at a distance from those which he had undermined.

<sup>k</sup> *DION. HALICAR. ubi supra.*  
C. 33.

<sup>l</sup> *Idem ibid. Liv. ubi sup.*

And it is probable, that they attempted to scale the walls in several places at the same time, in order to keep all the forces of the *Fidenates* in play. When therefore the besiegers and the besieged were most hotly engaged, the *Roman* miners started up out of the subterranean passages they had dug, which opened into the city. And they no sooner entered it, but they immediately ran to the gates, which they opened to their companions, and put *Ancus* in possession of the city. This account we have from *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, and we have given it our readers here at large, because it is extremely curious. *Ancus* treated the citizens with tolerable lenity, but left a strong garison in the place to keep them in awe <sup>m</sup>.

The Veientes defeated by Ancus Marcius.

ABOUT five years after, the *Veientes* made an incursion upon the *Roman* territories, and put many people to the sword. *Ancus*, therefore, having received strong reinforcements from his allies, and assembled all his troops, took the field with a powerful army, and entered the territories of *Veii*. The first action happened between the *Tuscan* and *Roman* cavalry, wherein the latter had the advantage. Flushed with this success, the king of *Rome* attacked the *Veientine* camp, and, after a sharp dispute, carried it. The year following the army of *Veii* advanced as far as the salt-pits, that had been ceded to *Romulus*; but were defeated there by *Ancus*, who made a great carnage of the *Veientine* soldiery. This produced a peace, which was concluded upon the basis of former treaties. *Tarquinius*, an *Etruscan* by birth, now in the service of *Ancus*, and his successor, distinguished himself, at the head of the *Roman* cavalry, in this war <sup>n</sup>.

WE might here give our readers an account of the parentage, birth, and education of this *Tarquinius*, as likewise of the adventures that befel him and his wife *Tanaquil*, before he mounted the *Roman* throne. But as this will come in more naturally in the *Roman* history, notwithstanding he was born in *Etruria*<sup>o</sup>, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the *Roman* history for such an account.

The Etruscans, Latins, and Sabines, are overthrown by Tarquin.

THE *Latins* seeing the aspiring genius of the *Romans* bent upon extending their dominions, and apprehending that they should soon fall under the yoke of that imperious people, applied to the *Etruscans* for succours, to enable them to assert their liberty and independency. This happened in the year of *Rome* 146. They likewise solicited the *Sabines* for assistance at the same time. The intire body of the *Sabines* united themselves with the *Latins*; but of the *Etruscans* only five can-

<sup>m</sup> DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. iii.

<sup>n</sup> Idem *ibid.*

<sup>o</sup> DION. HALICAR. ubi supra. LIV. ubi supra, c. 34.

tons joined them. These were *Clusium*, *Rusellæ*, *Volaterræ*, *Aretium*, and *Vetulonia*. Upon the arrival of the *Etruscan* reinforcement in the *Latin* camp, a general action ensued. The right wing of the *Roman* army, commanded by *Tarquin* himself, had some advantage over the *Etruscans*; but the left wing was roughly handled by the *Latins*. However, by his own good conduct, and the bravery of his troops, *Tarquin*, at last, gained a complete victory, and made himself master of the enemy's camp. This proved a decisive stroke; so that the *Latins* had no refuge left, but to submit to the clemency of the victors. Upon which the *Etruscans* thought proper to retire with their shattered forces into their own country <sup>p</sup>.

WE have already observed, that the *Etruscans* antiently *The Gauls* possessed all the tract between the *Alps* and the *Apennines*. From *drive the* part of this the *Gauls* dislodged them, towards the beginning *Etruscans* of the forty-fifth Olympiad, in the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*. *out of a* They gave them a defeat upon the banks of the *Ticinus*, and *large ex-* afterwards seized a large extent of territory without oppo- *tent of ter-* sition. Upon this, the *Etruscans* found themselves obliged *ritory*. to retire farther into the interior part of *Italy*. Soon after, another body of *Gauls* defeated the *Umbri* and *Etruscans*, drove them over the *Po*, and extended their conquests \*.

It has been already remarked, that *Etruria* was divided into *The Etrus-* twelve states, each of which was governed by a *lucumo*, or *cans take* prince, who assumed to himself a sort of sovereign authority. *Fidenæ*. These princes, therefore, sometimes singly made war upon their neighbours, as is evident from what passed between *Rome* and *Veii*. But, in all pressing and extraordinary emergencies, when the interest of the whole nation was concerned, they acted in conjunction under one common head. As the *Etruscans*, therefore, took it for granted, after the late defeat, that, unless they could humble the *Romans*, they should soon fall a prey to their overgrown power and insatiable ambition, they convened a national diet, to deliberate upon the measures to be pursued at so critical a conjuncture. The result of these deliberations was, that *Rome* should be attacked with the whole power of *Etruria*. To which it was added, that if any city presumed to stand neuter, it should never, for the future, be intitled to the protection of the *Etruscan* body. Having settled the plan of military operations, they passed the *Tibr*, and advanced to the gates of *Fidenæ*, with a powerful army. That fortress soon surrendered to them; and from thence they made incursions almost to the very gates of *Rome*. In the

<sup>p</sup> DION. HALICAR. ubi supra. LIV. ubi supra, c. 35.  
I. v. c. 34, 35.

\* LIV.

mean time, *Tarquin* not being able to make head against them the first campaign, they fortified themselves at *Fidenæ*, and ravaged all the adjacent country in a dreadful manner<sup>1</sup>.

*The Etruscans ill man power and ambition only, that prompted the Etruscans to used by the this war. They complained of a want of justice and equity Romans. in the king of Rome. They had sent ambassadors to him, to demand back their prisoners, who had not been admitted to an audience. On the contrary, the Romans, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, thought it proper, in point of policy, to detain them, as so many hostages for the fidelity of the Etruscans. Such a procedure could not fail of extremely irritating a free people, as the Etruscans, at that time, took themselves to be<sup>2</sup>.*

*The Etruscans defeated Egerius.* THE following spring *Tarquin* appeared at the head of all his legions, and the succours sent him by his allies. This formidable army he divided into two bodies; the command of the *Romans* he took upon himself, and gave that of his allies to his cousin *Egerius*, called also *Collatinus*. *Egerius* invested *Fidenæ*, and at the same time sent out several considerable detachments to plunder the country; which greatly weakened his army. The *Etruscans* having received reinforcements, made a sally out of the town with all imaginable success. They surprised *Egerius's* camp, put a considerable number of his men to the sword, and then easily defeated his detachments, that were dispersed about the country in small parties<sup>3</sup>.

*The Etruscans are worsted by Tarquin.* IN the mean time, *Tarquin* himself advanced into the lucumony of *Veii*, where he committed dreadful depredations. This occasioned a general engagement between the *Romans* and the *Etruscans*, in which the *Romans* are said to have had all the advantage. But we cannot find, that *Tarquin* reaped any other fruit from this advantage, than that it enabled him to carry off the booty he had acquired to *Rome*. However, he worked the *Etruscans* a second time under the walls of *Cære*, but could not form the siege of that place. He therefore contented himself with ravaging the country about it, and then retired into his own dominions<sup>4</sup>.

*Tarquin reduces Fidenæ.* THE reduction of *Fidenæ* appeared to be a matter of so much consequence to *Tarquin*, that he was resolved to attempt it with all his forces. But as the *Etruscans* were no less concerned in interest, to maintain themselves in the possession of a post, which was a sort of blockade to *Rome*, and a great inducement to the *Sabines* to join them on all occasions, they

<sup>1</sup> DION. HALICAR. ubi supra.

<sup>2</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Idem ibid.

took care to assemble a numerous army in its neighbourhood. The *Romans*, therefore, found it necessary to attack this army, in order to approach the place. This they did, and intirely defeated it ; which opened them a way to *Fidenæ*. The ardour with which the *Romans* pushed on their attacks, after they had laid siege to the town, soon rendered them masters of it. The *Etruscan* garison were made prisoners of war ; all such as had been suspected of betraying the city to the enemy were whipped with rods, and beheaded ; the lands of the *Fidenates* were distributed by lot amongst the *Roman* soldiers left in garison at *Fidenæ* ; and the remainder of the citizens sent into perpetual banishment. This extreme severity seems to have so incensed the *Etruscans*, that they were determined to make an extraordinary effort against *Rome*, in order to free themselves from all future apprehensions \*.

A FORMIDABLE army was for this purpose to have been raised out of all the lucumonies. The route of this army to *Rome* was settled through the country of the *Sabines*, that nation having granted the *Etruscans* a free passage through their territories. But *Tarquin* surpris'd the enemy at *Eretum*, a small city of the *Sabines*, about ten miles from *Rome*, before they had assembled all their forces, and gave them a total defeat. This blow, which was the greatest the *Etruscans* had ever received from the *Romans*, broke their spirits, and disconcerted their whole plan. In a general assembly, therefore, of the *Tuscan* body, they came to a determination to apply to the conquerors for peace ; which, upon such application, was granted them on reasonable terms \*.

AFTER this war, which lasted nine years, the *Etruscans* enjoyed some repose ; which was very seasonable, considering the great losses they had sustained. But in the year of *Rome* 168. they sent a body of troops to the assistance of the *Sabines*, with whom they were in alliance, against the *Romans*. Both the *Sabine* and *Etruscan* armies were overthrown by *Tarquin* on the banks of the *Anio*, of which glorious action our readers will find in the *Roman* history a particular and distinct relation \*.

Two years after, in the same war, *Tarquin* received a reinforcement of *Etruscans*, the command of which he gave to his nephew *Arunx*, or *Aruns*. In a general action with the *Sabines*, these *Etruscans* were posted in the left wing, and behaved with very great bravery. In fine, *Tarquin*, by their assistance, gave the *Sabines* a most memorable defeat ; which

*Tarquin*  
*surprises*  
*and over-*  
*throws the*  
*Etruscans.*

*over-*  
*throws*  
*again the*  
*Etruscans*  
*and Sa-*  
*binas.*

*The Etrus-*  
*cans enable*  
*Tarquin*  
*to beat the*  
*Sabines.*

\* DION. HALICARN. l. iii.

\* Idem ibid.

\* Idem ibid.

enabled him to prescribe conditions of peace to that warlike people <sup>γ</sup>.

*The Veientes* oblige acknowledged the sovereignty of *Rome*, and even treated some Roman deputies sent to them with contempt. The dissensions between the king and senate of *Rome* excited them to such a conduct. But, notwithstanding they found means to draw the lucumonies of *Cære* and *Tarquinius* into their party, *Servius* soon obliged them to lay down their arms. Some of these aggressors he deprived of their lands, and transferred the property of their estates to such of the new citizens of *Rome*, as had yet no lands of their own <sup>z</sup>.

*Year of*  
*Rome*  
*182.*

*Servius*  
*disposes*  
*the Etrus-*  
*cans.*

*Servius*  
*concludes a*  
*treaty of*  
*peace with*  
*the Etrus-*  
*cans.*

NOR was another attempt of the *Etruscans* to disturb the repose of the *Romans*, in the year of *Rome* 186. more successful. For *Servius* soon broke and dispersed the body of troops that nation brought into the field against him <sup>z</sup>.

WE find from *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, and the *Fasti Capitolini*, that, some years after, all the lucumonies of *Etruria* combined to distress the *Romans*, but without any effect: for *Servius* overthrew them in several battles. This so exhausted them, that they were obliged to send deputies to *Rome*, as they had done in *Tarquin's* time, in order to prevail upon the *Romans* to grant them an honourable peace. *Servius*, and the senate, upon this deputation, concluded a treaty with them; the conditions of which were little different from those vouchsafed them by *Tarquin*. But some of the first aggressors *Servius* punished in the same manner as he had before done those of *Veii* <sup>b</sup>.

*The Etrus-*  
*cans, at*  
*this time,*  
*make a*  
*considera-*  
*ble figure*  
*at sea.*

THAT the *Etruscans* made a considerable figure at sea about this time, may be inferred from *Herodotus*. According to that author, a *Phœcean* squadron, after a bloody engagement, put to flight a strong fleet composed of an *Etruscan* and a *Carthaginian* squadron, in the sea of *Sardinia*. Archbishop *Usher* places this event in the year before *Christ* 543, which coincides with the year of *Rome* 208. And that the learned primate approaches, at least, pretty near the truth in this point, may be evinced from several authors. *Thucydides* informs us, that this action happened not long after the foundation of *Massilia*, now *Marseilles*, which was built by the *Phœceans*. Now *Timæus Siculus* asserts, that *Massilia* was founded by the *Phœceans* an hundred and twenty years before the battle of

<sup>γ</sup> DION. HALICAR. ubi supra.      <sup>z</sup> Idem ibid. FAST. CAPITOLIN. ad A. U. C. 182.      <sup>a</sup> FAST. CAPITOL. ad A. U. C. 186.

<sup>b</sup> DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Roman. l. iv. FAST. CAPITOL. ad A. U. C. 199.

*Salamis*, which falls in with the first year of the forty-fifth Olympiad; and this is confirmed by *Solinus*. The foundation, therefore, of *Massilia* happened in the year of *Rome* 148, and 600 years before the birth of *Christ*. So that in the year of *Rome* 208, before *Christ* 543, that city might be said to be in its infancy, in agreement with what has been advanced by *Thucydides*. That *Massilia* was built by the *Phocæans*, about the time mentioned by *Timæus*, seems likewise to be rendered incontestable by *Aristotle*, *Harpocration*, *Scymnus Chius*, *Justin*, *Athenæus*, and others. We hope, therefore, that we shall not be censured for endeavouring to support the authority of *Eusebius* and archbishop *Usher*, in the point before us \*.

THE *Etruscans*, inhabiting the coast of the *Ionian* sea, in The Etrus- conjunction with the *Umbri*, *Daurii*, and other Italian na- cans un- tions, undertook an expedition against the city of *Cumæ* in dertake an *Campania*. But their efforts, as we learn from *Dionysius Ha- expedition* *licarnassensis*, were not attended with success. This happened against the in the last year of the sixty-fourth Olympiad, and about two city of hundred and twenty-eight years after the foundation of *Rome*. *Cumæ*, From hence it may be inferred, that the *Tuscan* dominions, at without this time, extended beyond the boundaries of the proper success. *Etruria* †.

In the year of *Rome* 242. the *Etruscans* renewed the treaty They re- with *Tarquin the second*, which they had concluded with *Ser- new with* *vius Tullius*, his predecessor. The same year *Tarquin* sent for *Tarquin* architects and workmen out of *Etruria*, to finish the famous the second temple of the *Capitol*, dedicated to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Mi- the treaty,* *nerva* c. formerly concluded

At the expulsion of the *Tarquins*, the *Etruscans* were in absolute possession of their liberty, and as independent on the with *Ser- absolute possession of their liberty, and as independent on the* *Romans* as in the time of *Romulus*. But the confederacy be- *lius*. *twent* those two nations was of vast importance to *Rome*. The Etruf- This harmony, however, met with some interruption from cans at- the conduct of the *Veientes* and *Tarquinienses*, who made an tempt to effort to reinstate *Tarquin*, the last king of *Rome*, in his do- reinstate minions. By the succours they afforded that prince, he was *Tarquin* enabled to make a bold push for his crown. The *Romans*, be- in his do- ing apprised of his approach, passed the *Tiber*, and posted minions.

\* HERODOT. l. i. THUCYDID. l. i. TIMÆVS SICULUS apud Marcan. in perieg. SOLIN. c. 8. EUSEB. in chron. ad Olymp. xlv. 1, &c. ARISTOT. apud Harpocrat. in voce *Μασσαλία*. ATHEN. deipnosoph. l. xiii. JUST. l. xliii. STRAB. l. iv. SCYMN. CHI. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xv. c. 23. AUL. GELL. noct. Attic. l. x. c. 16, &c. † DION. HALICAR. antiquit. Rom. l. vii. c. DION. HALICAR. ubi supra.



Year of  
Rome  
244.

themselves in a meadow bounded by a forest, that was consecrated to an hero named *Arfius*. When the two armies were in sight of one another, the generals ordered a motion to be made on both sides to begin the onset. Never was the success of a battle more dubious; never was the number of slain on both sides more equal; till at length night came on, and left the two camps uncertain to which victory inclined. But the *Etruscans* had, at this juncture, less constancy and resolution than the *Romans*. For they abandoned their camp, and returned in great confusion to their own country. So that the *Romans* remained masters of the field of battle, and plundered the enemy's camp. This proved a decisive blow, and fixed the consular government at *Rome*. Our readers will easily perceive, that we have reserved a minute and particular account of this action, as well as a relation of the consequences of it, for the *Roman* history, to which such an account and relation more properly belong<sup>d</sup>.

Porfena  
threatens  
the Ro-  
mans.

WE learn from *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, that *Porfena* king of *Etruria*, who held his residence at *Clusium*, sent an haughty and threatening embassy to *Rome*, in favour of the *Tarquins*. He required the *Romans* either to restore that family to the throne, or, at least, to give them back their estates. But they absolutely refused to grant the first of those articles, and found means to evade a compliance with the second, under the pretence, that those estates had been consecrated to the god *Mars*. Immediately after the late defeat, *Tarquin* had taken refuge at *Clusium*, and, by his artful insinuations, disposed that formidable lucumony, and, as there is reason to suppose, the whole *Etruscan* body, to favour his pretensions. *Porfena*, therefore, not being satisfied with the answer his ambassadors brought him from *Rome*, took a resolution to place *Tarquin* upon the *Roman* throne by force of arms<sup>e</sup>.

Porfena  
advances  
against the  
Romans.

THAT prince, to whom some give the *prænomen* *Lar*, or *Lars* (F), and others that of *Claras*, having finished his military prepara-

<sup>d</sup> DION. HAL. l. v. LIV. l. ii. VAL. MAX. PLUT. in Poplic.  
<sup>e</sup> DION. HAL. ubi supra.

(F) From the *Genitive case* (4) 21+QAJ, or 2+QAJ, it is plain, the most antient word was +QAJ, or rather, 3+QAJ. That it was originally appropriated to kings, and persons of the first distinction, may be evinced from several authors: but that it was afterwards applied to persons of inferior rank, appears

(4) Liv. l. iv. c. 17, 19. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2. Liv. l. ii. c. 9. Plut. in Poplic. Dion. Hal. l. iii. Vide etiam Priscian. Serv. Clarif. & Turneb.

preparations, marched from *Clusium* with the most formidable army that had ever yet appeared in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. The senate was under inexpressible terror on this occasion; and, indeed, with the greatest reason, since the power of the state of *Clusium*, and the riches of *Porfena*, were sufficient to make *Italy* tremble. Nor did they only dread the enemy, but even their own citizens, being apprehensive that the common people, through excess of fear, would receive the *Tarquins* into the city. To prevent which, the senate, at that critical juncture, in order to sooth their minds, made many concessions; and the consuls made all the necessary dispositions, both in city and country, to give the enemy a proper reception. The *Lucumo* took with him his son *Arunx*, or *Aruns*, a young prince of great valour, and an extraordinary genius. The *Tarquins*, who followed *Porfena*, by their experience in the military art, assisted him in regulating his marches and battles, and disciplining his forces. So say the partizans of *Rome*; but we cannot help believing the *Etruscans* to have been, at this time, as well versed in every branch of the art of war as the *Romans*. *Mamilius* was at hand to join the *Tusians* with a considerable body of *Latins*, drawn out of the cantons of *Tusculum*, *Cammeria*, and *Antemna*. The others refused to declare themselves in favour of the *Tarquins*†.

WHETHER *Porfena's* design was really to place upon the *Roman* throne a prince of *Etruscan* extraction, or to make himself king of *Rome*, as two *French* authors insinuate, is a

† LIV. l. ii. c. 9. PLUT. in POPLIC. DION. HAL. ubi supra.

from many *Etruscan* (5) sepulchral inscriptions. As this was, probably, a common title, such as *Don* in *Spain*, in after-ages, the *Romans* seem to have mistaken it for a *prænomen*. Hence *Valerius Maximus* affirms *Lar*, or rather *Larte* (as the *Roman* name *Lartius* renders evident), to have been a *prænomen*, or *cognomen*, communicated by the *Etruscans* to the *Romans*. This (6) seems equivalent to להראת, להראתה, *Lear*, *Lar*, *Lart*, *Larte*, *Learatte*, *Laratte*, *Larate*, i.e. *You are our king, we have chosen*

*you for our king*, or simply, *our king*. This was an expression (7) well known in the East, and therefore probably in use amongst the *Etruscans*. This etymon seems to be rendered extremely probable by *Lia*, when he tells us, that the twelve (8) nations of *Etruria*, in a general diet, chose their king, and each of them assigned him a *lictor*; which gave occasion to that number of *lictors* among the *Romans*. Other reasons, might be offered in support of our opinion.

(5) Tob. apud Dempst. & Gor. pass. lit. ל, sub init.

(7) Gen. ii. 22. 1 Kings xiv. 2.

(6) Val. Schind. lex. pentaglot in

(8) Liv. l. i. c. 8.

point that may easily be determined. *Livy*, as has been hinted above, was no friend to the *Etruscans*, nor indeed to any nation who opposed the ambitious schemes of his republic; and yet he expressly affirms, that *Porfena* thought it would be an honour to establish at *Rome* a king, and more especially one that belonged to the *Tuscan* nation. From hence it may be inferred, that *Porfena*'s principal motives to this expedition were, an high regard for regal government, and an anxious concern for the honour of his country. Motives these so generous, that they seem not to have the least tincture of avarice or ambition! Nor can we doubt of the sincerity and purity of this prince's intentions, of the excellency of his disposition, when we have perused what *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Livy*, and *Plutarch*, have related of him <sup>2</sup>.

*Porfena  
defeats the  
Romans.*

*PORSENA*, with his numerous forces, being arrived on the banks of the *Tiber*, made the proper dispositions for passing that river. The first post he attacked was the fort *Janiculum*, which he carried sword in hand, and obliged the *Roman* garrison to retire over the bridge into the city with great precipitation. This first shock put the *Romans* into a consternation. Upon which the consuls passed the river with the utmost expedition, and drew up their army in order of battle beyond the bridge. *Porfena* advanced towards them with great alacrity, and prepared to begin the battle. The right wing of his army was commanded by *Mamilius*, at the head of the *Latins*. The left wing was led by the *Tarquins*, who commanded a body of *Roman* and *Gabinian* troops; and the main body, composed of *Etruscans*, observed the orders of *Porfena*. The *Roman* right wing, under the command of *Sp. Lartius* and *T. Herminius*, faced the *Tarquins*. *M. Valerius* and *T. Lucretius*, who had been consul the year before, at the head of the left wing, opposed themselves to the *Latins* under *Mamilius*. And *Poplicola*, with his colleague, was to engage *Porfena* in the centre. The battle was fought with great obstinacy; but, at last, *Valerius* and *Lucretius* being both wounded at the same time, the left wing of the *Romans* gave way, and fled over the bridge *Sublicius* into the city. This threw both the right wing and the main body into such confusion, that they could never afterwards be rallied. In short, they followed the example of the others, and made such haste to get into the town, that *Rome* was in the most imminent danger of falling into the hands of the *Etruscans* <sup>3</sup>.

*Horatius,  
Lartius,  
and Her-  
minius,*

AT this critical juncture *Horatius Cocles*, *Sp. Lartius*, and *T. Herminius*, not being able to stop the runaways, opposed

<sup>2</sup> *Iidem* *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *DION. HAL. & LIV. ubi sup.*  
themselves

themselves to the whole *Etruscan* army. By the assistance of the two latter, *Horatius*, for a short time, stood the first shock of danger, and the severest brunt of the battle. But, when the demolition of the bridge was nearly effected, *Horatius* obliged his companions to withdraw on a few planks that yet remained. Then he singly sustained the attack of the *Tuscan* troops, till the *Romans* completed the demolition of the bridge *Sublicius*. After which he threw himself into the *Tiber*, and rejoined his countrymen in their metropolis <sup>1</sup>.

THIS bold action gave *Porfena* an high idea of *Horatius*; *Porfena* but the shameful flight of the *Romans* encouraged him to continue the war. Having fixed his head-quarters upon the hill *Janiculus*, he sent some detachments under *Mamilius*, and the *Rome to Tarquins*, over the *Tiber*, in barks, to the opposite shore. Here they formed a camp, and ravaged all the territory about *Rome*. The *Etruscans*, therefore, being masters of both sides the river, and having thoroughly plundered the country, it became extremely difficult for the city to be supplied with provisions. As for the corn-vessels, few of them escaped the vigilance of the enemy, who were posted on both banks of the *Tiber*. But, though a famine began to be felt in *Rome*, and *Porfena* pressed the citizens to receive the *Tarquins*, the *Romans* could not be brought into this measure: they were determined either to preserve their liberty, or to a man lose their lives in the defence of it <sup>2</sup>.

THEY were confirmed in this resolution by the success of a stratagem formed by the consuls. It was given out, that all the cattle, brought from different parts of the *Roman* territories, would be sent to pasture under a guard, through the gate *Esquilina*; which being communicated by some slaves to the *Tuscan* camp, *Porfena* sent a large detachment to seize upon them. But, in pursuance of the scheme concerted between the *Roman* generals, and executed with great success, the *Romans* surrounded the *Etruscans*, to the number of five thousand men, and put every one of them to the sword. After this, *Porfena* never attempted to disturb the *Romans* on that side, nor dispersed his detachments over the country in small parties.

THE attempt *Mucius Cordus* made upon the life of *Porfena*, *Mucius* when he assassinated that prince's secretary instead of him, *Cordus* and the more than human intrepidity he shewed after that attempt, has been already related at large in the *Roman* history. In the mean time it may not be improper to observe, that several circumstances given us by the antients, who were

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid.<sup>2</sup> Idem ibid.

either *Romans*, or strongly attached to them, in the story of *Mucius Cordus*, favour more strongly of fiction than true history. And indeed this seems to be allowed by the fathers *Catrou* and *Ronillé* themselves, however unreasonably prejudiced they may frequently appear to be in favour of the *Romans*!

THE same thing may be observed of what *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Livy*, and *Plutarch*, relate of the hostages sent with the *Roman* deputies to the *Etruscan* camp. These hostages were ten boys and ten girls of the most illustrious of the *Roman* nobility. The girls, at the instigation of *Clælia*, swam over the *Tiber*, and made their escape to *Rome*: they were sent back to the *Etruscans*, and *Porfena* ordered them to be brought into his presence. Here *Clælia* behaved with as much intrepidity and heroism, as *Mucius* had done before; nay, the *Etruscan* king extolled her adventure above the achievements of even *Cæles* and *Mucius*. In fine, this story has so much the air of a *romance*, that it scarce deserves the notice of any serious historian. Nevertheless it has merited the attention of the two above-mentioned *French* writers; who have not only shewn an high regard for the authority of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* and *Plutarch*, in this particular, but have even greatly embellished the original <sup>m</sup>.

*Porfena*  
*raises the*  
*siege of*  
*Rome.*

*PORSENA* was convinced by the *Roman* deputies of the equity of *Tarquin's* expulsion; and therefore abandoned the interest of that prince. He required, however, of the *Romans* a restitution of the district ceded to *Romulus* by the people of *Veii*; which the senate agreed to without hesitation. As the occupation of the fort *Janiculum* not a little incommoded the city, *Porfena* quitted that post, and encamped at some distance from the *Tiber*. Upon the conclusion of a peace, which soon followed, *Porfena* made a present of his camp, well stored with all kinds of provisions, to the *Romans*, in the most generous manner. As the city was in great distress, by reason of the long blockade, the goods were sold, to prevent the people's breaking into the camp. And the *Romans*, to shew their gratitude for so seasonable a present, when the moveables and corn of the *Etruscans* were sold to private persons by auction, made proclamation by an herald in the following words: *These are Porfena's goods*. And this custom, whenever any effects belonging to the public were to be sold, ever afterwards prevailed: the meaning of which was, that the goods of the republic were *Porfena's*, and that to him she was indebted for

<sup>1</sup> *LIV.* l. ii. c. 11. *PLUTARCH.* in *Poplic.*  
& *PLUT.* ubi supra.

<sup>m</sup> *DION. HAL.*

all she possessed. This is a fine portrait of the *Tuscan* prince, as well as of the *Tuscan* genius and disposition at this time; especially since *Aruns*, the king's son, resembled his father in all his amiable qualities. Nor is it impossible, that the *Roman* virtue, if so exalted as some authors make it, in the earlier ages of *Rome*, might have been an imitation of the *Etruscan* <sup>n</sup>.

*Porsenna* not being willing to return home without some *Aruns* is laurels, sent his son *Arins* with a body of troops to reduce *Aricia*. The attack being unexpected, the *Aricians* were at first put into disorder; but, upon receiving a reinforcement from *Cumæ* and *Latium*, they recovered their spirits, and gave the *Etruscans* battle. The *Etruscans* in this action so furiously charged the enemy, that they broke them at the first onset: but the *Cumæan* troops, being commanded by good officers, made a motion, that wrested the victory out of their hands. They gradually drew off from the main body, which was warmly attacked by the enemy, and thereby left the field clear for them: upon which *Aruns* fell with great fury upon the routed *Aricians*, and pursued them with such eagerness, that his soldiers left their ranks in the pursuit; which being observed by the *Cumæan* troops, they charged the *Etruscans* in the rear, overpowered them, and cut most of them in pieces. The brave *Aruns* himself, who deserved a better fate, to the great regret of the *Romans*, was killed in this unfortunate action <sup>o</sup>.

THE scattered remains of *Aruns*'s army took refuge in the territories of *Rome*. Here they were received with great humanity, and conducted to *Rome*, by order of the consuls, with the most cordial affection gratitude could inspire. They had quarters allotted them, were maintained, and cured of their wounds, at the expence of the public. The kind reception they met with was published all over *Etruria*; and it had such an effect upon them, that many of them chose to incorporate with the *Roman* citizens. That part of the town assigned them to dwell in, was ever afterwards called the *Tuscan* or *Etruscan* street <sup>p</sup>.

IN the year of *Rome* 255. the *Etruscans* were solicited by the *Latins* to enter into an alliance with them against the *Romans*. The *Romans* also, it is probable, desired their assistance against the *Latins*. But, though they wavered between an alliance with *Rome*, and the protection which they owed to the *Tarquins*, originally of their country, a neutrality was the result of their deliberations <sup>q</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> *Idem* *ibid.* *LIV.* ubi sup.  
*ibid.* <sup>q</sup> *DION. HAL.* ubi sup.

<sup>o</sup> *DION. HAL.* l. v.

<sup>p</sup> *Idem*

Year of  
Rome  
261.

THE Romans, in the consulate of *T. Geganus* and *P. Minutius*, were threatened with a famine. In this extremity, the *Etruscans* were the only people that shewed any disposition to relieve them. This they did by sending considerable quantities of provisions down the *Tiber* to *Rome* <sup>1</sup>.

Some disputes between the *Veientes* and the *Romans*.

A FEW years after, the consul *Servius Cornelius*, with a strong body of forces, made an irruption into the territories of *Veii*, where he committed dreadful devastations. In short, he carried off all the effects the inhabitants had left there, and made some slaves, without any opposition from the enemy. But the *Veientes*, by sending ransoms for the redemption of their captives, and by distributing a sum of money wisely amongst the leading people at *Rome*, obtained a truce for a year <sup>2</sup>.

The *Veientes* make incursions upon the *Roman* territory.

THE *Veientes*, taking advantage of the disturbances in the republic, about three years after, committed devastations in the territories of the *Romans*: for which injury, when the senate demanded satisfaction, the people of *Veii* answered, that this incursion ought not to be so much ascribed to them in particular, as to the whole body of the *Etruscans*. The senate therefore sent two bodies of troops, under the command of the consuls, to chastise the *Veientes* for their depredations. The enemy retired into their strong places at the approach of the *Romans*: so that the consuls, being masters of the open country, plundered it, and then returned to *Rome* <sup>3</sup>.

The *Veientes* defeat a body of *Roman* troops.

THOUGH the *Etruscan* nation did not directly join the *Veientes* in this war, yet several of the lucumonies sent them reinforcements, by which they were enabled to bring a considerable army into the field. With this they threatened to lay siege to *Rome* itself. To prevent their putting this menace in execution, the consul *Fabius* faced them with a body of troops, and brought them to a general action. After a sharp dispute the *Veientes* were put into disorder, and might have been intirely defeated, had the infantry done their duty: but that corps being determined not to support the cavalry, who were in pursuit of the enemy, the troops of *Veii* rallied, routed their pursuers, and plundered the *Roman* camp. Here they found a vast quantity of provisions amassed for the rest of the campaign; which they carried to *Veii*: then they made incursions into the *Roman* territory, and pillaged it without opposition <sup>4</sup>.

THIS great success so animated the *Etruscans*, that the next year every canton sent a body of troops to act in conjunction

<sup>1</sup> LIV. l. ii. c. 34.

<sup>2</sup> DION. HAL. antiquit. Roman. l. viii.

<sup>3</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>4</sup> DION. HAL. l. ix. LIV. l. ii. c. 43.

with the army of *Veii*. They resolved to make now an extraordinary effort to subdue the *Roman* republic. When they had assembled all their forces, which made a very formidable appearance, they posted them at the bottom of the rock of *Veii*. The *Romans* sent two consular armies this year into the field, to act against the *Etruscans*. The consuls, each at the head of his army, passed the *Tiber*, and encamped near *Veii*. As they were at a small distance from the *Etruscans*, and continued in a state of inaction within their camps, the *Tuscan* cavalry often came to reconnoitre them : and then they never failed to bid defiance to their troops ; notwithstanding which, they had orders not to make the least motion \*.

In the mean time lightning fell upon *Manlius's* camp, *The Ro-* pierced that general's tent, and shattered it to pieces : considerable damage was likewise done there : some of his servants, *mans pre-* and an horse, were also struck dead with it. The *Roman* augurs from this phænomenon inferred, that *Manlius's* camp *pare for* would be taken by the enemy ; upon which the consul decamped that night, and joined his colleague *Fabius*. The *Etruscans* interpreted the presage in their own favour, and considered the taking of the camp of the two consuls, as a thing certain. Full of this vain confidence, they possessed themselves of the camp *Manlius* had quitted ; which the *Roman* augurs took to be a completion of their prediction, and all that the prognostic of the lightning imported. However, the *Etruscans* were so animated by this event, or rather their augurs interpretation of it, that they insulted the *Romans*, and upbraided them with cowardice, for hiding themselves within their intrenchments. This made them extremely eager to come to blows with the enemy ; but, that they might be thereby more inflamed, the consuls still restrained their impetuosity. The *Etruscans* then called them a parcel of women, and said, that such defenders ought to make their republic abate much of her pride. Upon which they came in great numbers to the *prætorium*, and begged, that the signal for the battle might be given. The *Roman* generals, after a pretended consultation, in order to increase the eagerness of the soldiery, denied their request : but at length, the *Roman* soldiery being ready to mutiny for not being permitted to attack the enemy, and the *Etruscans* making preparations to force the *Roman* camp, the consuls gave way to the ardour of the troops. And, to prevent all suspicion the consuls might entertain of the courage or fidelity of the army, one *Flavoleius*, the first centurion in one of the legions, took an oath either to conquer *ment.*

\* *DION. HAL.* ubi supra. *LIV.* l. ii. c. 45.



or die; and was herein followed by the consuls, lieutenant-generals, inferior officers, and all the common soldiers. After which the *Romans* marched out of their fortified camp, took possession of an advantageous spot of ground, and made all the necessary dispositions for a general engagement \*.

A bloody  
battle be-  
tween the  
Etruscans  
and the  
Romans.  
Year of  
Rome  
273.

THE *Etruscans* were surprised to see the *Romans*, who had behaved extremely ill not long before, move out of their lines, and offer them battle. As they thought themselves sure of overthrowing them, almost without striking a stroke, they had not had the precaution to unite their two camps. As for the *Roman* army, the consul *Manlius* commanded the right wing, *Q. Fabius* the left, and *M. Fabius* the main body. Both armies advanced with great shouts, and came to a close engagement. The *Tuscan* right wing attacked the left of the *Romans*, under the command of *Q. Fabius*, with great bravery; and, *Q. Fabius* being killed in the beginning of the action, forced it to give way; but *M. Fabius*, and his brother *Cæso*, immediately repairing to that side, the *Romans* recovered the ground they had lost, and repulsed the *Etruscans*. The left wing of the *Etruscans* the *Roman* right, for some time, drove before them; but, the consul *Manlius* being dangerously wounded, they were put into disorder. The presence of *M. Fabius*, however, so animated them, that they recovered themselves. Hence it appears, that hitherto, whatever the *Roman* historians may seem to advance to the contrary, neither side had any great reason to boast.

The Ro-  
mans re-  
main ma-  
jors of the  
field of  
battle.

In the mean time the *Vientes*, who had taken possession of the camp *Manlius* had deserted, did not continue idle during the action. They attacked the other *Roman* camp, defended only by a few veterans, and, after a vigorous resistance, forced it. However, *T. Siccus*, one of the lieutenant-generals of the consular army, found means to retake it. After which, the *Etruscans* left the *Romans* masters of the field of battle, and retired into their intrenchments †.

SUCH was the success of the battle of *Veii*, a battle that was far from being decisive, or even very advantageous to the *Romans*. It continued from noon to sun-set, and cost them a vast number of men. A consul and a lieutenant-general fell in it; and a greater number of tribunes and centurions were killed than in any former action. Nay, the *Romans* could scarce have considered it as a victory, had not the *Etruscans* quitted their camp the night following, and retired farther into the country. However, as it does not appear, that the *Romans* reaped any considerable advantage from this action, we

\* *Iidem* *ibid.*

† *DION. HAL.* ubi supra. *LIV.* ubi sup. c. 46.

think

think both the *Roman* historians, and the above-mentioned *French* authors, carry the matter rather too far, when they represent the advantage gained as a glorious victory, as one of the most memorable victories the *Romans* ever obtained.

THE *Veientes* being informed, the year following, that *The Ve-irginius*, with a consular army, was marching against them, <sup>entes gain</sup> shut themselves up in their places of strength, affecting to be <sup>several</sup> greatly afraid of the *Romans*. But when they observed, that a considerable body of that nation dispersed itself in parties <sup>advanta-</sup> over the country, in order to plunder it, they fell upon these <sup>ges over the</sup> parties, and put many of them to the sword. In fine, *Vir-* <sup>Romans.</sup> *ginius's* troops had been either cut to pieces, or forced to surrender at discretion, had not *Siccus* seasonably joined him with a reinforcement; and both *Siccus's* reinforcement and *Vir-* *ginius's* army had been afterwards destroyed by the *Etruscans*, had not *Fabius*, in the very critical moment, relieved them<sup>2</sup>.

UPON the retreat of the *Roman* army into their own ter- <sup>The Ve-</sup> ritories, which happened soon after, the *Veientes* made incur- <sup>entes make</sup> sions as far as the hill *Janiculus*, and insulted *Rome* itself. <sup>incurfions</sup> Nor had the *Romans* then any forces to oppose them, having <sup>as far as</sup> just disbanded their legions. The *Fabian* family therefore, at <sup>the hill</sup> their own expence, raised a body of troops, to repel such in- <sup>Janiculus.</sup> cursions, and keep the *Veientes* employed on their own frontiers. This seems to be a farther proof, that the victory over the *Etruscans* the preceding campaign, was not so complete and glorious as the above-mentioned authors pretend<sup>2</sup>.

THE forces raised by the *Fabian* family carried on the war <sup>The Fabii</sup> with success against the *Veientes* upon the frontiers. They <sup>erect a fort</sup> erected a fort, in a steep place, upon (G) the *Cremera*, now on the <sup>the</sup> *Valca*, surrounded it with a double ditch, and built towers <sup>frontiers of</sup> at certain distances. This terribly galled the *Veientes*, and *Etruria*. the whole *Etruscan* body. Nor could the *Veientes*, with all their power, make themselves masters of this fort. They,

<sup>2</sup> DION. HAL. ubi supra. LIV. l. ii. c. 48.

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid.

(G) The fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* affirm, that the modern name of the *Cremera* is *Baccano*; but without any foundation. We never heard of any river near *Rome* called *Baccano*, but are ready to allow, that the lake of *Baccano* is the source of the *Valca*: and that the *Valca* is the

*Cremera* of the antients, we think, cannot well be denied by any one, who has perused what has been advanced in favour of this opinion by the learned *Lucas Holstenius*. *Fabretti* and *Fontanini* likewise put this point beyond dispute (9).

(9) *Luc. Holsten.* in not. ad *Cluver* p. 55. *Just. Fontan.* de antiquitat. Heret. p. 77, 78. *Rome*, 1723.

therefore,

therefore, endeavoured to engage the whole *Etruscan* nation in their quarrel. They represented in a general diet, that their lucumony was a barrier against the *Romans*; that, consequently, if they were subdued, *Etruria* would be soon overrun; and that, therefore, they ought to be assisted in demolishing a fort, which, if suffered to remain, might prove fatal to every lucumony in *Etruria*. This representation made such an impression upon the general diet, that they granted them as many troops as they desired <sup>b</sup>.

*Æmilius  
routs the  
Etruscans,  
and con-  
cludes a  
peace with  
them.*

THE consul *Æmilius* the next year took the field against the *Etruscans*, defeated them in a pitched battle, and made himself master of their camp. The plunder of this camp, which he gave to the soldiery, was so great, that they were enriched by it a long time. This blow broke the spirits of the *Veientes*, and therefore they sued for peace. This was granted them upon reasonable terms. They were not required to send hostages as securities for their future fidelity; but only to supply the troops with corn for two months, and to pay the expence of the war for six. Whether this moderation was owing to generosity and greatness of soul, or the situation of the *Roman* affairs at that juncture, a person moderately versed in the *Roman* story may easily perceive <sup>c</sup>.

*The Etruf-  
cans at-  
tack inef-  
fectually  
the city of  
Cumæ.*

ABOUT this time, the *Etruscans* attacked the city of *Cumæ* with a powerful army, attended by a fleet, to forward the operations of the land-forces. The people of *Cumæ*, at this juncture, being reduced to great streights, applied to *Hiero* king of *Syracuse*, for some naval succours. That prince, in compliance with their request, sent a squadron of triremes to the assistance of *Cumæ*. So considerable a reinforcement enabled the *Cumæans* to engage the *Tuscan* fleet; which they did with such conduct and bravery, that they gained a complete victory. *Diodorus Siculus* \* tells us, that, before this action, the *Etruscans* enjoyed the sovereignty of the sea; but that they were greatly humbled by the blow now given them. It likewise delivered the people of *Cumæ* effectually from all terrible and desponding apprehensions.

*The Etruf-  
cans break  
the last  
treaty.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the late treaty, the *Fabii* kept their post on the frontiers. The *Etruscan* nation did not only resent this, but were likewise offended at the separate treaty the people of *Veii* had concluded with the *Romans*. As this was done without the consent of a general diet, they cited the *Veientes* to appear in a national assembly, and declared their precipitation in reconciling themselves to *Rome* criminal.

<sup>b</sup> *Iidem* *ibid.*

<sup>c</sup> *DION. HAL.* ubi supra. l. ix.

\* *DION.*

*SIC.* l. xi.

They were therefore reduced to this dilemma, either to enter upon a war with the other lucumonies, or break the treaty made with *Rome*. The other lucumonies helped them to an expedient for rendering void the last peace, and that was to insist upon either a demolition or reddition of the above-mentioned *Fabian* fort; which, they told them, they might represent as useless in time of peace. This advice the *Vicentes* were obliged to close with; but the *Romans* were determined, at all events, to maintain the *Fabii* in the possession of their fort. Both sides, therefore, made all possible preparations for carrying on a vigorous war <sup>d</sup>.

THE first thing the *Etruscans* proposed was the reduction of that fort; in order to which, they assembled a good body of troops upon the *Cremera*. But, after repeated attacks, they made no progress in the siege, the *Fabii* always repulsing them with loss. They, therefore, began to despair, either of carrying the place by storm, or starving it to a surrender. But what they could not effect by force, they accomplished by artifice. They laid an ambuscade in a wood, and sent all their cattle into a neighbouring valley, attended only by a slender guard. This tempted the *Fabii* to come out of the fort, after leaving only a few men in it to defend it from a surprise. They advanced in good order, and the herdsmen, with their guard, fled at their approach. Upon this, the centinels, posted on all the eminences for that purpose, gave notice to the body lodged in the wood of what had happened. They immediately rushed out of their ambush, surrounded the *Romans* on all sides, and cut in pieces all those who were in pursuit of the booty. But the party ordered to sustain them gained an eminence, and there waited for the *Etruscans*; who, after a very warm dispute, forced the post, and put every man of them to the sword. Then the *Etruscans*, with the heads of those they had slain, on the tops of their lances, advanced towards the fort, in order to hasten the reduction of it. The *Romans* sallied out upon them with great bravery; but, being overpowered, they were all killed upon the spot. The loss of the fort, which was the consequence of the late defeat, was considered as a great blow at *Rome* <sup>e</sup>.

THE consul *Menenius* had an army committed to his conduct, to act against the *Etruscans*. After the late misfortune, he entered the territory of *Vei*, and took post on the declivity of an hill. But he had not the precaution to inclose the top of

<sup>d</sup> DION. HAL. ubi supra. <sup>e</sup> LIV. l. ii. c. 50. VAL. MAX. FLOR. AUREL. VICT. AUL. GELL. &c.

Year of  
Rome  
346.



this hill within his intrenchments. So fatal a neglect gave the *Etruscans* an opportunity of marching their forces to the summit of it, and forming a camp above the *Romans*. This reduced the consul to the necessity either of fighting at a great disadvantage, or of perishing in his camp. He chose the former of these; and therefore offered the *Etruscans* battle. They readily accepted the challenge, pushed the *Romans* down the hill, and made themselves masters of their camp. After this, they passed the *Cremera*, spread themselves over the *Roman* territory, and seized the hill *Janiculus*, from whence they could see every thing that passed in *Rome*. As the city was greatly distressed, it must undoubtedly have sustained a siege, had not *Horatius*, the other consul, been recalled from the *Volscian* war. His presence a little revived the courage of the *Roman* soldiery. Soon after his arrival, there happened two brisk actions between the *Etruscans* and the *Romans*. In the former, near the gate *Collina*, the loss was pretty equal on both sides; in the latter, near the temple of *Hope*, the *Romans* gained but little advantage, according to *Livy*. Both the authority, therefore, of the *Latin* historian<sup>f</sup>, and the consequences of that engagement, plainly evince the fathers *Catrou* and *Rhyllé* to have been too sanguine, when they pronounced the last of these actions decisive.

The Etruscans  
crossed in  
a general  
action, by  
the Ro-  
mans.

THO' the *Etruscans*, for several reasons, declined coming to a battle, they still kept the city of *Rome* blocked up. They maintained themselves upon the *Janiculus*, from whence they made incursions that greatly incommoded the *Romans*. For this gradually introduced a famine, which, at last, came to be very sensibly felt in the city. This determined the new consuls, either to drive the enemy from the post they had so long occupied, or perish in the attempt. They passed the *Tiber*, therefore, about midnight, at the head of all the *Roman* forces, and took post at a small distance from the *Etruscans*. As soon as day appeared, they drew up in order of battle, and advanced towards the enemy. *Virginus* commanded the right wing, and *Servilius* the left. The engagement was very sharp and bloody; but the *Etruscans* lost more men than the *Romans*. This induced them to retire to their camp on the top of the hill, which they seem to have done in good order. The *Roman* right wing would have pursued them; but *Virginus* wisely put a stop to their impetuosity. *Servilius* having, with the left, repulsed the *Etruscans*, pushed them to the foot of the hill. Here the *Etruscans* rallied, and, being reinforced by a body of fresh troops from their

<sup>f</sup> L. IV. ubi supra, c. 51. DION. HAL. l. ix.

camp, drove the *Romans* back in their turn with great slaughter. Nay, they had totally ruined that corps, had not *Virginius*, by his appearance, kept them in awe. The *Romans* sustained so great a loss in this action, that, at first, they seemed to have no great reason to boast of their success. But the future motions of the *Etruscans* amounted to a clear confession of the superiority of the *Romans*. For soon after the conclusion of the battle, they abandoned their camp on the *Janiculus*, and by night retired to *Veii* §.

THE next year the *Sabines* declared war against the *Romans*. The Sabines and Etruscans routed by Valerius. Their design was to join the *Etruscans*, and after that junction form the siege of *Rome*. But the consul *Valerius*, by his diligence and expedition, defeated this design. Having taken upon him the command of the army, that was to act against the *Etruscans* and their allies, he entered the territory of *Veii*, before the enemy had any notice of his departure from *Rome*. As the *Etruscans* and *Sabines* had not yet assembled all their forces, and were separately encamped, he easily surprised the latter. He fell with great fury upon the *Sabine* intrenchments, and, as the attack was unexpected, easily forced them. Then he marched towards the *Etruscans*, whom he found drawn out of their lines, and ready to receive him. The engagement was sharp, and the victory long contested. But, at last, the *Roman* cavalry charged the *Etruscan* battalions with such vigour, that they bore down all before them, and forced the enemy to retire into their intrenchments. These the consul afterwards attacked with so much bravery, that the *Etruscans* found they could not long maintain them. At break of day, therefore, they marched out of their camp, and dispersed; some flying to *Veii*, and others taking different routes h. ••

VALERIUS, without giving the ardour of his troops time to cool, after one day's rest, presented himself before *Veii*. Here he offered the enemy battle a second time; but they thought proper to decline it. As he was in no condition to undertake the siege of *Veii*, he pillaged the lands of the *Veientes*, and then turned his arms against the *Sabines* i.

MANLIUS, the consul, entered the country of the *Veientes*, the beginning of the next campaign. But the inhabitants of this lucumony being deserted by their allies, were forced to shut themselves up in *Veii*: so that the *Romans* having pillaged all their lands, a famine began to rage in the city. This obliged the *Veientes* to conclude a peace, upon the terms the *Romans* thought fit to prescribe. By order of the senate, they

§ DION. HAL. ubi supra.

h Idem ibid.

i Idem ibid.

paid the expence of the war for one year, and furnished *Manlius* with corn to subsist his troops for two months. And, in return, the *Romans* granted the people of *Veii* a truce for forty years<sup>k</sup>.

The Veientes and Fidenates overthrown by the Romans.

IN the year of *Rome* 315, the city of *Fidenæ* revolted from the *Romans* to *Lar Tolumnius*, king of *Veii*, and supreme head of the *Etruscan* nation. The *Romans* sent ambassadors to *Fidenæ*, to know the reason of this revolt. These the *Fidenates* massacred, contrary to the law of nations. *Tolumnius* passed the *Anio*, and advanced towards *Rome*. He was attacked by the consul *Sergius*, who had some advantage over him; but the *Romans* lost abundance of men. After this action, *Tolumnius* repassed the *Anio*, and encamped on the hills between that river and *Fidenæ*. Nor did he appear in the field, till he had received a reinforcement of *Falisci*. Then the *Etruscan* pitched his camp before the walls of *Fidenæ*. *Mamercus Æmilius*, the *Roman* dictator, also posted himself at a small distance from him, near the confluence of the *Anio* and the *Tiber*. On the angle formed by that confluence the dictator intrenched himself. He then offered the enemy battle; but they remained for some time in a state of suspense, not knowing what course to take. The *Falisci* were for an engagement, but the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* against it. But *Tolumnius* at last found himself obliged to concur in sentiment with the *Falisci*. He therefore drew up his troops in the plain; and sent a detachment to take a compass round the hills, and fall upon the *Roman* camp in the heat of the action. *Tolumnius* posted himself at the head of the *Veientes* in the right wing, the *Falisci* in the left, and the *Fidenates* in the centre. The dictator opposed *Quintius Capitolinus* in his left wing to *Tolumnius*, he himself faced the *Falisci*, and his general of the horse in the centre was to encounter the *Fidenates*. The two armies were, for some time, in sight of each other, before they began the attack. The *Etruscan* and *Fidenatian* infantry were first broken by the *Romans*; but the horse made a vigorous resistance. King *Tolumnius*, who commanded the cavalry, flew like lightning from one part of his army to another, and behaved with great intrepidity. But he was at last engaged in single combat, and dispatched, by *Cornelius Cossus*, a *Roman* knight of great bravery. Upon this the *Etruscan* cavalry retreated, and the infantry took to their heels. The *Fidenates* dispersed themselves in the mountains, and thereby escaped the fury of the *Romans*. The dictator, after this action, ravaged the whole territory of *Veii*. A body of the

<sup>k</sup> DION. HAL. ubi supra. LIV. l. ii. c. 54.

*Veientine* troops, which had taken a compass round the mountains, and attacked the dictator's camp in the heat of the action, was vigorously repulsed by *Fabius*, a lieutenant-general, left to defend it. This campaign, therefore, proved very unfortunate to the *Etruscans* <sup>l</sup>.

THE year following, the consuls again plundered the territory of *Veii*; took several prisoners, with some cattle; but could not reduce any of the towns, in which the enemy had shut themselves up. So that the *Romans* did little against the *Etruscans* this campaign <sup>m</sup>.

THE next year, the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* having assembled all their forces, passed the *Anio*, and penetrated almost to *Rome*, taking post near the gate *Collina*. This motion greatly alarmed the *Romans*. *Quintus Servilius Priscus*, the dictator, obliged the *Etruscans* to retire farther from the city. Not content with this, he followed them with all his forces, and at last came up with them near *Nomentum*. Here he forced them to a battle, which ended in their defeat. The fugitives took refuge within the walls of *Fidenæ*. But, notwithstanding the strength of the place, the dictator, by means of a subterranean passage between his camp and the town, made himself master of it. The *Falisci*, this year, could not be induced to take the field in favour of their allies <sup>n</sup>.

*The Veientes and Fidenates defeated near Nomentum. Year of Rome 318.*

THE reduction of *Fidenæ* filled the *Etruscans* with terror, particularly the *Veientes* and *Falisci*. These last cantons feared the same fate would attend *Veii* and *Falerii*, their respective capitals. They therefore demanded of the *Etruscan* body a general diet of the whole nation. This, at their request, was assembled in the temple of *Voltumna*, or *Volturna*, a goddess of the *Etruscans*. The result of their deliberations was, that as the *Veientes* had begun a quarrel with *Rome*, without imparting to the *Etruscan* body their design, there seemed to be no reason why the whole nation should involve themselves in a war on the account of *Veii*; and that therefore, if the *Veientes* proposed continuing the war, they ought to depend on their own strength only, in the prosecution of it <sup>o</sup>.

\* Two years after, the *Veientes* made a fresh effort to bring the *Etruscan* nation to a declaration of war against *Rome*; but without effect. However, the *Tuscan* states referred what had then been proposed by the *lucumo* of *Veii* to the next general assembly. The national diets of *Etruria* were held but once a year <sup>p</sup>.

*Year of Rome 321.*

<sup>l</sup> LIV. l. iv. c. 17, 19. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 2. <sup>m</sup> LIV. ubi sup. <sup>n</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>o</sup> LIV. l. iv. c. 23. <sup>p</sup> LIV. ubi sup.



*The Veientes gain an advantage over the Romans.*  
*Year of Rome 327.*

THE *Veientes*, as we have already observed, had obtained of the *Romans* a truce of eight years, after their defeat near *Nomentum*. The *Roman* historians pretend, that, before the expiration of that truce, the troops of *Veii* made incursions upon the *Roman* territories. They likewise greatly commend the moderation of the *Roman* senate, in not declaring war against them, without a previous demand of satisfaction. The *Veientes* were apprised, that the three *Roman* commanders, who led an army into their country, had different views in carrying on the campaign. This they made an advantage of, and provoked the enemy to a general action, not far from the *Roman* camp. As the generals did not act in concert, this engagement proved fatal to the *Roman* troops. Nor is it to be wondered at, that an army so ill conducted should be put to the rout. But the vicinity of the *Roman* camp saved the runaways from slaughter, so that no great carnage of them was made. However, the people of *Veii* were not a little elevated with this success; and took an opportunity from thence to invite to a general alliance against *Rome* all the cantons of *Etruria*. But the *Lucumonies* had no inclination to engage in their quarrel at this juncture; tho' they permitted a good number of volunteers to join them. As for the *Fidenates*, to the former massacre of the four *Roman* ambassadors, they now added another piece of villainy; they murdered all the new inhabitants that had been sent them from *Rome*. Being therefore become desperate, they joined the *Veientes*, who after that junction passed the *Tiber*, and encamped near *Fidenæ*. This obliged the *Roman* army to leave its post in the neighbourhood of *Veii*, and encamp near the gate *Collina*, almost under the walls of *Rome*. This struck the inhabitants of that city with as much terror, as if they had been upon the point of sustaining a siege<sup>1</sup>.

*The Veientes and Fidenates receive a great overthrow from the Romans.*

ADVICE being received in the *Etruscan* camp, that the *Roman* forces under the command of the dictator *Amilius*, were advanced to a post within fifteen hundred paces of *Fidenæ*, the *Veientes* immediately approached them with great intrepidity, in order to enter upon action. An engagement therefore ensued, which was very sharp and bloody. In the heat of the action, a body of *Fidenates*, in such habits as were generally given the *Furies*, sallied out of *Fidenæ*, with lighted torches in their hands. These fell with great fury upon the left wing of the *Romans*, terrified it, and forced it to retire. The dictator flew instantly thither, and commanded *T. Quinctius* to come down from an hill he had posted himself

<sup>1</sup> Liv. ubi supra, c. 31.

upon, with a body of horse, behind the enemy, and advance with his cavalry. At the same time *Cossus*, with his cavalry, rushed upon those battalions of the enemy, where the greatest number of torches appeared, and mowed down all that opposed him. The *Etruscans* then were attacked both in front and in the rear, and found a retreat impracticable. The troops of *Veii* therefore made it their business to gain the *Tiber*, and the *Fidenates* their city. Some of the former were killed on the banks of the river, and many more drowned in it. The *Fidenates* were so closely pursued by *Quintius*, that he entered with them into the town. In fine, the Roman general gave up both the *Etruscan* camp and *Fidenæ* to be plundered by his troops. This blow so terrified the people of *Veii*, that in a suppliant manner they desired a truce with the *Romans* for twenty years<sup>1</sup>.

In the consulate of *C. Sempronius Abratinus*, and *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, a city of the *Etruscans*, called afterwards *Capua*, was taken by the *Samnites*, who made themselves masters of it in the following manner. Having tired out the *Etruscans* by a long and bloody war, they prevailed upon that nation to permit them to settle in this city, and its territory. Some time after, taking the advantage of a solemn festival, they fell upon the antient inhabitants, oppressed with sleep and feasting, and treacherously massacred them all in one night. From hence we may infer, that the *Etruscans* had long and bloody wars with the *Samnites*, before the year of *Rome* 330, no particulars of which have been transmitted down to us by any antient historian; and that the *Etruscan* nation was not at that time confined within the limits of the *Proper Etruria*<sup>2</sup>.

In the year of *Rome* 338, the *Veientes* made preparations for a new war with the *Romans*; but suspended their hostilities out of a religious scruple. When they were upon the point of declaring war, the *Tiber* overflowed its banks, and did incredible damage upon their lands. Taking this therefore for an ill omen, in case they violated the truce granted them by the *Roman* republic, they, for the present, laid aside all thoughts of a rupture<sup>3</sup>.

UPON the expiration of that truce, the *Romans* meditated a war with *Veii*. They demanded satisfaction for the injuries done the republic by the people of that city during the truce. The *Veientes* represented, that their city was disturbed with domestic broils, and would not be in a condition to comply

<sup>1</sup> Liv. ubi supra, c. 33. Flor. l. i. c. 12, 13.  
c. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. l. iv. c. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Liv. l. iv.

with the senate's demand for a year to come. This satisfied the *Romans* for the present; which seems to be a proof, that the republic then was in a sort of languishing condition.

*The Romans turn their arms against the Volsci.*

*The Romans besiege Veii.*

THE following year, the *Roman* ambassadors were treated with great insolence at *Veii*; which irritated the senate. That body even shewed a disposition to enter upon a war with the *Veientes*; but the people disapproved of such a measure. However, they turned their arms against the *Volsci*, who were then considered as the greatest enemies of *Rome*<sup>1</sup>.

BUT, the next year, the republic resolved upon a war with *Veii*; and, in pursuance of this resolution, raised a powerful army to act against that city. The *Veientes* declined an engagement with the *Roman* forces, and shut themselves up in their capital. *Veii*, according to *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, was equal, when in its splendor, both in extent and number of inhabitants, to *Athens*. It was a fortress almost impregnable by its situation, and extremely well fortified by art. The *Veientes* had raised the walls of it, and stored it with arms and provisions. Nevertheless, the *Romans* besieged it in form; but, in the beginning of the siege, had little prospect of success. This famous enterprize alarmed all the *Tuscan* cantons, and occasioned the assembling of a general diet near the temple of *Voltumna*. But the diet not appearing disposed to come to a rupture with *Rome*, the *Veientes* were, for the present, left to defend themselves<sup>2</sup>.

*They continue the siege of Veii.*

THE following year, little was done in the siege of *Veii*, the *Romans* being obliged to march, with the greatest part of their troops, against the *Volsci*. The beginning of the year, they left but a small body of men before *Veii*; but, towards the close of it, they returned thither with all their forces<sup>3</sup>.

IN the third-year of the siege of *Veii*, the people of that city seem to have introduced a new form of government. Being weary of the annual intrigues about the election, which sometimes occasioned broils, they created themselves a king. This gave great offence to the other *lucumonies*, as by such a step the *Veientes* seemed to assert their independency on the *Etruscan* body. But, besides this, they had a particular dislike to the person of this new king. As his haughtiness and exorbitant power had formerly rendered him insupportable to them, and he had violently interrupted their annual games, wherein they thought it unlawful to make any intermission, he was extremely unpopular in *Etruria*. He had been refused the high-priesthood by the *lucumonies*, when he offered himself a

<sup>1</sup> LIV. ubi supra, c. 58.  
HAL. l. ii. PLUT. in Camil.

<sup>2</sup> LIV. ubi supra, c. 61. DION.  
<sup>3</sup> LIV. ubi supra.

candidate for it. In resentment, therefore, of this affront, he took away, in a violent manner, during the celebration of the games, the slaves whom he had lent the public, to assist in carrying them on. Now, as the *Etruscans* were a people much addicted to superstition, and more regardful of decency in religious ceremonies than any other nation, they considered it as an impious thing, thus to disturb the celebration of a festival consecrated to the gods. The *Etruscan* body, therefore, in their general diet, refused to assist the *Vientes*, as long as they continued under absolute regal government, especially that of this haughty and insolent prince. An account of this resolution of the general diet was soon transmitted to every *lucumo*; but it was suppressed at *Veii*. For the author of such a piece of news there, however true it might be, would have been treated as an incendiary, and a ringleader of sedition. However, it soon reached *Rome*, and animated the army before *Veii* to push on vigorously the siege of that place \*.

In the mean time, the *Romans* drew lines of circumvallation and contravallation, in order to strengthen and secure their camp. Some think, that at this time they first invented such lines. Be that as it will, the *Romans* sustained a considerable loss this winter campaign before *Veii*. The besiegers had raised a mount, or moveable terras, near the city. They had also brought their galleries near the foot of the wall; and nothing remained to be done but to fix them there. But as they were more intent on carrying on their works by day, than guarding them by night, the besieged made a sally in the dark with lighted torches in their hands, and set fire to the *Roman* machines; and the fire, in a few hours, destroyed the work of many days. At the same time, they put many of the *Roman* soldiers to the sword. Many more likewise were burnt to death, who, in vain, endeavoured to extinguish the flames. This shock occasioned, at first, a great consternation amongst all ranks and degrees of people at *Rome* †.

THE following campaign, the *Capenates* and *Falisci*, two *Etruscan* nations, took up arms, marched to the deliverance of *Veii*, and fell, with great fury, upon that part of the *Roman* army, commanded by *Sergius*, which carried on the attacks. A furious sally was at the same time made by the besieged. So that this body of troops was between two fires; nor would *Virginus*, who commanded the army that covered the siege, tho' often pressed, advance to the relief of *Sergius*. In fine, the *Etruscans* forced the *Roman* lines, and made an exceeding great slaughter of the enemy. This greatly retarded the

The *Romans* receive a shock before *Veii*.

The *Capenates* and *Falisci* attempt to relieve *Veii*.

\* Liv. l. v. c. 1, 2, 3.

† Idem ibid.

siege of *Veii*; nay, according to *Livy*, it forced the *Romans* to abandon that siege <sup>a</sup>.

HOWEVER, the following year, the *Romans* repaired all the works that had been destroyed before *Veii*, and resumed the siege of that place. The *Roman* generals, who commanded there, likewise rebuilt all the little forts, which had been demolished after the last action, and provided them with garisons. The *Capenates* and *Falisci* were also shut up within their own walls. So that the people of *Veii* found themselves cooped up without any prospect of relief <sup>a</sup>.

The siege  
of *Veii*  
goes on  
slowly.

THE next year the *Romans* continued the siege of *Veii*, but without any great effect. They suffered extremely from the severity of the winter, a more rigorous season, in those parts, having scarce ever been known. The *Tiber* was frozen, and of course rendered unnavigable. The *Veientes* did not give the least disturbance to the besiegers, during the whole campaign <sup>b</sup>.

The *Capenates* and  
*Falisci* at-  
tempt to  
raise the  
siege of  
*Veii*.

THE following campaign the *Romans* employed their whole force on the side of *Etruria*, in order to hasten the reduction of *Veii*. Nevertheless, the *Capenates*, and *Falisci* advanced again to the relief of the besieged. They fell upon the *Roman* lines, as before; and the *Veientes* sallying out, attacked their intrenchments. But the grand army affording timely assistance to the body carrying on the siege, the *Etruscans* were every-where repulsed. The *Veientes* were beaten back into the town, and the *Etruscans* that came to their relief almost intirely cut off. But, notwithstanding this, several accidents concurred to protract this famous siege <sup>c</sup>.

Many pro-  
digies in  
Italy.

MANY prodigies, the succeeding year, were reported to have been seen. But these, for the most part, were not believed, as being supported only by single witnesses. Besides, the *Romans* paid not so great a regard to prodigies at this juncture, because, being at war with the *Etruscans*, they had no diviners to explain them. One, however, that happened, seemed to gain every-body's attention. A lake at the foot of *Alba Longa*, of nearly a circular figure, encompassed on all sides by nature with rocks and hills, without rain, or any other apparent cause, to demonstrate it no prodigy, rose to an uncommon height. And this was the more remarkable, as the summer had been exceeding dry, and the rivers reduced to small currents, in the middle of their chanel. As this prodigy was very well attested, the republic sent deputies to *Delphi*, to consult the oracle there, in order to discover what the

<sup>a</sup> *LIV.* ubi supra.  
l. v. c. 16.

<sup>a</sup> *Idem* *ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> *Idem* *ibid.*

<sup>c</sup> *LIV.*

gods presaged by it. In the mean time, the fame of this prodigy reached the camp before *Veii*, from whence it was conveyed into the city itself. Soon after it happened, that an old soldier among the *Veientes* being seized with a sudden fit of enthusiasm, cried out, "that the *Romans* would never reduce *Veii* till all the water was let out of the *Alban* lake." At first this was slighted, as a mere random expression; but soon after it began to be talked of in a serious manner. At length a *Roman* soldier asked one of the citizens who that old man was, who had used this obscure expression concerning the *Alban* lake. When he heard, that he was a diviner, he found means to decoy him to a private conference, and carried him off to the *Roman* camp. He was first brought before the general, and then sent to be examined by the senate at *Rome*. When he came before the conscript fathers, he said, "The gods certainly must be angry with *Veii*, since, by their impulse, I am constrained to discover the fatal secret, that must prove the ruin of my native country. But what has been uttered by a divine impulse, cannot now be recalled, in such manner as still to remain a secret. Nay, perhaps I should have contracted no less guilt by concealing what the immortal gods intended should be revealed, than by discovering what ought to have been concealed. We have an ancient tradition, written in our prophetic books, and confirmed by the art of divination, that if the *Romans*, when the lake of *Alba Longa* is swelled to an extraordinary height, can, with proper ceremonies, let all the water out of it, they shall make themselves masters of *Veii*. But till that time the gods will not abandon the walls of our city." Then he proceeded to inform them in what manner the drains to carry off the water were to be made. In the mean time, the siege of *Veii* went on but slowly. *L. Valerius* laid waste all the country about *Falerii*; and *Camillus*, finding no enemy to oppose him near *Capena*, ravaged all the adjacent territory. This was done in resentment of the former conduct of the *Falisci* and *Capenates*, who twice attempted to force the *Romans* to raise the siege of *Veii* <sup>d</sup>.

We find the greatest part of the *Roman* forces employed the next year before *Veii*, which they rather blockaded than besieged. So little a progress had they hitherto made! In the mean time the *Tarquinienfes*, another *Etruscan* canton, committed hostilities against the *Romans*. But they were surprised by a body of volunteers, who had taken a compass through the country of *Cære*, and fallen upon them on their return from

The *Romans* make little progress in the siege of *Veii*.

<sup>d</sup> LIV. ubi supra. VAL. MAX. l. i. c. 6.

pillaging. Many of the *Tarquinienſes* fell in the action, and the reſt were ſtript of their ſpoil. This was the ſituation of affairs, when the *Roman* deputies returned from *Delphi*. The ſenate was moſt agreeably ſurprized, to find the answer of the oracle exactly correſpond with the prediction of the old *Etruſcan* diviner above-mentioned. An hiſtorian of credit ſuppoſes a communication between the *Pythian* prieſteſs of *Delphi*, and the diviner of *Vei*; but theſe pagan prodigies are all aſcribed to the devil by St. *Auſtin*. Either of theſe notions will account for the fact under conſideration: we ſay, either of theſe notions; for, however unfalſhionable ſome of our readers may judge ſuch an opinion, we cannot help believing, that the Supreme Being, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf, has permitted ſeveral unaccountable ſeats to have been wrought by the agency of evil ſpirits. To deny this would be to give the lye to all profane hiſtory, and even run counter to Scripture itſelf. But, in the preſent caſe, there is no need to have recourſe to the agency of evil ſpirits, either to account for the prodigy itſelf, or the prediction of the diviner of *Vei*. The prodigy of the *Alban* lake, we doubt not, may be accounted for from natural cauſes; and the prediction of the diviner might amount to no more than a mere human conjecture. Be that as it will, the agreement between the oracle and the captive diviner gave the *Romans* a full perſuaſion, that they ſhould conquer *Vei*; tho' it muſt be owned, the faint attacks of the beſiegers, and the ſtrength of the place, afforded but a weak foundation for ſuch a perſuaſion.

IN the mean time, the ſtates of *Etruria* met in a general diet at the temple of *Voltumna*. Here the *Capenates* and *Falifſci* offered a petition, deſiring the *Etruſcan* nation to attempt raiſing the ſiege of *Vei*. But they were answered by the aſſembled lucumonies, “ That the *Veientes* having embarked in  
 “ this war without conſulting them, they ought to carry it on  
 “ without their aſſiſtance. But that, however, they had an-  
 “ other reaſon not to declare againſt the *Romans* at that  
 “ juncture. A clan of *Gauls* had lately ſettled in their neigh-  
 “ bourhood, with whom they had no aſſurance of laſting  
 “ peace, tho', as yet, no certain proſpect of war. Never-  
 “ theleſs, out of regard to alliances and blood, they would  
 “ not hinder a body of volunteers from marching to the re-  
 “ lief of *Vei*.” By ſuch unaccountable policy as this, did the inſatuated *Etruſcans* ſuffer the ambitious *Romans* to make themſelves maſters of *Vei*, and gradually to ſubdue the divided, tho' opulent country of *Etruria*.

\* LIV. ubi ſupra. ZONAR. l. vii. AUGUST. de civitate Dei.

f LIV. ubi ſupra, c. 17.

THE *Romans* sent a body of troops, the following year, to act against the *Capenates* and *Falisci*, and hinder their advancing to the relief of *Veii*. But they were decoyed into an ambushade by the *Etruscans*, who intirely defeated them. One of the *Roman* generals was killed in the action; and tho' the other rallied his shattered forces, he durst not face the victorious enemy any more in the open field. This so terrified the troops in the camp before *Veii*, that they were upon the point of dispersing themselves.

BEFORE *Camillus*, the new dictator, took upon him the command of the army besieging *Veii*, he advanced at the head of a body of troops to the plains of *Nepe*. Here he overthrew a numerous army of *Etruscans*, and plundered their camp. From thence he marched to *Veii*; but found the town so strong, both by nature and art, that it could not be taken by assault. But, seeing the ground very proper for mines, he undertook to open one, and to carry it on under-ground into the middle of the upper city, which the *Romans* were to enter all on a sudden, through the passage they were to make. To favour this operation, *Camillus* made a general assault; by which means, the *Veientes*, who were busy on the ramparts, in all parts of the town, had not time to attend to the mine which was dug under their city, nor consequently to repulse the *Romans*, when they came out of their subterranean passage. As they were under no apprehension, that their walls were undermined, they could not forbear wondering what had induced the *Romans*, who had not moved from their posts for so many days, at that time to assault their walls with such impetuosity. We are told, that the moment the *Romans* came from under-ground, the king of *Veii* was sacrificing to the gods; and that they heard the haruspex declare, that the victory should be given to him, who should dissect the entrails of that victim. Upon which, it is added, the *Romans* seized the entrails, and carried them to the dictator. Be that as it will, the *Veientes* for some time defended themselves with great bravery, and destroyed many of the *Romans*. But at last they were obliged to surrender at discretion. The *Romans* put vast numbers of them to the sword, and sold the rest for slaves. The town was plundered, and the riches found there so immense, that the *Roman* general seemed to be afraid the gods themselves would envy him such a conquest. Thus fell the famous city of *Veii*, whose greatness we may form a judgment of by the difficulty the *Romans* met with in conquering it. They lost a vast number of men before it;



may, many more than the *Veientes*. In fine, it was taken at last only by sap; and was therefore, as the fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* have observed, rather reduced by artifice than force <sup>h</sup>.

THE reduction of *Veii* was a most terrible blow to the *Etruscan* body, and paved the way for further conquests in *Etruria*. This, one would imagine, should have cemented more closely all the remaining members of that body, in order to prevent their falling a sacrifice to *Roman* ambition. But it had no such salutary effect. Their disunion and civil dissensions rendered them an easy prey to an encroaching and rapacious state, which, from its first origin, had discovered a strong disposition to enslave all its neighbours.

THIS important conquest did not, however, procure the *Romans* happiness at home. Civil dissensions reigned at *Rome*. However, the *Romans*, the year after the reduction of *Veii*, pillaged the territories of the *Capenates* and *Falisci*, in a most terrible manner. This forced the *Capenates* to beg quarter, and submit to the proud republic. The conquest of the *Falisci* was the next object of the *Roman* arms <sup>i</sup>.

CAMILLUS, at the head of a powerful army, entered the country of the *Falisci*; but found no enemy to oppose him. All the forces of that nation had shut themselves up within the walls of *Falerii*. He therefore laid waste all the country round the place, and burnt the villages. This so incensed the *Falisci*, that they came out of their capital, and encamped about a thousand paces from it. The spot they encamped upon seemed to be inaccessible by nature, and therefore they neglected to fortify it by art. Nevertheless, the *Romans* found means not only to attack the *Faliscan* camp, but likewise to force it, and drive the enemy into the town. *Camillus* then formed the siege of *Falerii*, but did not push it on with vigour. He even continued long before it, without exercising any acts of hostility. An accident, however, happened, that by perfidy would have put the city into his hands, had he not been of a generous and magnanimous disposition. It was the custom in *Falerii*, consonant to the practice of their ancestors, to commit the education of their youth to the care of a single person, who was to instruct them in all kinds of polite literature. He likewise took them out to walk with him, and gave them other exercises proper for their age. Now the schoolmaster, or instructor of the *Faliscan* youth, at this juncture, carried off the sons of the nobility, and other people

<sup>h</sup> LIV. ubi supra, c. 19. PLUT. in Camil.  
c. 28.

<sup>i</sup> LIV. ubi sup.

of distinction, to *Camillus's* camp, and delivered them up to him. But *Camillus* was of too generous a disposition to give the least countenance to such perfidy. He therefore sent him back into *Falerii* with ignominy, which paved the way for a reconciliation between *Rome* and the *Falisci*. In fine, tho' the *Falisci* offered to receive a *Roman* garison into their capital, *Camillus*, whom the senate left sole arbiter of the peace, demanded nothing more of them, than to defray the expences of the present campaign. A rare instance of moderation this, proceeding intirely from the noble disposition of *Camillus*, and not from any virtue in his republic <sup>k</sup>!

THE people of *Volsinii* were the next *Etruscan* lucumony, *The Volsin* who made an incursion upon the *Roman* lands. This they nienfes did, in conjunction with the *Salpinates*, a people situated be- make an tween *Volsinii* and *Clusum*, in *Etruria*. The republic, there- incursion fore, declared war against the *Volsinienfes*; but deferred the upon the prosecution of it, till a more favourable opportunity offered. Roman territories. For, according to *Livy*, the *Romans* were not able to march an army against the *Volsinienfes*, at this juncture, on account of a famine and pestilence, in their dominions, occasioned by a dry and excessive hot season. The ravages made by those dreadful enemies we shall not touch upon here, as not so properly belonging to the history of the *Etruscans* <sup>l</sup>.

HOWEVER, the following year, the *Romans* sent a power- The Ro- ful army, under the command of *L. Lucretius* and *C. Æmilius*, mans de- two of their military tribunes, against the *Volsinienfes*; and feat the *Agrippa Furius*, and *Servius Sulpicius*, two others of them, Volsini- marched against the *Salpinates*. The *Volsinienfes* brought a enfes. numerous army into the field; but, being attacked by the *Romans*, they made a very faint resistance; for they took to their heels, at the first onset. But the *Roman* cavalry coming up with the fugitives, surrounded eight thousand of them, and forced them to surrender at discretion. This victory so terrified the *Salpinates*, that they would not venture an engagement. Their soldiers took refuge within their walls; while the *Romans* every-where pillaged the *Volsinian* and *Salpinatian* territories without opposition. The *Volsinienfes* finding themselves not able to cope with the formidable republic, had, at length, a truce granted them for twenty years; upon condition that they should restore to the *Romans* all the booty they had taken from them, and give their soldiers one year's pay <sup>m</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> *Liv.* ubi supra, c. 26, 27. *PLUT.* in *Camil.*

<sup>l</sup> *Idem* *ibid.*

<sup>m</sup> *Liv.* ubi supra, c. 32.

The Senones make an irruption into Etruria.

BEFORE the Romans granted a truce to the *Volturnenses*, the Gauls had made an irruption into *Etruria*. This happened on the following occasion: *Aruns*, a nobleman of *Clusum*, had been tutor to an *Etruscan* *lucumo*, whom he had brought up from his infancy. This prince falling in love with his tutor's wife, found means to make himself agreeable to her. They carried on an illicit commerce for some time before *Aruns* discovered the intrigue; and, upon his discovery of it, the *lucumo* conveyed the lady away from her husband. As the *lucumo's* power and interest screened him from punishment for so foul a crime in *Etruria*, *Aruns* endeavoured to excite the Gauls to an invasion of that country. In order to which, he took refuge among the *Senones*, and carried thither some *Etruscan* wine, with which that people was wonderfully delighted. In fine, they took a resolution to march, under his direction, as far as *Clusum*, and demand satisfaction for the affront, that had been offered him. This they immediately began to put in execution. In their march they fell upon *Uubria*, and reduced all the country between *Ravenna* and *Picenum*. Here they spent six years in settling themselves, whilst the Romans were carrying on the siege of *Vii*. And at last *Aruns* conducted their king, *Brennus* to *Clusum*, and persuaded him to form the siege of that place<sup>a</sup>.

Year of Rome 362.

The Etruscans apply to the Romans for assistance.

As the Gauls had given the *Etruscans* two signal defeats, before they arrived at *Clusum*, the *Clusinians* were greatly terrified at their approach. But, when they saw the huge size of the enemy, the vast number of men that composed their army, and the arms they used, they were filled with inexpressible terror. In this most calamitous situation they could think of no other expedient, that was likely to prove effectual, than an application to the Romans to assist them at this perilous conjuncture<sup>a</sup>.

*Brennus*, the Gallic commander, takes Rome.

ACCORDING to *Livy*, soon after the arrival of the Roman ambassadors at the Gallic camp before *Clusum*, there happened an action between the *Clusinians* and the Gauls. But, as the latter observed the Roman ambassadors themselves, in direct violation of the law of nations, to head the *Clusinian* troops, and even one of them to kill a Gallic commander, they immediately caused a retreat to be sounded. *Brennus*, their general, from that moment, resolved to turn his arms against Rome, if he did not receive ample satisfaction for so unjustifiable a procedure. In consequence of this resolution, he raised the siege of *Clusum*, and, the year following, made himself master of Rome<sup>b</sup>. But, for the particulars of this

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid. PLUT. in Camil.

<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid.

ibid.

expedition,

expedition, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the Roman history.

ABOUT the time that *Rome* was burnt by the *Gauls*, the *Etruscans* advanced into the territories of that city. They thought the melancholy condition to which it was then reduced gave them a favourable opportunity of repairing their former losses. With this view, they pillaged a large extent of ground, and carried away a considerable booty from it. Nay, they encamped in the neighbourhood of *Veii*, with a design to lay siege to it, and thereby cut off all hopes of relief from the republic. But the garison, under the command of one *Cæditi* a centurion, sallied out upon them in the night, surprised them, and gave them an intire defeat. A great number of the *Etruscans* were made prisoners on this occasion. Another body of *Tuscan* troops, that made an irruption on the side of the *Salt-pits* of *Ofstia*, met with the same fate. The *Romans* surprised them likewise by night, and put the greatest part of them to the sword \*. This double victory animated the *Romans*, and, probably, not a little contributed to the blow they soon after gave the *Gauls*.

ABOUT two years after *Rome* had been taken by the *Gauls*, *Sutrium* some merchants brought advise to that capital, that all the taken by the Etruscans, and taken by Camillus. lucumonies of *Etruria* were assembled at the temple of *Voltumna*, and had conspired the destruction of the *Romans*. In pursuance of the resolution there taken, the *Etruscans* laid siege to *Sutrium*, a city in alliance with the republic, and forced it to surrender by capitulation. But *Camillus*, some few hours after its reddition, surprised it, killed a great number of *Etruscans* upon the spot, and took all the rest prisoners. These he carried with him to *Rome*, and sold them all for slaves. This is the account we have from *Livy*; but, according to *Plutarch*, the greatest part of the *Etruscans* was put to the sword †.

THE next year, the *Romans* marched an army into the lucumony of *Tarquinius*, and reduced two cities there, *Cortusæ* and *Contembra*. These were both dismantled, and so effectually destroyed, that we find them not even mentioned after the time of their destruction. *Cortusæ* was taken by surprise, and without any opposition; but *Contembra* sustained a siege: this the *Romans* carried on with continued and unwearied application; and, after repeated attempts, forced it to surrender. The booty found in it was seized upon by the troops ‡.

\* *Liv.* l. v. c. 45.  
ubi supra, c. 4.

† *Liv.* l. vi. *PLUT.* in *Camil.*

‡ *Liv.*

Camillus forces the Etruscans to raise the siege of Sutrium, and retakes Nepete from them. Two years after, the *Etruscans* assembled a numerous army upon the frontiers, and laid siege to *Sutrium*. They also found means to make themselves masters of *Nepete*. But *Camillus* advanced to the relief of *Sutrium*; forced the enemy to raise the siege, and cut many of their men in pieces: then he moved to *Nepete*, which had voluntarily surrendered to the *Etruscans*, and was occupied by an *Etruscan* garison. He first summoned the place to surrender; but, upon receiving an ambiguous answer, he plundered all the adjacent country. These hostilities, however, did not move either the inhabitants, or the garison. Having therefore provided himself with a proper number of fascines out of a neighbouring forest, he filled the ditches with them, and scaled the walls. In fine, the city was taken almost as soon as assaulted. The authors of the revolt fell by the lictors, the *Etruscan* garison was put to the sword, and the citizens, not concerned in the surrender of the city to the *Etruscans*, had their lives and effects given them.

The Tarquinienfes make an incursion upon the Roman territories. ABOUT the year of *Rome* 395, the *Tarquinienfes* made an incursion upon the *Roman* territories: but, as their hostilities consisted only in plundering the country, the republic suspended her resentment, till a new election had given her new consuls.

The Romans are defeated by the Tarquinienfes. AFTER that election was over, *C. Fabius Ambustus*, one of the consuls, led an army against the *Tarquinienfes*, attacked them, and met with a repulse. The *Tarquinienfes* are said to have treated ill three hundred and seven *Roman* prisoners, who fell into their hands, and then to have cut their throats. Some of the *Roman* soldiers, after this defeat, fled to *Falerii* for refuge, as to a city in amity with the *Romans*. These men the *Falisci* detained, and would not surrender them up to the republic, though demanded by the *feciales*. They had likewise assisted the *Tarquinienfes* with a body of infantry in the late action, which was considered at *Rome* as equivalent to a declaration of war.

The Tarquinienfes and Falisci drive the Romans out of their territories. THE following year, an army was sent into *Etruria*, under the command of the consul *Cn. Manlius*, to chastise the *Tarquinienfes* and *Falisci*. But they behaved with such conduct and resolution, that the *Romans* were obliged to retire, without having effected any thing against them.

The Romans overthrow the Falisci and Tarquinienfes. THE next year, the consul *Fabius* marched against the united forces of the *Falisci* and *Tarquinienfes*. The *Etruscans* routed the consul in the first encounter. Their priests ad-

\* LIV. & PLUT. ubi supra.    † LIV. l. vii. c. 12.    \* LIV. ubi supra, c. 15.    \* LIV. l. vii. c. 16.

vanced with snakes made of ribbands of different colours, in one hand, and lighted flambeaux in the other. As this gave them the air of furies, the *Romans* were so affrighted at their odd appearance, that, taking them to be a legion of infernal spirits, they fled with great precipitation to their intrenchments; but at length, the generals having made them ashamed of their childlike fear, they rushed upon these spectres with such impetuosity, that they immediately dispersed them. Then they attacked the enemy's camp, forced it, and returned in triumph to their own intrenchments. In their military songs, the *Roman* soldiers made themselves merry with their own ridiculous fright, and the silly artifice of the enemy\*.

*Year of Rome 397.*

SOON after, according to *Livy*, the whole *Etruscan* nation took up arms against the *Romans*; and, being conducted by the *Tarquinienses* and *Falisci*, advanced as far as the *Salt-pits*, on the banks of the *Tiber*. To oppose this impending danger, the dictator *Cn. Marcius Rutilus* advanced with an army against the *Etruscans*. He coasted along the *Tiber*, marching sometimes on this side, sometimes on that, often crossing the river in boats, and always in pursuit of the *Etruscans*. Where-ever he understood any of their parties had appeared, he sent troops to intercept them. At last he made an unexpected attack upon their camp, forced it, and took eight thousand of the enemy prisoners. He killed likewise a great number, and drove the rest intirely out of the *Roman* territories†.

*The Etruscans are driven out of the Roman territories.*

Two years after, the consul *T. Quinctius Pennus* fought a battle with the *Tarquinienses*. This was bloody; but not decisive. Nay, as *Quinctius* was not honoured with a triumph, we apprehend, the *Romans* had no great reason to boast. Be that as it will, *Quinctius*, after he had seen great multitudes of the *Etruscans* fall in battle, had the barbarous pleasure of putting to death a great number of *Etruscan* prisoners in cold blood. He likewise reserved three hundred and fifty-eight of these miserable captives, and sent them to *Rome*. These, who were the principal of the prisoners, were first beaten with rods in the forum, and then beheaded by the lictors. Such an heroic action as this most certainly merited the empire of the \* world!

*A drawn battle between the Romans and the Tarquinienses.*

*Year of Rome 399.*

THE following year the *Cærites* joined the people of *Tarquinius* and *Falerii*. The combined army being too strong for the *Romans*, plundered the country round about the *Roman* salt-pits, near the *Tiber*, and carried their booty to the *Cærites*. After proclaiming war against the *Cærites*, the dictator

*The Cærites join the Tarquinienses and Falisci.*

\* *Liv. ubi supra, c. 17. Flor. l. i. c. 8. † Liv. ubi sup. Oros. l. iii. c. 6. Eutrop. l. ii. \* Liv. ubi sup. c. 19.*

*Manlius* advanced against that people at the head of a consular army. But that canton being convinced, that they could not cope with such an army; they neither raised troops, nor made any preparations for war. On the contrary, they sent deputies to *Rome*, to implore the clemency of the senate. Upon their application to that body, they were by them referred to the people: and the *Cerites* hoped they should be able to obtain their favour, upon religious considerations. They besought the gods, whose images they had received into their city, and taken care of with all due respect during the war with the *Gauls*, to inspire the *Romans*, now in a flourishing condition, with the same compassion for the people of *Cære*, which they had shewn for the republic in her distress. This was the topic the deputies made use of, to move the common people to pity them. Nor did they fail of carrying their point. Their past services prevailed on the *Roman* people to forget the evil they had done. The republic, therefore, received them into favour, and granted them a truce of an hundred years. The dictator then turned his arms against the *Falisci*; but before he entered their country, they had all disappeared. He therefore ravaged their lands, without attempting to storm their towns, and then led his legions back to <sup>a</sup> *Rome*.

The Romans grant the *Tarquinienses* and *Falisci* a truce.

THE consuls *C. Sulpicius* and *T. Quinctius Pennus*, two years after, were appointed to carry on the war against the two *Etruscan* cantons. It was the lot of the former to march against the *Tarquinienses*; and of the latter to oppose the *Falisci*. But as neither of those enemies thought proper to appear in the field, the consuls entered their territories without opposition, and ravaged them in a dreadful manner. In fine, these two nations being quite exhausted by such repeated devastations, they thought fit to submit to the superiority of the *Roman* arms: they sent therefore deputies to *Rome* to apply to the senate for a truce, who granted them one for forty years <sup>b</sup>.

The *Falisci* enter into an alliance with the Romans. A war breaks out between the Romans and the *Etruscans*.

ABOUT eight years after, this truce was converted, on the part of the *Falisci*, into a treaty of alliance with *Rome*: by which means, the whole *Faliscan* lucumony became in reality a part of the *Roman* dominions <sup>c</sup>.

FROM this period to the consulate of *C. Junius Brutus* and *Q. Emilius Barbula*, we find little said of the *Etruscans*, by the *Roman* historians. But in that consulate a war broke out between the *Etruscan* body and the republic. *Barbula* commanded the *Roman* forces destined for *Etruria*. Upon his ar-

<sup>a</sup> Liv. l. vii. c. 20. ubi supra, c. 37.

<sup>b</sup> Liv. ubi supra, c. 22.

<sup>c</sup> Liv.

rival in that country, he found the enemy ready to lay siege *Year of*  
to *Sutrium*, a city in strict alliance with the *Romans*, and a Rome  
kind of barrier to them with regard to *Etruria*. The *Etrus-* 442.  
*can* army was formed of soldiers drawn out of all the *lucumoniae*, except that of *Arretium*, which had refused to furnish its contingent of troops. The *Etruscans* spent the first day in deliberating whether it would be proper to spin out the war, or prosecute it with vigour. But the latter opinion prevailing amongst their generals, the next morning, about sun-rising, they advanced in their arms to meet the *Romans*. The consul, upon the first advice of their being in motion, ordered his troops to refresh themselves, and then take their arms. When, in pursuance of these orders, he found them all ready, he commanded the standards to be moved out of the lines, and drew up his men in order of battle at a small distance from the enemy. Both armies waited to see which would begin the attack. At last, the *Etruscans*, for fear the armies should separate without an action, after sounding their trumpets, began the charge. The *Romans* received them with great bravery, being superior to the enemy in courage, tho' inferior in numbers. The action was very brisk and bloody on both sides, and many brave men fell in it. Nor did any advantage appear on either side, till the second line of the *Roman* army advanced with fresh courage to relieve the first, that was grown quite faint with fighting. Nay, tho' the *Etruscans* had no more fresh troops to support their wearied men, they were resolved to conquer or die. Many of them therefore fell bravely round their standards, without being put into the least disorder. At the approach of the night, the two armies parted in good order, and retired to their respective camps. Tho' the *Romans* left the field of battle first, yet the *Etruscans* would probably, had not the night interposed, have sustained the greatest loss. However, both sides suffered so extremely in this action, that we find nothing of moment happened afterwards this campaign.

THE following campaign, the *Etruscans* led a great army *The Etrus-*  
to *Sutrium*, with an intention to besiege it. *Fabius*, the *Romans are*  
*man* general, being much weaker than the enemy, drew up *over-*  
his army in two lines, and extended his front, in order to *thrown by*  
prevent being surrounded by the numerous forces of the *Etrus-* *Fabius.*  
*cans*. They began the attack sword in hand, but the *Romans*  
having before taken post upon a steep and craggy hill, covered  
with flints, they found it extremely difficult to come up with

\* LIV. l. ix. c. 32. FASTI CAPITOL. ad A. U. C. 442.



them. The declivity of the hill rendered the *Roman* camp almost inaccessible, especially as the *Etruscans* could not annoy the legions with their darts, which, out of their great ardour, they had thrown away, before the beginning of the action; whereas the *Romans* not only poured down upon them prodigious numbers of darts from above, but likewise broke the bucklers and helmets of the *Etruscans*, and stunned many of them by a shower of flints. This put them into disorder, so that their infantry began to break. Upon which *Fabius* ordered his first line to advance, and attack the enemy sword in hand. Which order was executed with such bravery, that the *Etruscans* fled towards their camp. But the consul detaching his cavalry to intercept these fugitives, they instantly crossed the plain, and came up with them before they could reach their camp. So that the *Etruscans* were forced to disperse, and hide themselves in the *Ciminian* forest. They lost thirty-eight colours in the action, their camp, and a considerable booty in it<sup>e</sup>.

*Fabius penetrates into the Ciminian forest.*

IN the mean time, the *Etruscans* thought themselves secure in their retreat. Nor, indeed, were any of the *Roman* officers, in a council of war, except *Fabius*, for penetrating into the *Ciminian* forest. But his brother *Cæso Fabius* had voluntarily offered to go and reconnoitre that forest, and, if possible, open a passage for the *Roman* army. As he was bred up in *Etruria* (H), whither at that time the *Romans* of distinction sent their sons for education, as they afterwards did to *Athens*, he understood the *Etruscan* tongue; and, therefore, was well qualified for such an undertaking. This language, which he had learned at *Cære*, differed much from the *Latin*. Taking a slave with him, he penetrated as far as the territory of the *Camertes* in *Umbria*, and concluded a treaty with that people; by virtue of which, they obliged themselves

<sup>e</sup> Liv. ubi supra, c. 35, 36.

(H) From what the (1) fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* have advanced, it seems to appear, that, in the year of *Rome* 443. the *Etruscan* and *Latin* languages were vastly different: for the words of those languages had, according to them, different pronunciations. The *Etruscan* was, as may be supposed, more guttural: and indeed this, in some

measure, appears even at this day. For the *dutca*, *carne*, *carrozza*, &c. of the other *Italians*, the *Tuscans* pronounce *dubba*, *bbarne*, *bbarrozza*, &c. in conformity to the *Oriental*s. This seems to be no obscure intimation, that the ancient *Etruscan* language savoured not a little of the *East*.

(1) *Rom. hist.* under the year of *Rome* 443.

to join the *Romans* with a body of auxiliaries, and supply their army with provisions for thirty days, upon their arrival in that country. Upon *Caso's* report, the general resolved to enter the forest, and carry the war that way into the very heart of *Etruria*. The plan of his operations in this arduous affair, he executed with great address, and gained the summit of the hill *Ciminus*, from whence the forest deduced its name. What greatly contributed to his success, was the persuasion the *Etruscans* were under, that it was impossible for foreigners to cross the *Ciminian* forest, and come at them that way. But, for the particulars of this glorious action, our readers must have recourse to the *Roman* history <sup>f</sup>.

AFTER *Fabius* had taken post upon the famous mount *Fabius Ciminus*, he sent detachments to plunder and lay waste the fruitful plains of *Etruria*. As the inhabitants thought no enemy could approach them, they had no regular troops in the neighbourhood for their defence. So that the principal people armed in haste some bodies of peasants, to oppose the enemy. But the *Romans* soon dispersed this undisciplined rabble, and pillaged a large extent of territory with little opposition. However, all *Etruria*, and part of *Umbria*, being alarmed at so unexpected a visit, took the field, and immediately advanced to *Sutrium*. Such a vast reinforcement animated the *Etruscans*, who had fled for refuge into the forest, to appear again in the plain. Elated with their great numbers, they drew up in order of battle, and left a void space of ground, whereon the *Romans*, if they thought proper, might do the same. But *Fabius* declined fighting, covered himself with intrenchments, and ordered his advanced guards, which used to watch without the ramparts, to retire into his camp. This tacit acknowledgement of his own inferiority, rendered both the consul and his troops contemptible in the eyes of the *Etruscans*. But the feint answered the end he had in view. For the enemy depending too much upon their own strength, took little precaution in intrenching themselves. Nor did they make the least provision against a surprize. So that *Fabius* having refreshed his men, and allowed them to take some rest, about three in the morning drew them up in battalia, upon the spot where his camp was pitched. As it was summer-time, when the morning sleep is usually the soundest, he found some of the *Etruscans* fast asleep on the ground, and others not out of their beds, when he made the attack. He met therefore with a very slender resistance. Some indeed took to their arms, and were instantly killed, whilst others

<sup>f</sup> Idem ibid. FLOR. l. i.

attempted to rally; but, having no commanders, they were easily put to the rout. Several gained the forest, and others retired to the camp they had fortified in the plain. In fine, this camp was forced, and all the plunder, except the gold and silver, which he ordered to be brought to him, distributed by the consul amongst the troops. We are told, that the *Etruscans* had near sixty thousand men killed and taken prisoners. This victory is supposed to have been obtained in the neighbourhood of *Perusia*. The *lucumonies* of *Cortona*, *Arretium*, and *Perusia*, immediately after this blow, sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to desire an armistice, which the republic granted them for thirty years <sup>z</sup>.

He gains  
another  
victory  
over the  
Etruscans.

THE next campaign, *Fabius* carried the war into *Umbria*, and defeated the *Umbri* in a pitched battle. As their ardor greatly abated upon the first attack, they retired, without sustaining any considerable loss; but they appeared no more in the field. In the mean time, the most formidable army ever assembled by the *Etruscans* appeared upon the banks of the *Lacus Vadimonis*, at a small distance from *Viterbo*. Some pretend, that the soldiers had made a vow either to conquer or die, which was called the *sacred law*. But others affirm, that the governors of the *lucumonies* had commanded all the *Etruscan* youth, capable of bearing arms, to come into the army, with a menace to devote all the heads of those that failed to *Jupiter*. Such persons being proscribed, it was lawful for any man to kill them. Be that as it will, the prodigious influence of the *sacred law* appeared both in the number and disposition of the *Etruscans*. Every common soldier also had leave to choose himself a companion to fight by him; and with whom he was either to conquer or die; which must necessarily have created a very strong emulation. It is no wonder therefore, that the *Etruscans*, in this engagement, brought the *Romans* upon the very brink of destruction. Their first line was cut to pieces, and the second so pushed, that the *triarii* were brought to engage; which was never done but in desperate cases. However, the *Etruscans* were forced at last to give way, and even to abandon their camp. The flower of the *Etruscan* forces perished in this unfortunate action <sup>b</sup>.

Decius  
grants the  
Etruscans  
a truce for  
one year.

THE following campaign, the consul *Decius* advanced into *Etruria*. He forced the *Tarquinienses* to supply his troops with provisions, and then granted them a truce for forty years. By detaching that canton from the general alliance of *Etruria*, and his military incursions, he struck such terror into the country, that the *Etruscans* found themselves obliged to desire <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>z</sup> Liv. ubi supra, c. 37.      <sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. c. 39.

an alliance with the *Romans*. But the haughty consul could not be prevailed upon to grant them any thing more than a truce for one year, and even that, in consideration of their submission, of their paying his troops, and of furnishing every *Roman* soldier with two suits of cloaths. The war being thus terminated in *Etruria*, at least for the present, *Decius*<sup>1</sup> seemed to have an inclination to act in conjunction with *Fabius* against the *Umbri*, who had entered into an alliance with the *Etruscans*. What success the *Romans* met with in their invasion of that people's territories, our readers will find; in the history of the *Umbrians*; to which a relation of the operations in *Umbria* this campaign more properly belongs.

In the year of *Rome* 452, some domestic broils happened in *Etruria*, which seemed likely to turn at last to the prejudice of the *Romans*. The immense wealth of the *Cilnian* family excited the envy and jealousy of the citizens of *Arretium*, and, at last, occasioned an insurrection amongst them. Nay, they had interest enough to prevail upon the other *Etruscans* to take up arms, in order to expel the *Cilnian* family out of their native country. The republic, in order to quell these commotions, sent an army into *Etruria*, under the command of *Valerius Corvus* the dictator. During the dictator's absence, the *Etruscans* found means to draw the general of the horse into an ambuscade. Upon which they immediately surrounded his troops, took some of his colours, put a great number of his men to the sword, and obliged the rest to fly with precipitation to his camp. The news of this defeat struck the people of *Rome* with as much terror, as if their whole army had been cut to pieces. After the late victory, the *Etruscans* being informed, that the dictator had led his army into the fields of *Rusella*, near the sea, and not far from the lake *Prilis*, they followed him with all their forces. Tho' they depended greatly on their superior strength, they laid another ambuscade in the ruins of a village, which the *Romans* had burnt. But this being detected by the sagacity of *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* lieutenant-general, posted near those ruins, the *Etruscan* general drew his troops out into the plain. *Fulvius* seeing the enemy bend their march towards him, and knowing himself not able long to sustain an attack, sent to the dictator for succours. In the mean time the *Etruscans* pushed on the siege of the fort defended by *Fulvius*, with vigour; which at last brought on a general action. For the dictator advancing to his relief, immediately engaged the enemy. His infantry only faced the first line of the *Etruscan* foot; but he had left

A fresh war breaks out between the Romans and the Etruscans.

<sup>1</sup> Liv. ubi supra, c. 41.

several large spaces between the corps of his infantry, through which his horse could freely pass, and come up to the enemy. And that the cavalry might make the greater impression, he ordered the infantry to advance first, and conceal from the *Etruscans* the storm that was to fall upon them. Having made this disposition, the *Roman* horse rode through the imperceptible intervals in their own battalions above-mentioned, and fell with such fury upon the *Etruscan* foot, that they were not able to stand the shock. As this sudden irruption was not in the least expected, the enemy were not prepared to sustain it, and therefore they retired in great disorder to their camp. When the *Romans* attacked them there, they ran in crowds to the remotest part of it. Some fled with such precipitation, that they could not move out of the gates, which were not capable of letting out so many at once. But the greatest part of the fugitives ascended the mount and rampart, with an intention either to defend themselves by the advantage of the higher ground, or to find out some way to escape. So that the rampart of earth, on that side of the camp to which they retired, being not well constructed, gave way under their feet. This accident, therefore, opened a passage for many of them to escape; which they did, but for the most part without arms. Such a blow as this, after they had been so long harassed, and in a manner exhausted by former wars, could not fail of bringing the *Etruscans* to the conqueror's terms. They were obliged to furnish the dictator's troops with provisions for two months, and give them a year's pay. Upon their compliance with these conditions, the republic granted them a truce for two years<sup>k</sup>.

Valerius  
punishes the  
Etruscans  
for their  
intention to  
break the  
new truce.

BEFORE the expiration of that term, the *Etruscans* are said to have made preparations for another war with *Rome*; but were obliged to suspend the execution of their design. For the *Gauls* made an irruption into *Etruria*. The *Etruscans* chose rather to purchase an alliance with these foreigners against *Rome*, than to repel their incursions by force. But, after those barbarians had received the money, they refused to march into the *Roman* territories; so that the *Etruscans* were forced to drop their intended expedition. However, *M. Valerius Corvus* was sent to chastise them for their hostile intentions. They fled into their intrenchments and strong-holds, at his approach. *Valerius* did all that was possible to draw them into the plain, but without effect; so that, having sacked and pillaged the whole country, he put an end to the campaign<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> LIV. l. x. c. 3. FAST. CAPITOL. ad A. U. C. 452.  
<sup>l</sup> ubi supra. PLUT. in Mar.

<sup>l</sup> LIV.

SCIPIO opened the next campaign, in *Etruria*, with a battle, which was fought in the neighbourhood of *Volaterra*. This action continued all day; nor did it appear at night which side had the victory. The courage and slaughter on both sides were nearly equal. But an unaccountable terror seizing the *Etruscans*, they abandoned their camp in the night. The consul, in the morning, took possession of it, and plundered it. After which, he led back his army into the country of the *Falisci*, and posted himself in the neighbourhood of *Falerii*: from thence he made incursions upon almost every part of the *Etruscan* territories. His parties and detachments committed dreadful devastations where-ever they moved. They pillaged all the open country, burnt the castles and villages, and spared only the cities, into which the country-people had retired with some of their effects <sup>m</sup>.

THE *Etruscans* seem to have been in a state of inaction the following year. Their thoughts were intent upon a peace; nor were the *Romans* ignorant of their pacific disposition. But as the *Roman* historians have not intimated, that the republic made any advances towards an accommodation, we must suppose, that the war still continued <sup>n</sup>.

A BODY of *Samnites*, the remains of a formidable army overthrown by *Decius*, having opened themselves a passage into *Etruria*, solicited the *Etruscan* lucumonies to push on the war against *Rome* with vigour, the next campaign. This reinforcement exceedingly animated the *Etruscans*, who were before wavering in their resolutions, and fixed them in their determination to oppose the *Roman* ambition. They even endeavoured to draw the *Gauls* and *Umbrians* into a confederacy against the *Romans*. Upon receiving intelligence of these motions, the republic sent *Appius* the consul, with an army of twenty-three thousand men, into *Etruria*. The *Etruscans* defeated several of *Appius*'s parties and detachments; and endeavoured to bring the consul to a battle. But this he declined, till the arrival of his colleague *Volumnius*, then in *Samnium*, whom he had desired to march to his assistance. Upon the junction of the two consular armies, a general action ensued: *Appius* attacked the *Samnites*, and *Volumnius* the *Etruscans*. The *Etruscans* and *Samnites* behaved with great bravery; but, being overpowered by two consular armies, they were obliged to retire. The consuls then made themselves masters of the enemy's camp, pillaged it, and gave all the booty to their troops. The *Etruscans* and *Samnites* lost

<sup>m</sup> Liv. ubi supra, c. 12. FAST. CAPITOL. ad A. U. C. 455.

<sup>n</sup> Liv. ubi supra, c. 14.

*The war  
continues  
between  
the Ro-  
mans and  
the Etrus-  
cans.*

seven thousand three hundred men upon the field of battle, and had two thousand one hundred taken prisoners. Nothing further, worth relating, happened in *Etruria* this campaign \*.

THE *Etruscan* forces, in conjunction with those of their allies, the following year, seem to have been superior to their enemies, till the arrival of *Fabius* in the *Roman* camp. That general's presence changed the face of affairs. But when, upon an extraordinary occasion, he left the army for a little time, the *Gauls* took advantage of his absence, and defeated a legion, which that general had left, under the command of *Scipio*, in the neighbourhood of *Old Clusum*. The legionaries were almost, to a man, cut off. *Fabius* and *Decius*, the two consuls, encamped separately, but within reach of one another, in the fine plain of *Sentinum*. They had taken post about four miles from the enemy, who, according to the *Roman* writers, were much superior to them in number. One historian affirms, that the *Gauls* and *Samnites* only amounted to one hundred and forty thousand three hundred and thirty-four effective men; and, supposing the *Etruscans* and *Umbri*, these four nations having united their forces, to be equally numerous, the whole army must have consisted of above two hundred and eighty thousand fighting men. This prodigious number could not be contained in one single camp. The *Gauls* therefore encamped with the *Samnites*, and the *Umbri* with the *Etruscans*. It was likewise agreed, that the *Gauls* and *Samnites* only should engage the *Romans*, whilst the *Umbri* and the *Etruscans* attacked their two camps in the heat of the battle. *Fabius* being informed of these measures by three deserters from *Clusum*, took care to defeat the design of the confederates. He dispatched couriers to the prætors *Fulvius* and *Posthumius*, who were left to cover *Rome*, with orders to enter *Etruria* immediately, and ravage it. This drew the *Etruscans* and *Umbri* into *Etruria* to defend it; so that the *Samnites* and *Gauls* were left alone to sustain the attack of the consular armies. An engagement, soon after this separation, ensued, which was one of the most bloody, obstinate, and hard-disputed battles we meet with in the whole course of history. And this most clearly proves, that, had the four combined nations kept their forces united in one compact body, nothing could, humanly speaking, have prevented the destruction of *Rome*. But the great Arbiter of all events had otherwise determined. The *Romans*, by a continued series of victories and success, were to subjugate the greatest part of this globe, for reasons best known to him P.

\* LIV. ubi supra, c. 18, 19.  
CAPITOL. ad A. U. C. 458.

P LIV. l. x. c. 30. FAST.

As the *Etruscans* had no share in this bloody action, a minute and particular description of it is not to be expected here. For this, our readers will consult the *Roman* history.

THE prætor *Fulvius*, and probably *Posthumius*, who had joined him, left their posts, by *Fabius's* command, in order to ravage *Etruria*. Their motion had drawn off a part of the enemy's army encamped before *Sentinum*. They attacked a body composed of *Perusian* and *Clusian* troops, killed above three thousand of them, and took twenty colours. This is the account *Livy* gives. But it is so imperfect, not to say absurd, that we know not what to make of it. To draw above an hundred thousand men from *Sentinum*, in order to oppose a few legions; to make this numerous army to disappear, immediately after its departure, in such a manner as never to be afterwards heard of; to suppose the *Perusini* and *Clusini* only to be able to make head against the above-mentioned legions, exclusive of the formidable *Umbrian* and *Etruscan* army, that separated from the *Samnites* and *Gauls*, with an intention to succour the abandoned *Etruria*; these, we say, are such masterly strokes in the *Latin* historian, as cannot easily be paralleled. The great partiality of that historian for his own nation, and the unaccountable hatred he bore all those nations, who bravely opposed the *Roman* tyranny and ambition, have frequently rendered him inconsistent with himself. This will most evidently appear to all who read his history with proper attention. Nay, this is abundantly clear, from the history we are now upon. For what sober and rational person can suppose a few raw and undisciplined young men, newly raised, capable of almost instantly dispersing very numerous armies of bold and resolute men, not unacquainted with the art of war? How can it be imagined, that *Etruria* should have been plundered, stripped of its inhabitants, exhausted, and frequently brought upon the verge of ruin, for four hundred years together, by an upstart people, who, for some time, were little better than a gang of robbers, and still to have remained, almost throughout this period, in a flourishing condition? In fine, a considerable part of *Livy's* history, however it may have hitherto been esteemed, seems little better than a romance; tho', after all, it may be alleged, that this was owing to the authors from whom he extracted the materials for it. But even this will not a little shake his authority; especially if it be considered, that he is not seldom contradicted by the *Fæsti Capitolini*, and other inscriptions. Nay, upon the aforesaid supposition, we may conclude, that the principal

† *Liv. ubi supra.*



Roman annalists and historians, before his time, frequently merit little regard. And this, indeed, their apparent absurdities, and inconsistency with one another, seem to put beyond all dispute.

Fabius  
gains an-  
other vic-  
tory over  
the Etrus-  
cans.

BUT to return to our history. After *Fabius* had left *Etruria*, the *Etruscans*, at the instigation of the *Perusini*, assembled a considerable body of troops, and committed many disorders. That general, therefore, returning into *Etruria*, attacked this corps, and dispersed it. Four thousand five hundred of the *Perusini* were killed upon the spot, and one thousand seven hundred and forty made prisoners of war; the price of whose ransom was three hundred and ten pounds of brass per head<sup>1</sup>.

The Ro-  
mans gain  
great ad-  
vantages  
in Etruria.

THE following year, the consul *Posthumius* led an army into *Etruria*, and laid waste all the lands about *Volsinii*. This irruption made the militia of the country to take arms: they assembled near *Volsinii*, and were defeated by the *Romans* under its walls. They lost near two thousand two hundred men in the action, and had suffered much more, had not the greatest part of them taken refuge in *Volsinii*. From thence the consul marched into the district of *Rusellæ*, plundered it, took the city by storm, killed near two thousand men, and made above two thousand prisoners of war. These successes produced a suspension of arms: for the lucumonies of *Volsinii*, *Perusia*, and *Arratium*, being weary of the war, desired to enter into a negotiation; and *Posthumius* permitted them to send an embassy to *Rome* to confer with the *Roman* people, upon condition that they furnished his army with provisions, and gave each of his soldiers a military habit. This preliminary was agreed to; and, upon payment of one million five hundred thousand pounds of brass, they obtained of the republic a truce for forty years<sup>2</sup>.

Fresh com-  
motions in  
Etruria.

THE next year, some fresh commotions happened in *Etruria*; and the *Falisci* declared against the *Romans*. All the *Roman* forces being in *Samnium*, the *Etruscans* thought this a proper season for an insurrection, which they began by pillaging the territories of some cities in alliance with the *Romans*. The *Falisci* being near neighbours to *Rome*, and joining in the revolt, gave great uneasiness to the republic. But the consul *Carvilius* marched into *Etruria*, besieged *Traffulum*, a city near the lake of *Bolsena*, and carried it by assault. He likewise reduced five castles, which had a very advantageous situation. Besides the prisoners taken, he is reckoned to have killed two thousand four hundred men in this expedition<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Idem ibid. FAST. CAPITOL. ad A. U. C.

459.

<sup>3</sup> LIV. l. x. c. 46.

SUCH a successful beginning struck the *Falisci* with terror. They were forced to pay an hundred thousand *asses* of brass, for the public treasury; and, in return, the consul granted them one year's truce. This so intimidated the *Etruscan* body, that they never offered to make the least motion<sup>u</sup>.

THE *Falisci* broke the truce almost as soon as concluded: but the *Romans* punished this perfidy. They defeated the *Falisci*, ravaged a great part of *Etruria*, and carried off an immense quantity of spoil<sup>v</sup>.

ABOUT the year of *Rome* 469, the *Romans* discovered some commotions among the *Volturnenses*; but they were attended with no ill effects. At this time also the *Senones* raised a body of troops, in order to march into *Etruria*, and lay siege to *Arretium*. The *Arretini*, in this distress, had recourse to the *Romans*; with whom they had formerly desired an alliance, though they could only obtain a truce. They could not believe, that the *Romans* would suffer the *Gauls* to oppress them, nor by making conquests in *Etruria* open themselves a way to *Rome*<sup>x</sup>.

IN this respect, they entertained no unjust idea of the *Romans*. The republic, upon the application of the *Arretini*, proposed to send an army to *Arretium*, to make head against the *Senones*; nevertheless they thought it proper to endeavour to prevent a rupture by a negotiation. They sent a deputation therefore to the *Senones*, to inform them, that the *Arretini* were under the protection of *Rome*; that they were a part of the *Etruscan* body, with whom the *Gauls* were in alliance; and that therefore it was an injustice in them, to march their troops into *Etruria*. But this deputation was so far from making any impression upon the *Senones*, that, in direct violation of the law of nations, they caused the *Roman* envoys to be murdered. This horrid fact is said to have been perpetrated at the instigation of one *Britomaris*, of the royal family of his nation. Be that as it will, this atrocious crime met with condign punishment. In the mean time the *Senones* besieged *Arretium*, and defeated a *Roman* army, under the conduct of the consul *Cæcilius*, that came to the relief of the besieged. The consul himself was killed in the action, and the legions dispersed; seven legionary tribunes, the greatest part of the *Roman* knights, together with thirteen thousand men, were also left dead upon the field of battle<sup>y</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> *Hiv.* ubi supra.

viii. c. 1.

<sup>w</sup> *Oros.* l. iii. c. 2. *ZONAR.* annal. l.

<sup>x</sup> *FLOR.* in epit. l. xi.

<sup>y</sup> *POLYB.* l. ii.

c. 19.

Curius

lays waste  
the coun-  
try of the  
Senones.

**MANIUS CURIUS**, who succeeded *Cacilius* in the command of the army destined to act against the *Senones*, left *Rome* soon after the melancholy news of the late defeat arrived, and advanced against the *Gauls*. But, instead of marching to the relief of *Arretium*, he crossed *Sabinia* and *Picenum*, and entered the enemy's territories. As the flower of their troops were carrying on the siege of *Arretium*, *Curius* met with only a few newly-raised men to oppose him: these he easily dispersed, and then ravaged the whole country without opposition. Every house was plundered, and every field laid waste. What the sword spared, the fire consumed. Every person capable of bearing arms was put to the sword, and all the women and children carried into captivity. In fine, according to *Polybius*, the country of the *Senones* was so completely ruined, that there scarce remained any appearances of its ever having been cultivated by a powerful nation. But, notwithstanding this terrible destruction, the *Senones* still pushed on the siege of *Arretium* with the utmost vigour<sup>2</sup>.

Domitius

gives the  
Senones  
an intire  
defeat.

**CN. DOMITIUS**, surnamed *Calvinus*, soon after his elevation to the consulate, marched at the head of a powerful army into *Etruria*, with a full resolution to attack the *Senones*, where-ever he should find them. As that nation was reduced to a state of despair, by the desolation of their country, and the leading of their wives and children into captivity, they resolved to wreak their fury upon that city itself, which was the source of all their misfortunes: they therefore raised the siege of *Arretium*, and marched directly towards *Rome*. Before they entered the territories of the republic, they fell in with the *Roman* army, under the conduct of *Domitius*, then in quest of them, and immediately engaged it. The *Gauls* being enraged at the total ruin of their country, fought with an intrepidity little inferior to madness: but the *Romans* being a well-disciplined corps, and commanded by an able general, gave them a warm reception. In fine, they overthrew them, and covered the field of battle with their dead bodies. Those few that escaped, took refuge amongst the *Boii*, who had lately declared against the *Romans*<sup>2</sup>.

Dolabella

gains a  
complete  
victory  
over the  
Gauls,Samnites,  
and Etruf-  
cans.

**NOTHING** could be more seasonable than this victory: for the *Boii* and *Etruscans* had conspired the ruin of the *Roman* republic. They were determined in conjunction to execute the plan of operations formed by the *Senones*; and therefore directed their march towards *Rome*. *Dolabella*

<sup>2</sup> POLYB. ubi supra. DION. apud Fulv. Ursin.

apud Fulv. Ursin. POLYB. ubi supra.

\* APPIAN.

waited

waited for them upon the banks of the *Lacus Vadimonis* in *Etruria*, at a small distance from the *Tiber*: here a pitched battle was fought, in which the combined army was almost intirely cut to pieces. In fine, this proved so terrible an overthrow, that neither the *Gauls*, nor the *Etruscans*, ever afterwards gave the republic any dreadful apprehensions. The faint efforts they made against the *Romans*, the following year, served only to expose them to farther losses, and even to bring them to the very brink of destruction <sup>b</sup>.

THIS war, therefore, which in the beginning afforded the *Senones* so pleasing a prospect, ended in almost their utter extinction. As for the *Etruscans* and *Boii*, they were forced to sue for peace, and enter into an alliance with the *Romans*, upon the terms they thought fit to prescribe.

WE are told by the *Roman* historians, that the remains of the *Etruscans* and *Boii* on the one hand, and the *Lucani*, *Bruttii*, and *Samnites*, on the other, conspired together, the next year, against those robbers and tyrants of *Italy*, as they very justly called the *Romans*. But they give us no account of any material transaction, that happened in *Etruria*: nay, they keep a profound silence with regard to the affairs of that country, the year following; though we learn, from the <sup>c</sup> *Fastii Capitolini*, that *Q. Marcius Philippus* then triumphed over the *Etruscans*, and consequently gained great advantages in *Etruria*. They were too much taken up with *Pyrrhus's* descent, to attend to other affairs. To this cause may likewise be imputed the silence of the same historians, about the *Etruscan* affairs, the succeeding year, though the *Fastii Capitolini* <sup>d</sup> expressly assert, that the consul *T. Coruncanius Nepos* triumphed then over the *Volfiniensis* and *Volcientes*. However, we find mention made of an attempt, that year, to excite the <sup>e</sup> *Etruscans*, *Umbri*, and *Gauls*, to a revolt; but without any manner of effect. From whence it appears, that *Etruria*, at that time, was under the domination of the *Romans*.

In order to render this history the more complete, we think it will not be amiss to give our readers a list of such *Etruscan* kings, as have been mentioned by the antients. For, with regard to those forged by *Annius*, and adopted by his followers, they deserve, as has been already hinted, not the least attention.

<sup>b</sup> POLYB. ubi supra.<sup>c</sup> FAST. CAPITOL. ad A. U. C. 472.<sup>d</sup> FAST. CAPITOL. ad A. U. C. 473.<sup>e</sup> DION. apud Fulv.

Ursin.

List of *Etruscan* kings mentioned by the antients.

<i>Janus.</i>	<i>Felsinus.</i>
<i>Camefes,</i> sister and wife to <i>Janus.</i>	<i>Oenus,</i> or <i>Hocnus.</i>
<i>Tiberinus,</i> succeeded his fa- ther <i>Janus.</i>	<i>Mezentius.</i>
<i>Aunus.</i>	<i>Afyllas.</i>
<i>Coritus.</i>	<i>Abas.</i>
<i>Fontus.</i>	<i>Massicus.</i>
<i>Annius.</i>	<i>Osinius.</i>
<i>Debeheris,</i> or <i>Tiberis.</i>	<i>Morvius.</i>
<i>Æolus.</i>	<i>Clusius.</i>
<i>Liparus.</i>	<i>Propertius.</i>
<i>Meleus.</i>	<i>Veientus.</i>
<i>Rhætus.</i>	<i>Cæle Vibenna.</i>
<i>Malæottus.</i>	<i>Menalus.</i>
<i>Tyrrhenus.</i>	<i>Olenus Calenus.</i>
<i>Rasena.</i>	<i>Porfena,</i> or <i>Porfenna.</i>
<i>Alæfus.</i>	<i>Tolumnius,</i> or, according to some, <i>Vglumnus.</i>
<i>Tarchon.</i>	<i>Gilnius.</i>
	<i>Mecænas.</i>

The ages in which all these princes lived, the numbers of years they reigned, or the extent of the territories over which they presided, we cannot take upon us to determine.

## C H A P. II.

*The Constantinopolitan History, from the Removal of the Imperial Seat to Constantinople, to the Death of the Emperor Julian.*

CONSTANTINE having fixed his court at *Constantinople*, continued there, as appears from the dates of several laws<sup>a</sup>, great part of the ensuing year 331. when *Bassus* and *Ablavius* were consuls, being chiefly employed in building new churches, and adorning with other stately monuments the city he desired might be honoured with the residence of the succeeding emperors. The next year, *Pacatianus* and *Hilaris* being consuls, the *Sarmatians* having implored the assistance of *Constantine* against the *Goths*, who made an irruption into their country, and committed every-where unheard-of cruelties, the emperor, either in person, or, as some write, by his son *Constantine*, gained a memorable victory over them on the twentieth of *April*. Near an hundred thousand of the enemy were either cut in pieces, or perished after the battle with hunger and cold; insomuch that the barbarians were obliged to sue for peace, and deliver up hostages to the emperor, among whom was the son of their king, *Ariaric*, or *Araric*<sup>b</sup> (A). The *Sarmatians*, unmindful of the assistance they had received from *Constantine*, as soon as he withdrew with his victorious army, began to ravage the provinces of *Moesia* and *Thrace*; but the emperor, returning with incredible expedition, fell upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and forced the rest to submit to what terms he was pleased to impose upon them<sup>c</sup>. *Constantine gains a complete victory over the Goths,*

*and the Sarmatians.*

The next consuls were *Dalmatius*, either the brother or nephew of *Constantine*, and *Xenophilus*, or *Zenophylus*. This year *Constantine* created *Constans*, his youngest son, *Cæsar*,

<sup>a</sup> Cod. Theod. p. 353, & seq. <sup>b</sup> AMMIAN. p. 476. JUL. ORAT. i. p. 16. EUSEB. vit. Constant. l. iv. p. 529. <sup>c</sup> Anonym. p. 476.

(A) *Sozomen* and *Socrates* write, that the *Goths* acknowledging the power of the God adored by *Constantine*, who had miraculously assisted him in this war, great numbers of them embraced the Christian religion, which had been first preached among them about seventy years before (1).

(1) *Soz.* p. 48. *Socrat.* p. 411.

The emperor's generosity during a famine. Embassadors sent to him from the most distant nations.

who was born in 320. and is stiled in all the antient inscriptions *Flavius Julius Constans* <sup>d</sup>. The same year *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Thrace*, were grievously afflicted with a pestilence and famine, which swept off incredible numbers of people. *Theophanes* tells us, that at *Antioch* the wheat was sold at four hundred pieces of silver the bushel <sup>e</sup>. During this calamity, *Constantine* sent to the bishop of *Antioch* thirty thousand bushels, and an incredible quantity of corn, oil, and all sorts of provisions, to the other churches, to be divided among the widows, orphans, ecclesiastics, &c. <sup>f</sup>. Towards the close of this year embassadors arrived at *Constantinople* from the *Blemyes*, the *Indians*, the *Ethiopians*, and *Persians*, with rich presents for the emperor, whose friendship they courted, acknowledging him, says *Eusebius* <sup>g</sup>, for their sovereign, and declaring, that they coveted nothing so much as to live in amity with so great a prince, so renowned a warrior. The *Persian* embassadors, in the name of *Sapor* their king, renewed the antient treaties between the two empires. *Constantine* received them with extraordinary marks of honour; and being informed, that the Christians were very numerous in *Persia*, he was transported with joy; and looking upon himself as their general protector, he wrote a letter in their behalf to *Sapor*, which is inserted at large by *Eusebius* <sup>h</sup> and *Theodoret* <sup>i</sup>. The letters from *Constantine* to the bishops, begging their prayers, and those both from him and his children to the great *Antony* for the same purpose, which we read in *Eusebius* <sup>k</sup>, *Athanasius* <sup>l</sup>, *Sozomen* <sup>m</sup>, and *Prosper* <sup>n</sup>, are supposed to have been written this year. The following year, when *Optatus* and *Anicius Paulinus Junior* were consuls, the *Goths*, under the command of *Geberic* their king, who had succeeded *Araric*, made new irruptions into the country of the *Sarmatians*, whom they defeated in a great battle fought on the banks of the *Marisus*; in which their king, by name *Wisimar*, and most of their chiefs, were cut in pieces. The *Sarmatians* in this extremity armed their slaves, and by their means gained a complete victory over the *Goths*; but the victorious slaves, sensible of their strength, threw off the yoke; and turning their arms against their masters, for whose defence they had been intrusted with them, drove them out of the country,

<sup>d</sup> EUSEB. vit. Const. l. iv. p. 533.

<sup>e</sup> THEOPH. p. 23.

<sup>f</sup> Idem

ibid. <sup>g</sup> EUSEB. ibid. l. i. c. 8. p. 409, 410.

<sup>h</sup> Idem

ibid. c. 9—13. p. 530—535.

<sup>i</sup> THEOD. l. i. c. 24. p. 573.

574, 575.

<sup>k</sup> EUSEB. ibid. l. iv. c. 14. p. 533.

<sup>l</sup> ATHAN.

vit. Anton. p. 497.

<sup>m</sup> SOZ. p. 47.

<sup>n</sup> PROSP. chron.

and seized their houses, lands, and effects, for themselves (B).

THE *Sarmatians*, thus driven from their habitations, fled for refuge to *Constantine*, who received them, to the number of three hundred thousand, incorporated in his legions: such of them as were fit for service, and gave settlements to the rest in *Thrace*, *Scythia*, *Macedon*, and *Italy*°. Another party of the fugitive *Sarmatians* had recourse to certain barbarians, called by *Ammianus* *Viethales*, and supposed to be the same people with the *Quadi Ultramontani*. These were re-established in their ancient possessions by the *Romans* in the year 338: after they had driven out the *Limigantes*°. *Constantine* was this year, on the seventeenth of *June*, at *Constantinople*, on the fifth of *July* at *Singidunum* in *Mæsia*, and on the twenty-fifth of *August* at *Naissus* in *Dacia*°. The next consuls were *Flavius Julius Constantius*, the emperor's brother, and *Rufius Albinus*. As *Constantine*, on the twenty-fifth of *July* of this year, 335. entered the thirtieth year of his reign, which had happened to no emperor ever since the time of *Augustus*, he celebrated that day at *Constantinople* with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. The emperor, not satisfied with having created his three sons, *Constantine*, *Constantius*, and *Constans*, *Cæsars*, raised this year, on the eighteenth or twenty-fourth of *September*, to the same dignity his nephew *Dalmatius*, son to his brother of the same name; and appointed *Annibalianus*, brother to young *Dalmatius*, king of *Pontus*°.

He allots the *Sarmatians* settlements in the dominions of Rome.

SOON after their promotion, the emperor, to prevent any misunderstanding, jealousy, or quarrels, between his nephews and children, divided the government of the empire among them in the following manner: *Constantine*, the eldest, had *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; *Constantius*, the second son, all the *Orient*; that is, *Asia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*; and *Constans*, the youngest, *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Africa*. To his nephew *Dalmatius* he gave *Thrace*, and part of *Illyricum*; that is, *Macedon* and *Achaia*; and to king *Annibalianus*, his other nephew, *Armenia Minor*, and the neighbouring provinces; that is,

Divides the empire amongst his children and nephews.

° EUSEB. p. 349. AMMIAN. p. 478. JORDAND. rer. Goth. p. 641. ° AMMIAN. l. vii. p. 106. & l. xvii. p. 105—111.

° Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 34. ° EUTROP. p. 588. AUR. VICT. p. 227. Chron. Alex. p. 668. Zos. l. ii. p. 692.

(B) St. *Jerom* (2) and *Ammianus Marcellinus* (3) call these slaves *Limigantes*; and the former tells us, that, in his time, the free-born among the *Sarmatians* were stiled *Arctaragantes*.

(2) Hier. chron. (3) *Ammian.* l. xvii. p. 107.



Year of  
the flood  
2785.  
Of Christ  
335.  
Of Rome  
1133.

Constantinus married to the daughter of Julius Constantinus.

*Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, with the city of *Cæsarea*, which he desired might be the capital of his kingdom \*. About this time one *Calocerus*, a man of great interest and authority in the island of *Cyprus*, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor there, and made himself master of the whole island. But *Dalmatius*, who was sent with an army against him, defeated the rebel, took him prisoner, and, carrying him to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, condemned him to be burnt alive in that city † (C). As for one *Azetus*, who was overcome by *Constantine*, as we read in *Suidas* and *Codinus*, it appears from several epigrams in the *anthology*, that both he, and that *Constantine* by whom he was overcome, were but drivers of chariots in the circus. *Albanasus* was accused of having supplied with money a rebel, by name *Philumenes* ‡; but of him not the least mention is made in history. The emperor was this year at *Constantinople* on the thirtieth of *March*, at *Viminacum* in *Mæsia* on the twelfth of *August*, and again at *Constantinople* on the twenty-second of *October* §. Towards the close of the following year, when *Nepotianus* and *Facundus* were consuls, *Constantine* married his second son *Constantius* to the daughter of *Julius Constantius* and *Galla*. *Julius Constantius* was brother to the emperor, and his wife *Galla* sister to *Rufinus* and *Cerualis*, of whom hereafter. He had by *Galla*, *Gallus Cæsar*, born in *Hetruria* in the year 325. or 326. another son, who was killed in 337. and one daughter, married this year to *Constantius*, whose name has not been transmitted to us (D). On occasion of this marriage, *Constantine* caused large sums, and great quantities of provisions, to be distributed among the people in all the cities and provinces of the empire †. He had long before married his eldest son *Constantine*; but to whom, we are no-where told,

\* EUSEB. orat. in tricennal. Const. p. 609. VICT. epit. p. 544. Anonym. p. 476. † THEOPH. p. 23. AUR. VICT. p. 296.

‡ ATHAN. apol. ii. p. 779.

§ Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 35.

† EUSEB. ibid. p. 551.

(C) On an ancient medal quoted by *Spanhemius* (4), mention is made of one *Tiberius*, who usurped the sovereignty in the time of *Constantine*; but of him we find nothing in history.

(D) The emperor *Julian*, speaking of this and other marriages between the nephews and nieces of *Constantine*, says, that

a strange confusion reigned in the imperial family; that marriages were celebrated, which were no marriages; and that the laws, both human and divine, were profaned and trodden under foot (5). But there were

between cousin-germans.

(4) *Spanh. l. vi. p. 601.*

(5) *Julian. orat. vii. p. 425.*

THE year ensuing, when *Felicianus* and *Titianus* were consuls, the *Persians*, after having lived in peace with the *Romans* for the space of forty years, that is, ever since the year 297. began to commit hostilities in *Mesopotamia*, because the emperor refused to restore to them the five provinces, which they had been obliged to yield to *Galerius*. Hereupon *Constantine*, having drawn together a very numerous and powerful army, and made the other necessary preparations for a vigorous war, began his march, with a design to invade the *Persian* dominions. But in the mean time the enemy, terrified at his approach, dispatched ambassadors to him, with proposals of an accommodation; which seeming very reasonable to the emperor, a peace was concluded, and both armies withdrew. Thus *Eusebius* <sup>1</sup>. But *Festus*, and most other historians, tell us, that *Constantine*, desirous of triumphing over the *Persians*, would not grant them a peace upon any terms, and that by death alone he was prevented from invading their dominions <sup>2</sup>. Be that as it will, *Constantine*, having celebrated this year with extraordinary solemnity the feast of *Easter*, which fell on the third of *April*, was soon after taken ill, being then in the sixty-fourth year of his age. He had recourse to the warm baths of *Constantinople*; but his distemper increasing, he removed, for change of air, to *Helenopolis* in *Bithynia*, and from thence to a castle at a small distance from *Nicomedia*; called *Achyrona*, or *Aguyrona*. Being there apprised, that his end approached, he declared in a speech, which he made to the bishops who attended him, his eager desire of being baptized, adding, that he designed to have received that seal of salvation in the waters of the *Jordan*; but since God, in his infinite wisdom, had otherwise disposed of him, he acquiesced to his will. When the ceremony was over, he was clad in white, and would not afterwards so much as touch or see his purple robes, passing most of his time in pious meditations, and edifying discourses with the bishops, of the immortality of the soul, and the rewards and punishments of another life. Some of the officers of the army, who were admitted into his room, expressing, with a flood of tears, their concern for the loss of so good a prince, he told them, That they ought rather to rejoice than mourn, since he was going to exchange a short and miserable, for an eternal life, happy beyond conception or expression <sup>3</sup> (E).

*The Persians awed by the terror of Constantine's arms.*

*Constantine taken ill.*

*He is baptized.*

By

<sup>1</sup> EUSEB. p. 554, 555. p. 120. EUTROP. p. 117. SOCRAT. l. i. c. 29. p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> FEST. p. 57. LIBAN. orat. iii. <sup>3</sup> EUSEB. c. 62. p. 557, 558.

(E) St. *Jerom* writes, that he was baptized by *Eusebius* bishop of *Nicomedia*; and that, by receiving baptism at his hands, he

By his last will he bequeathed some revenues to the city of *Rome*, and others to that of *Constantinople*. He likewise confirmed the above-mentioned division of the empire among his three sons and two nephews<sup>b</sup> (F).

Not long before he expired, he privately put his will into the hands of an ecclesiastic, in whom he reposed an intire confidence, not knowing him to be a follower of *Arius*, and obliged him to promise upon oath not to deliver it to any but *Constantius*. *Constantine*, having settled matters in the manner he judged best for the church and state, after various pious ejaculations, expired about noon on the twenty-second of *May*, that year, 337. *Whitsunday*, after having lived, according to the most probable opinion, sixty-three years, two months, and twenty-five days, and reigned thirty years, nine months, and twenty-seven days. His death was bewailed by persons of all ranks, as the greatest misfortune that could befall the empire. The soldiers no sooner heard of it, than they tore their cloaths, fell prostrate on the ground, and gave other

He dies,  
and is uni-  
versally  
lamented.  
Year of  
the flood  
2787.  
Of Christ  
337.  
Of Rome  
1135

<sup>b</sup> SOCRAT. l. i. c. 39. p. 75. SOZ. l. ii. c. 34. p. 495.

fell into the heresy of *Arius* (6). But *Athanasius*, and all other ecclesiastical writers, *Lucifer* alone excepted, assure us, that he held always inviolate the faith of the council of *Nice*, though, deceived and misled by the *Arians*, he persecuted those who defended it against the tenets of that heresiarch. As for *Eusebius*, though he held, yet he did not openly profess, the doctrine of *Arius*; nor was he cut off from the communion of the church. As he was therefore bishop of the place, *Constantine* could not decline being baptized by him, without openly affronting him, and likewise transgressing the laws of the church. Before he died, he ordered the great *Athanasius* to be recalled from banishment, notwithstanding the warm remonstrances of *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, who did all that lay in his

power to prevent the return of that zealous champion of the true faith (7). He probably ordered at the same time the other catholic bishops to be recalled; for *Athanasius* tells us, that they were all restored with him to their respective sees by the children of *Constantine* (8).

(F) The emperor *Julian* writes, that he committed to *Constantius* his second son the care of all things, appointing him in a manner his executor, either because he loved him above the rest, or because *Constantius*, who was nearer, arrived before the rest, at least before *Constantine* the eldest, who was then in *Gaul* (9). But it is certain, that the emperor died before any of his children arrived, though he had dispatched expresses to them all, as soon as he found himself past recovery.

(6) Hier. chron. (7) Socr. l. iii. c. 2. p. 493. Athan. apol. ii. p. 306.  
(8) Athan. solit. p. 814. (9) Julian. vat. l. ii. p. 83. & 175.

public testimonies of their deep concern, calling him *their destroyer, their beloved leader, their common parent*. The people of *Constantinople*, overwhelmed with sorrow, and drowned in tears, for the loss of their great benefactor, of their magnificent and generous founder, expressed their grief in a manner suitable to so general a calamity<sup>c</sup>. Messengers were immediately dispatched with the dismal tidings to his children; and in the mean time the body of the deceased prince, with the purple and diadem, was put into a golden coffin, and conveyed to *Constantinople*, being attended by all the troops quartered in that neighbourhood, who had assembled upon the first notice of his death. It was exposed to public view in the chief hall of the palace, with an infinite number of tapers burning round it in golden candlesticks. All the great officers, both civil and military, the senate, and other persons of distinction, came to pay their devotions to the corpse, kneeling before it, as if the emperor had been still alive. Court was kept in the same manner as when he was living, and those who attended his person, came at the usual hours, as if he had still wanted their attendance<sup>d</sup>. This empty honour, formerly paid to the deceased emperors, as appears from *Herodian*, and other writers, seems to have been long before laid aside, and to have been revived now in honour of *Constantine*. His children were daily expected to pay him the last duty; but *Constantius* alone came, the other two being probably at a great distance; and, soon after his arrival, caused the corpse to be conveyed with the utmost pomp and magnificence to the famous church of the *Apostles*, which the emperor had built close to the palace, desiring to be interred in it, that he might, after his death, saya *Eusebius*<sup>e</sup>, partake of the prayers offered there by the faithful in honour of the holy apostles (G). *Constantius* attended the body to the church; but withdrew with the soldiers, as he had not yet been baptized, when the ministers of the church

*Honours  
done him  
after his  
death.*

*His obse-  
quies.*

<sup>c</sup> EUSEB. c. 65. p. 559.

<sup>d</sup> EUSEB. p. 555, 556.

(G) That magnificent structure was built in the form of a cross, and covered, not with tiles, but gilt brass. *Constantine* and the succeeding emperors were buried, not in the church itself, but in the porch, where mausoleums were erected for them, and a burying-place allotted for

the bishops of the city; the priesthood, says *Sozomen* (1), claiming equal honour and respect with the imperial dignity, especially in holy places, where it holds the first rank. This church had been finished and consecrated a little before *Constantine's* death.

(1) *Sozomen*, l. ii. c. 34. p. 469.

began

began the holy ceremonies\*. As soon as they were over, the body was deposited in the porch, where *Constantius* caused a magnificent mausoleum to be raised over it† (H).

*The Romans concerned for his death.*

THOUGH *Constantine* had never made any considerable stay at *Rome*, and had in the end intirely abandoned that metropolis, yet the people expressed an uncommon concern for his death; for they no sooner heard of it, than they shut up their shops and public baths, and intermitted all kinds of sports and diversions, as was usual in time of some great and general calamity. They all demanded with one voice, that his body might be brought to *Rome*; and expressed the greatest concern imaginable, when they understood, that it was, by his will, to remain at *Constantinople*‡ (I). As to his character in

\* EUSEB. c. 71. p. 562.  
p. 29.

† Idem ibid. & JULIAN. orat. i.  
‡ AUR. VICT. p. 527. EUSEB. c. 69. p. 561.

(H) Not many years after, that is, in 358. or 359. the porch being ready to fall, the body of the emperor was conveyed from thence to the church of St. *Aacius*, a native of *Constantinople*, and martyr, built likewise by *Constantine* (2); but it was afterwards carried back to the church of the *Apostles* (3), where it was to be seen, with the bodies of other princes of the same family, many ages after.

(I) It appears from some ancient coins, that the senate of *Rome* conferred divine honours upon him (4). He was by most churches, especially in the East, honoured as a saint, as he is still by the Christians in *Egypt*, and the *Greek* church, which solemnizes his festival on the twenty-first of *May* with a very solemn office. The *Muscovites* celebrate his anniversary on the same day, though they can give no reason for their preferring that day to the twenty-second of the same month, on which he died, as is

agreed on by all writers, both antient and modern. About the middle of the fifth century, extraordinary honours were paid to his tomb, and to his statue, which was set up upon a column of porphyry (5). The modern *Greeks* equal him to the apostles, as one to whom we all owe our being Christians: The apostles, say they, preached the gospel in all parts of the world; but it never prevailed over paganism, till it was countenanced and established by the great *Constantine*; which, in reality, is preferring the emperor to all the apostles. But of these high flights, intirely fuitable to the temper of the *Greeks*, we leave our readers to judge. All authors allow him to have been a prince endowed with extraordinary accomplishments both of body and mind, an excellent commander, an able statesman, a great encourager of learning, and himself much addicted to read, write, and meditate.

(2) *Socrat. l. ii. c. 38. p. 145.*  
p. 12.

(5) *Theod. vit. Constant. l. i. c. 34. p. 66.*

(3) *Cbrysoft. 2 Cor.*

(4) *Goltz.*

general,

general, there is a great disagreement among authors, some *Authors* of the heathen writers painting him as a perfect tyrant, and *disagree as* the Christians extolling him as the best prince that ever swayed *to his cha-* a sceptre. The emperor *Julian* speaks of him as a prince ex- *acter.* tremely ambitious of military glory, and one who had nothing so much at heart as the aggrandizing of himself, and his family; and adds, that the bad example he set therein to his children, armed them against each other <sup>h</sup>. He is charged by some with *Several* having enriched the imperial robes with pearls not used before *groundless* his time, and with constantly wearing the diadem. But this *charges* charge is quite groundless, it being certain, that *Dioclesian* brought a- *gainst him* was the first who added pearls to the imperial robes, and *Con-* *stantius Chlorus* the first who wore constantly the diadem, even *by the pa-* when he was only *Cæsar*, as we read in *Aurelius Victor* <sup>i</sup> and *Eutropius* <sup>k</sup>, and is evident from his medals <sup>l</sup>. The emperor *Julian* <sup>m</sup> and *Zosimus* <sup>n</sup> represent him as a voluptuous prince, intirely abandoned to all manner of diversions and pleasures, to banquets and revelings, to public shews, &c. inasmuch that he could spare no time from sports and entertainments, to regulate the affairs of the state. On the other hand, *Victor* <sup>o</sup>, *Eusebius* <sup>p</sup>, and *Libanius* <sup>q</sup>, tell us, that he was constantly employed in reading, writing, meditating, composing speeches (some of which, of an extraordinary length, have reached our times), hearing embassies, giving audience to his ministers and subjects; in short, that he was never idle, but ever busied either in forming or executing some great design or other for the good of the empire. Most of his laws were dictated by himself; he never continued long in any place, but was, as we have often observed, continually moving from one city or province to another; so that we cannot help thinking this charge as groundless as the former (K). *Aurelius Victor* <sup>r</sup>, *Ammi-* *anus*

<sup>h</sup> JULIAN. orat. vii. p. 423, 424.<sup>i</sup> AUR. VICT. p. 523.<sup>k</sup> EUTROP. p. 586.<sup>l</sup> SPANH. p. 683.<sup>m</sup> JUL. Cæs.

p. 23, 42, 52.

<sup>n</sup> ZOS. I. ii. p. 687.<sup>o</sup> VICT. epit. p.

543.

<sup>p</sup> EUSEB. p. 539.<sup>q</sup> LIBAN. orat. iii. p. 107.<sup>r</sup> AUR. VICT. p. 527.

(K) *Julian* and *Zosimus*, zealous sticklers for idolatry, were evidently prejudiced against a prince, who had enacted so many severe laws against all manner of idolatrous worship. We are told, that he kept with him for the space of thirty years one *Sama-*

*cus*, who, pretending to be a fool, diverted the emperor when tired out with business. This was not a diversion worthy of so great a prince. It proves, however, that *Constantine* applied himself seriously to business. *Victor* the younger, after having told us, that he was addicted

anus Marcellinus<sup>1</sup>, and even his panegyrist Eusebius<sup>2</sup>, complain of his employing in the administration of affairs, persons

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. I. xvi. p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> EUSEB. p. 540.

addicted to raillery, gives us the following idea of his reign : *Constantine*, says he, reigned thirty years, and behaved the ten first like an excellent prince, the ten following like a robber, and the ten last like a prodigal (6). The same charge is brought against him by *Zosimus*, who writes, that when he became master of the whole empire, he abandoned himself without controul to his rapacious temper, loading the people with heavy taxes, and at the same time squandering away the money thus raised upon undecerving favourites, or useless buildings (7). Amongst the other imposts with which that virulent writer pretends that *Constantine* oppressed the people, he mentions one called the *chrysargyrum*, and will have *Constantine* to have been the first who exacted it. But this, *Evagrius* maintains to be a mere calumny, owing to the implacable hatred which that pagan bore to the deliverer of the church (8). And truly long before *Constantine*'s time a tax was laid upon the public prostitutes, which most writers take to be meant by the *chrysargyrum*. *Constantine*, to save charges in raising it, ordered it to be paid only every fourth year. *Zosimus* ascribes to him another tax called *foliis*, which was levied upon all persons of quality, and occasioned, according to that writer, the ruin of all the cities of the empire (9).

But he is the only author, who says that it was introduced by *Constantine*. *Aurelius Victor* writes in express terms, that it was first raised by *Maxentius* (1). In our opinion, it is not at all probable, that *Constantine* laid any new burdens upon the people, seeing he generously remitted to all his subjects the fourth part of the land-tax, and discharged several cities of contributions, which they had paid for the space of an hundred and fifty years; among the rest *Tripolis* in *Libya*, and *Nice* in *Bithynia* (2). From an ancient inscription we learn, that one year he remitted all taxes throughout the empire (3). *Zosimus* writes, that, during his reign, rods, prisons, and all kinds of severe treatment, were made use of by him in levying the common taxes (4); whereas the laws he enacted, forbidding these violences under the severest penalties, are still extant, as we have observed above. Whence we leave the reader to judge, what credit that implacable enemy to *Constantine* and the Christian religion deserves. *Zosimus* and *Julian* are rather accusers than historians; and an accuser is not to be believed, unless witnesses can be produced to vouch what he says. Hence the accusations brought against *Constantine* by these two writers are of no weight with us, unless confirmed by the authority of other historians.

(6) *Vit. epit.* p. 543. (7) *Zof.* I. ii. p. 685. (8) *Evagr.* I. iii. c. 40. p. 370. (9) *Zof.* p. 691. (1) *Aur. Vict.* p. 526. (2) *Euseb.* p. 523. *Aur. Vict.* p. 527. (3) *Vide Baron.* ad ann. 312. (4) *Zof.* p. 691.

altogether unworthy of the confidence he reposed in them, and suffering them to enrich themselves at the expence of the people committed to their care. This fault, altogether inexcusable in a prince, *Eusebius* ascribes to his excessive goodness, which induced him to pardon, or only to inflict slight punishments on, such of his ministers as were found guilty of the most enormous extortions. He could not, says *Eusebius*, prevail upon himself to condemn those whom he had once judged worthy of his favour; and hence his ministers, presuming upon his indulgence and good-nature, often committed great disorders in the provinces, and oppressed the people in a most tyrannical manner. His thus neglecting to punish the crimes of his ministers rendered him, without all doubt, no less guilty than if he had committed them himself.

We shall now proceed to several regulations in the government, both civil and military, thought to have been first introduced by *Constantine*. Before his time there were, according to *Zosimus*<sup>a</sup>, two captains of the guards, known by the name of *præfetti prætorio*, who had an equal authority over all the troops dispersed in the several provinces of the empire. But *Constantine*, jealous of their too great power, lessened it by creating two more, and allotting to each of them a certain number of provinces. By this means the whole empire was divided into four parts, which were the *Orient*, *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*, governed by the four *præfetti prætorio*, each of whom had several dioceses or districts under his jurisdiction (L). The prefects were the first officers of the empire, and generally

*Several regulations introduced by Constantine.*

*The prætorio, and division of the empire into four prefectures.*

<sup>a</sup> Zos. l. ii. p. 687.

(L) To the *præfektus prætorio orientis* were subjected the five following dioceses; viz. *Thrace*, *Asia*, *Pontus*, *Egypt*, and the *Orient*. Each of these dioceses comprised several provinces, as is manifest from the *Theodosian* code, and the acts of several antient councils. The diocese of *Thrace*, whereof *Heraclea*, and afterwards *Constantinople*, was the metropolis, consisted of five provinces, viz. *Europe*, *Thrace*, *Hæmimontum*, *Rhodes*, *Mæsia Secunda*, or *Lower Mæsia*, and *Sythia*. The diocese of *Asia*, which had *Ephesus* for its metropolis, comprised ten provinces, viz. *Pam-*

*phylia*, the *Hellepont*, *Lydia*, *Pisidia*, *Lycæonia*, *Phrygia Pacatiana*, *Phrygia Salutaris*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, and the islands of *Rhodes*, *Lesbos*, and the *Cyclades*. In the diocese of *Pontus*, the metropolis of which was *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, were eleven provinces, viz. *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, *Bithynia*, *Honoriatedes*, *Cappadocia Prima*, *Cappadocia Secunda*, *Pontus Polemoniacus*, *Helenopontus*, *Armenia Prima*, *Armenia Secunda*, *Galatia Salutaris*. The diocese of *Egypt*, which had *Alexandria* for its metropolis, consisted of six provinces, viz. *Upper Libya*, or *Libya Pentapolis*—



The several officers under the præfecti prætorio.

generally looked upon, to use the expression of *Amianus Marcellinus*, as emperors of an inferior rank. They had several other officers under them, viz. *proconsuls*, *vicars*, *rectors*, *consulars*, *correctors*, and *presidents*. In the East were two proconsuls; one in *Achaia*, and another in *Asia*, and sometimes, but very seldom, a third in *Palæstine*: in the West there was but one, viz. the proconsul of *Africa*. The vicars represented the præfects, and were their lieutenants; whence, in the antient inscriptions, they are stiled *pro-præfecti* or *vice-præfecti*. There were vicars in the provinces of *Asia*, *Pontus*,

*na*, Lower *Libya*, *Thebais*, *Egypt*, *Arcadia*, and *Augustamnica*. The Orient comprised fifteen provinces, the metropolis of which was *Antioch*: the provinces were *Palæstina Prima*, *Palæstina Secunda*, *Phœnicia Prima*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Cyprus*, *Arabia*, *Isauria*, *Palæstina Salutaris*, *Phœnicia Libanensis*, or *Phœnicia Secunda*, *Euphratensis*, *Syria Salutaris*, *Osroene*, *Mesopotamia*, *Cilicia Secunda*. The præfectus prætorio *Illyrici* had but two dioceses under his jurisdiction, viz. *Macedon* and *Dacia*; of which the former consisted of six provinces, viz. *Achaia*, *Macedon*, the island of *Crete*, *Thessaly*, *New* and *Old Epirus*, and part of *Macedonia Salutaris*: the metropolis of this diocese was *Thessalonica*. The diocese of *Dacia* comprised five provinces, viz. *Dacia Mediterranea*, *Dacia Ripensis*, *Mæsia Prima*, *Dardania Prævalitana*, and part of *Macedonia Salutaris*. The præfectus prætorio *Galliarum* had three dioceses under his jurisdiction, viz. *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*. In the diocese of *Gaul* were seventeen provinces, viz. *Vicennensis*, *Lugdunensis Prima*, *Germania Prima*, *Germania Secunda*, *Belgica Prima*, *Belgica Secunda*, *Alpes Maritimæ*, *Alpes Penninæ*, *Maxima Sequana*, *Aquitania Prima*, *Aquitania Secunda*,

*Novempopulana*, *Narbonensis Prima*, *Narbonensis Secunda*, *Lugdunensis Secunda*, *Lugdunensis Turonica*, *Lugdunensis Senonica*. In the diocese of *Spain* were seven provinces, viz. *Bætica*, *Lusitania*, *Galicia*, *Tarraconensis*, *Carthaginensis*, *Tingitana*, and the *Baleares* islands. The diocese of *Britain* consisted of five provinces, viz. *Maxima Cæsariensis*, *Valentia*, *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Flavia Cæsariensis*. The præfectus prætorio of *Italy* had three dioceses under his jurisdiction, viz. *Italy*, *Illyricum Occidentale*, and *Africa*. *Illyricum* consisted of six provinces, viz. *Pannonia Secunda*, *Savvia*, *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia Prima*, *Noricum Mediterraneum*, *Noricum Ripense*: *Sirmium* was the metropolis of this diocese. *Africa* comprised five provinces, viz. *Africa Carthaginensis*, *Byzacene*, *Mauritania Sitifensis*, *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, and *Tripolitana*. *Italy* was divided into seventeen provinces, which were *Venetia*, *Æmia*, *Liguria*, *Flaminia* and *Picenum Annonarium*, *Hetruria* and *Umbria*, *Picenum Suburbicarium*, *Campania*, *Sicilia*, *Apulia* and *Calabria*, *Lucania* and *Bruttium*, *Alpes Cottinæ*, *Rhætia Prima*, *Rhætia Secunda*, *Samnium*, *Valeria*, *Sardinia*, and *Corfica*.

*Thrace*,

*Thrace, the Orient, Macedon, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain*; and two in *Italy*, viz. the vicar of the city of *Rome*, and the vicar of *Italy* (M). The provinces under the vicar of *Rome* were called *provinciæ suburbicariæ*; and those under the vicar of *Italy*, *provinciæ of Italy*. The vicar of *Italy* resided at *Milan*, which by that means became the metropolis of all the *Italian* provinces. Next in dignity to the vicars were the rectors, who governed whole provinces under the prefect, or his vicars, as did likewise the consulars, the correctors, and the presidents: *Phœnicia* was governed by a consular, who resided sometimes at *Tyre*, sometimes at *Berytus*, and sometimes at *Damascus*: several provinces of *Italy* had likewise a consular for their governor, viz. *Æmia*, *Liguria*, *Venetia*, *Picenum*, *Sicilia*, *Flaminia*, and *Campania*: *Etruria*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Lucania*, and *Brutium*, were governed by correctors; and *Samnium*, *Valeria*, the *Alpes Cottia*, both *Rhætia*'s, *Sardinia*, and *Corfica*, by presidents. We find several laws in the *Theodosian* code addressed to the prefects, proconsuls, vicars, rectors, consulars, and correctors, but very few to the presidents (N).

THE prefects were originally military; but, after this division of the empire, they became altogether civil officers, the command of the troops being given to two *magistri militiæ*, the institution of which office is likewise ascribed by *Zosimus* to *Constantine* \*. In *Dioclesian*'s time, each province had its peculiar general, stiled *dux* or *duke*; but *Constantine* in their room created the two above-mentioned *magistri militiæ*, one <sup>The magi-</sup> for the foot, and another for the horse, with a full power of <sup>stri mili-</sup> making what regulations in the army they thought proper; of punishing the soldiers when guilty of breach of duty, or any other crime; of discharging and admitting into the army whom they pleased, &c. Sometimes both commands were vested in one person; for in a law, dated the seventeenth of *June* 315. mention is made of one *Eusebius*, commander in

\* Zos. p. 688.

(M) Under the former were the thirteen following provinces, *Campania*, *Etruria*, *Umbria*, *Picenum Suburbicarium*, *Sicilia*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, *Lucania*, *Brutium*, *Samnium*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, and *Valeria*: under the vicar of *Italy* were five provinces, *Liguria*, *Æmia*, *Flaminia*, *Picenum Annonarium*, and *Venetia*; to

which were afterwards added *Istria*, the *Alpes Cottia*, and both the *Rhætia*'s.

(N) The prefects under *Constantine* and his son *Constantius* had only the title of *clarissimi*, which was common to all senators, but were soon after distinguished with that of *illustres*.

chief

The patricians.

chief both of the horse and foot ; and one *Sylvanus*, in two laws addressed to him in 349. is stiled *magister utriusque militiae*<sup>1</sup>. But their number was soon increased ; for in the time of *Theodosius I.* they were at least five, viz. one for the court, called *præsentalis* ; one for *Thrace*, one for the *Orient*, one for *Illyricum*, and one for *Gaul*<sup>2</sup>. These *magistri militiae* were afterwards distinguished with the title of *comites* or *counts*, and raised to the rank of the first officers of the empire. The *patricii* or *patricians* were superior in rank both to the *magistri militiae*, and the prefects. This was a new dignity instituted by *Constantine* ; but had no power or authority annexed to it, being only a title of honour. The patricians, tho' raised above all the other subjects of the empire, were nevertheless obliged to give the precedency to the consuls<sup>3</sup>. *Constantine* conferred this dignity on *Julius Constantius*, his brother, and *Optatus*, his brother-in-law<sup>4</sup>. The patricians are seldom mentioned by the writers of the fourth century, but frequently by those of the fifth.

The comites or counts.

THE title of *comes* or *count* seems likewise to owe its origin to *Constantine*. Before *Constantine's* time, those who attended the emperors out of *Rome* in quality of counsellors, stiled themselves *comites* ; but to that word added the name of the prince whom they attended. In *Constantine's* time, the name of the prince was omitted, and those who accompanied him were stiled simply *comites*, *companions*, and in the modern languages *counts* : one *Dionysius* is the first to whom we find that title to have been given : afterwards it became a title of honour, and was bestowed upon all officers of any rank, tho' they neither followed the court, nor accompanied the emperor. These *comites* or *counts* were divided, according to their employments, into three orders or ranks ; and hence the expressions which we frequently meet with in the writers who flourished under *Constantine*, and his successors, *comes domesticus primi ordinis, secundi ordinis, &c.*<sup>b</sup>. We find no mention made of the title of *nobilissimus*, or *most noble*, before *Constantine's* time, who gave it to two of his brothers, viz. *Julius Constantius*, and *Annibalianus*<sup>c</sup>. It was, under the succeeding princes, bestowed upon their sons before they were raised to the dignity of *Cæsar*. Of the writers who flourished under *Constantine*, we shall speak in our note (O).

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Theodof. l. xi. tit. 1. leg. 1. p. 6. & chronol. p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Notit. c. 5, 8, 34, 38.

<sup>3</sup> Zos. p. 692. Cod. Theodof. p.

74, 75.

<sup>4</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Vide Du CANGE gloss. p. 1074.

<sup>c</sup> Zos. l. ii. p. 692.

(O) We shall begin with those *Constantine. Eusebius of Cæsarea* who have written the history of published his life in four books ; but

THE news of *Constantine's* death no sooner reached the armies, than they all agreed to acknowledge no other emperors but the sons of *Constantine*, whom they accordingly proclaimed emperors,

*The armies acknowledge Constantine's three chil-*

but declares in the beginning of his work, that he designs to insert in his history such accounts only as serve to shew his piety and religion, and may prove edifying to his readers. However, he relates great part of his wars; and we may depend upon the truth of what he writes relating thereunto, since the emperor honoured him with his intimacy and friendship, and informed him himself of many transactions. He composed this work soon after the emperor's death; for he tells us, that he began it when *Constantine's* children reigned; and on the other hand it is certain, that he did not survive the emperor two full years. Besides the life of *Constantine*, he wrote two panegyrics on that prince, one in 325. which has been long since lost; and another, of an extraordinary length, in 335. which has reached our times, but gives us no great insight into the transactions of that age (5). Several other panegyrics on *Constantine*, composed in the beginning of his reign, are still extant, and have been of great use to us, as the reader must have observed, in writing the history of his life. Among these are two, the authors of which are not known: one of them was pronounced in the year 308. on occasion of the marriage of *Constantine* and *Fausta*; and the other in 313. after the defeat of *Maxentius* (6). Two

other panegyrics were composed by *Eumenius*, of whom we have spoken in the text, the one about the year 309. and the other in 311. to return thanks to the emperor for the favours and privileges granted to the city of *Autun*: that written by *Nazarius* was pronounced on the first of *March*, 321. *Eumenius* was professor of eloquence in the city of *Autun*, and esteemed one of the best orators of his time. *St. Jerome* speaks of *Nazarius* as a celebrated orator in 324. and adds, that he had a daughter no less esteemed for her eloquence than himself. *Vindus*, in his comments upon *Ausonius*, calls her *Eunomia*; and styles her, upon what authority we know not, a Christian virgin (7). *Praxagoras*, by birth an *Athenian*, wrote, when only nineteen years old, two books on the kings of *Athens*; and, three years after, two others, comprising the life of *Constantine*. At the age of thirty-one, he published the life of *Alexander the Great* in six books (8). An abridgment of his life of *Constantine* is to be found in *Photius* (9). His style is clear, but unequal. He was a pagan, but bestows great encomiums on *Constantine*. He is supposed to have flourished under *Constantius*, and to have been cotemporary with the sophist *Bemarchus*, who was a native of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, wrote se-

(5) *Euseb. c. c. Habit. in tricennal. Constantin. p. 625.*  
124. & 7. p. 152. (7) *Vindus. in Auson. p. 158.*  
(9) *Idem. p. 64.*

(6) *Panegy. c. p.*  
(8) *Phot. c. 52. p. 64.*

emperors, as did, soon after, the senate of *Rome*, without taking the least notice of their two cousins, *Dalmatius Cæsar*, and

veral declamations and speeches, and published the life of *Constantine* in ten books (1). But none of his works have reached our times. *Libanius* mentions one *Bemarchus*, a pagan sophist, but greatly favoured by *Constantius* (2). *Eunapius* likewise wrote the history of *Constantine*, but comprised, without all doubt, in the general history, which he published of all the emperors from the death of *Alexander Severus* (3). We may well rank *Constantine* himself amongst the writers and men of learning, who flourished in his age; for many monuments of his application and study have reached our times, and are to be found in *Eusebius*, who has transmitted them to us. Of these, the chief, or at least the most diffusive and extensive, is his oration *ad sanctorum cætum*, or his discourse addressed to the assembly of saints. *Eusebius* assures us, that this speech, as well as his many laws and letters, were all composed by himself. His speech, and several letters, he wrote in *Latin*, and caused them to be afterwards translated into *Greek*, though he must have been well acquainted with the *Greek* tongue too, having passed most of his time in the East. Of his letters or edicts the following are still extant in *Eusebius*: the edict of *Milan* in 313. in favour of the Christians; his letters to *Anulinus*, proconsul of *Africa*, for the ecclesiastic immunity, and ordering whatever had been ta-

ken from the churches to be restored; his letter to *Cæcilianus*, bishop of *Carthage*, concerning the alms, which were by his orders to be distributed among the indigent Christians in *Africa*; his letter to *Melchisedes*, bishop of *Rome*, in 313. touching the council of that city against the *Donatists*; that which he wrote in 314. to *Chrestus*, bishop of *Syracuse*, concerning the council of *Arles*; his edict addressed to the inhabitants of *Palæstine*, and the people of the East, in 323. for the re-establishing of the confessors; his letters to *Eusebius* the historian, concerning the building of churches; his edict to the people of the East, exhorting them to embrace the Christian religion; his letter to *Alexander* and *Arius*, touching their disputes in point of religion; his letter to the churches, concerning what had been decided in the council of *Nice* in 325. with respect to the celebration of *Easter*; the letter he wrote to *Macarius* for the building of the church of the *Resurrection* at *Jerusalem*, and that to the bishops of *Palæstine* for the building of another at *Mambre*; three touching the promotion of *Eusebius* to the see of *Antioch* about the year 331. part of the edict which he addressed to the heretics; his letter to *Sapor* king of *Persia*, in behalf of the Christians; two to *Eusebius*, the one touching his treatise on *Easter*, the other requiring him to send

(1) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 17. Suilas, B. p. 551.*  
 p. 15. (3) *Eunap. l. 1. 42. Voss. ibid. c. 18.*

(2) *Liban. vit.*

and *Annibalianus* king of *Pontus*, the two sons of their uncle *Constantius Dalmatius*, tho' *Constantine* had, in the above-mentioned

him fifty copies of the Scripture; his letter to the bishops of the council of *Tyre* in 335. for the quieting of the troubles in the church. Besides these letters or edicts in *Eusebius* (4), others have been transmitted to us by different authors, to wit, five touching the *Donatists*, written about the year 314 (5); one to *Arius* and his disciples, about the year 324. complaining of their obstinacy (6); one to the church of *Alexandria*, upon the condemnation of *Arius* by the council of *Nice*; one to the whole church, commanding his books, and those of his followers, to be burnt (7); one to the church of *Nicomedia*, on the banishment of the two *Arian* bishops, *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* of *Nice* (8); another, on the same subject, to *Theodotus*, bishop of *Laodicea* (9); one to *Arius*, inviting him to court (1); some lines of that which he wrote to *Athanasius*, injoining him to admit *Arius* to the communion of the faithful (2); one to the church of *Alexandria*, wherein he commends the conduct of *Athanasius* (3); one to *Athanasius* himself, condemning those who had slandered him (4); one to *Johannes Melchianus*, congratulating him upon his being reconciled to the church (5); one to the *Eusebians* of the council of *Tyre*, inviting them to *Constantinople* (6). To these we may add the letter which he wrote to the poet *Optatianus*, thanking him for a poem which he had published in his commendation; and assuring him, that he had nothing more at heart than the encouraging of learned men. Besides the authors of the *Augustine* history, of whom we have spoken already, several other authors flourished under *Constantine*. *St. Jerom* extols, among the rest, the orator *Attius Patera* or *Paterius*, a native of *Bayeux*, and sprung, according to *Ausonius* (7), from the ancient *Druids*. He taught rhetoric at *Rome* with great applause, about the end of *Constantine's* reign, and afterwards at *Bordeaux* (8), since *Ausonius* ranks him among the professors of that city. He was the father of the orator *Delphidius* (9), of whom hereafter; and *Hedibias*, to whom *St. Jerom* wrote his hundredth and fiftieth letter, was descended from him. He was a pagan, as *St. Jerom* tells us in express terms (1). The reader will find in *Ausonius* (2) several things relating to him, which it would be too tedious to insert here. *Suidas* ascribes several rhetorical pieces to one *Onasimus*, a native of *Cyprus* or *Sparta*, who lived in the time

(4) *Euseb. hist. l. x. c. 5, 7. & vit. Const. l. ii. c. 24, 25, 46, 48, 64. l. iii. c. 17, 20, 30, 32, 52, 60, 64. l. iv. c. 9, 13, 35, 42.* (5) *Cæcil. Optat. p. 280, 283, 285, 287.* (6) *Vile Baron. ad ann. 319.* (7) *Socrat. l. i. c. 9. p. 3, 32.* (8) *Gelas. Cyprien. acta Nic. concil. p. 217.* (9) *Idem, p. 222.* (1) *Socrat. l. i. c. 25. p. 61.* (2) *Ath. ap. l. p. 773, 779.* (3) *Idem, p. 781.* (4) *Idem, p. 787.* (5) *Idem, p. 803.* (6) *Vile Baron. ann. 325.* (7) *Auson. de profess. Burdigal. car. iv. p. 145.* (8) *Idem, car. vi. p. 150.* (9) *Hier. epist. cl. p. 410.* (1) *Hier. p. 140.* (2) *Auson. ibid. p. 149.*

mentioned division of the empire, allotted to each of them their share. However, the three brothers did not, for what reason

of *Constantine*, and is styled by *Suidas* both an historian and sophist (3). At the same time flourished *Palladius*, a native of *Merthone* in *Peloponnesus*, who published a treatise on the fashions of the *Romans*, and some other philological pieces (4). And this is all we know of these two writers, whom *Vossius* ranks among the *Greek* historians (5). The reader will find in *Photius* (6) several grammatical observations copied by him from four books written in *iambic* verse by one *Helladius*, a native of *Antinopolis* or *Byzantinopolis*, as he styled it, in *Egypt*. This work was intitled *Chrestomathia*: he published several other pieces, was a pagan, and lived under *Licinius* and *Galerius* (7). *Photius* speaks elsewhere of one *Helladius*, author of a very copious lexicon (8). In the time of *Constantine* flourished the celebrated *Platonic* philosopher *Iamblichus*: he was a native of *Chalcis* in *Lower Syria*, sprung from a rich and noble family, and very famous among the pagans, as appears from *Eunapius*, who wrote his life (9). He studied philosophy first under one *Anatolus* or *Anatolius*, and afterwards under the celebrated *Porphyrius*. He had an incredible number of disciples, taken with his pravity, says *Eunapius*, and not with his eloquence; for he both spoke and wrote very improperly. From what *Eunapius* says of him, it is

manifest, that he studied magic with no less application than philosophy (1). He died at *Alexandria* before the year 331. some time after he had put the last hand to the life of a philosopher of that place, named *Alypius*, who was his cotemporary. This work has not reached our times, nor ought we to regret the loss of it; for *Eunapius* speaks of it as a very mean performance (2). Several works of a philosopher, named *Iamblichus*, are still extant, and highly esteemed by the best judges, but commonly ascribed, not to the disciple of *Porphyrius*, but to another *Iamblichus*, who lived at *Apamea* in *Syria*, forty or fifty years after the former, and was one of the emperor *Julian's* chief favourites, as appears from the several letters he wrote to him (3). These two philosophers bore the same name, lived in the same country, and had each of them a disciple named *Sopater*; no wonder, therefore, that most writers have confounded them. A third philosopher, of the same name, lived under the emperor *M. Aurelius*. Several works have reached our times, under the name of *Iamblichus*; but which of these three was the true author of them, we will not take upon us to determine: the works are, the history of the life and sect of *Pythagoras*, with an exhortation to the study of philosophy, containing an explication of the proverbs

(3) *Suid.* o, v, p. 311.

(4) *Idem*, π, p. 405.

(5) *Voss. bist. Græc.*

l. iv. c. 18. p. 426.

(6) *Phot.* c. 279.

(7) *Idem*, p. 1592.

(8) *Idem*,

c. 145. p. 317.

(9) *Eunap.* c. 2. p. 23.

(1) *Idem* *ibid.*

(2) *Idem*,

c. 3. p. 29.

(3) *Julian. epist.* xl. & p. 186, &c.

reason we are no-where told, take upon them the title of *Augusti* till the ninth of *September* of this year 337. that is, near

and maxims of that philosopher (4); an explication of the arithmetic of *Nicomachus*; a treatise on mathematics in general; an answer to the letter of *Porphyrus* to *Anebo*, on the mysteries of the *Egyptians*; a collection of the tenets of the *Pythagoreans*; and a short treatise on the sun. The first of these works was translated into *Latin*, and published in 1518. by one *Johannes Argerius*, a native of *Frisia*; but he is thought not to have taken the true meaning of the author in several passages; and, besides, his style is both obscure and improper. *Samuel Tennulius* published in 1668. *Iamblichus's* explication of the arithmetic of *Nicomachus*, promising at the same time to publish soon after his treatise on mathematics; but whether or no he was as good as his word, we cannot tell, not having ever heard of that work's being published. *Iamblichus*, in his answer to the letter of *Porphyrus*, endeavours, under the name of *Abammon*, to confute his arguments against the power of magic. *Holstenius* designed to publish all the works of *Iamblichus*, together with observations; but he was prevented by death from executing his design. *Iamblichus's* life of *Pythagoras* was in great part copied from that of the same philosopher, written by *Porphyrus* (5). *St. Jerom* tells us, that the philosopher *Iamblichus* wrote copious comments on

the precepts of *Pythagoras*, commonly called the *golden maxims* (6). The emperor *Julian* equals *Iamblichus* of *Chalcis* to *Plato* himself. *Gothofredus* is of opinion, that *Gregorius* and *Hermogenes*, or rather *Hermogenianus*, the authors of the two different, but like codes, flourished under *Constantine*, and his children. They both begin with the laws of *Adrian*, and seem to end with those of *Dioclesian*, not caring, as is conjectured, to meddle with the laws of *Constantine*, by reason of the many changes that prince had introduced into the *Roman* jurisprudence (7). Tho' they were both pagans, yet they might have inserted such laws of *Constantine*, as no-ways related to religion. In compiling their respective works, they followed the order of time; which was afterwards observed in the codes of *Theodosius* and *Justinian*. The codes of *Gregorius* and *Hermogenianus* are thought to be the most antient of all; and were both abridged by those, who abridged the *Theodosian* code (8). Only some fragments of them now remain to be found in different books of jurisprudence. *Gregorius* is commonly believed to have been the most antient of the two. The title of *Hermogenianus* is very uncouth, and often obscure. *Publius Optatianus Porphyrius* flourished under *Constantine*, and is thought to have published the poem, which

(4) *Idem*. *vit.* *Pyth.* p. 25.  
in *Ruf.* l. iii. c. 10. p. 246.  
p. 144.

(5) *Idem*. l. iii. c. 16. p. 293, 294.  
(7) *Idem*. *lucid. chronol.* p. 185.

(6) *Hier.*  
(8) *Idem*.



near four months after the decease of their father<sup>d</sup>. Soon after, the soldiery, under colour of preventing disturbances in the

<sup>d</sup> EUSEB. vii. Const. l. iv. c. 68. p. 560.

has reached us, about the middle of the year 326. on occasion of the solemnity of the emperor's twentieth year, and the tenth of the two *Cæsars*, *Crispus* and *Constantine*, his children. He had, before that time, inscribed another poem to *Constantine*; which being well received by the prince, *Optatianus* returned him thanks by a letter, which is still extant, for the kind reception he had given it; adding to the letter a second poem, addressed likewise to *Constantine*. These two poems have been long since lost; but the letter, which the emperor wrote to him, thanking him for one of them, has reached our times. *Constantine* calls him in his letter *his dearly beloved*; and *Optatianus* styles *Constantine emperor of the whole earth*; whence we may conclude it to have been written after the year 323. Not long after, *Optatianus* was, upon several charges brought against him, banished. He owns some of them to have been true; but pretends not to have been guilty of the crime for which chiefly he was sent into exile. He wrote the poem, which is still extant, to beg of *Constantine*, that he would recal him from banishment, and allow him to see again his son and family. The poem is a panegyric on *Constantine*, filled with acroitics, and other trifling conceits of that nature, which betray want of judgment,

and true taste, in the writer (9). *St. Jerom* assures us, that the emperor, pleased with this poem, recalled the author (1). Several epigrams in the *anthology* are ascribed to the same author; and *Fulgentius*, the grammarian, quotes some of his verses (2): *Robanus Maurus*, and venerable *Bede*, speak of his poem as an elegant performance (3); but the modern critics, with a great deal of reason, despise all compositions, and *difficiles nugæ*, as *Martial* styles them, of that nature, agreeing therein with the ancient *Latin* poets, whose writings ought to be our standard. Some authors are of opinion, that several of the pieces which pass under the name of *Petronius Arbiter*, were written by *Optatianus*. *Sopater*, the disciple of *Iamblichus*, flourished under *Constantine*, and, after the death of that philosopher, became the head of the *Platonic* sect that followed *Plotinus*. He was a native of *Apamea* in *Syria*, and both spoke and wrote with great elegance and propriety; whence he was styled a sophist, as well as a philosopher (4). After the death of *Iamblichus*, not deigning to converse with other philosophers, says *Eunapius* his admirer, he repaired to the court of *Constantine*, to try whether he could prevent the downfall and utter ruin of the ancient religion of the *Romans*. He gained, adds the

(9) *P. Opt. prol. c. 11. apud Voss.*  
*p. iii. c. 11. p. 297.*  
*l. i. c. 5. p. 406. Suid. p. 781.*

(1) *Hier. ann. 229.*

(2) *Optat. prol. p. 2.*

(3) *Jonf. Eunap. p. 23. 202.*

the empire, flew to arms, and cut in pieces *Julius Constantius*, but put the deceased emperor's brother, *Dalmatius Cæsar*, *Annibali-* Dalmatius and Annibali-

same writer, a great ascendant over the emperor, who frequently conferred with him, and yielded to him in public the most honourable place. But this we can hardly believe, upon the bare word of his panegyrist *Eunapius*; for no other writer takes the least notice of *Sopater*'s great credit with *Constantine*. *Sozomen* tells us, that *Constantine* had recourse to him to know in what manner he might atone for the death of his son *Crispus*; and that both the philosopher, and the pagan pontifs, answered, that in the religion of the *Greeks*, there was no atonement for so heinous a crime (5). Hereupon he began to hearken to the Christians, says *Zosimus* (6), who assured him, that the virtue of their baptism was capable of washing off any wickedness, however enormous. We can scarce believe, that the pagans owned there was no atonement in their religion for an emperor. Besides, it is certain, that *Constantine* had hearkened to the Christians, and embraced their religion, before the death of *Crispus*. While *Sopater* was with the emperor at *Constantinople*, there being great scarcity of provisions in that city, by reason the vessels that brought corn were detained by contrary winds, the people assembled in the theatre broke one day on a sudden into bitter invectives against *Sopater*, as a magician, who stooped the

favourable winds, and prevented the arrival of the so long expected vessels. Hereupon *Constantine* abandoned him to the fury of the enraged populace, who, being underhand stirred up by the prefect *Ablavius*, and other courtiers, jealous of his too great credit with the emperor, tore him in pieces. Thus is his death related by *Eunapius* (7); and from him *Zosimus* copied what he wrote on this subject (8). It is surprising, that *Constantine* should have treated in this manner, without the least provocation, so great a favourite as *Eunapius*, and after him *Zosimus*, pretend *Sopater* to have been. *Suidas* writes, that *Constantine* put him to death, to give the world a signal instance of his hatred and aversion to paganism (9). *Sopater* left a treatise on providence, and on those who had been undeservedly happy or miserable (1). *Vossius* seems to confound *Sopater* of *Apamea* with another philosopher of the same name, who was a native of *Alexandria*, and abridged the works of several historians, and other authors. These abridgments are greatly esteemed by *Photius*, tho' interwoven with several fables. They were divided into twelve books (2). *Julian* speaks of one *Sopater* of *Apamea*, who lived in his time (3), and consequently must be distinguished from the disciple of *Iamblichus*. To the other writers, who flourished

(5) *Sozom.* l. i. c. 5. p. 406.

c. 4. p. 34, 37.

*ibid.* 186.(8) *Zoj.* l. ii. p. 692.(2) *Phot.* c. 161. p. 344.(6) *Zef.* l. ii. p. 685.(9) *Suid.* c. p. 782.(3) *Julian. epist.* xl. liii. 185,(7) *Eunap.*(1) *Ibid.*

anus king of Pontus, the patrician *Optatus*, who had, as is commonly supposed, married *Anastasia*, the late emperor's sister, five of his nephews, among whom was the eldest son of *Julius Constantius*, the prefect *Ablavius*, and most of the great *Constantine's* ministers, supposing them attached to the interest of his nephews<sup>e</sup>. Thus was the numerous family of *Constantine* at once reduced to his three sons, and two nephews *Gallus* and *Julian*, the sons of *Julius Constantius*; of whom the former owed his life to a malady, from which no one believed he could recover; and the other to his infancy, he being then at most but seven years old<sup>f</sup> (P).

THE

<sup>e</sup> EUSEB. *ibid.* p. 541. ZOÏ. l. ii. p. 692. JULIAN. *epist.* ad Athenienf. p. 497, 498. <sup>f</sup> SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 1. p. 164. AMMIAN. p. 298.

under *Constantine*, we may add the two Christian poets *Commodianus* and *Juvencus*. The former wrote, according to *Rigault*, who published his work with those of St. *Cyrian* in 1666. in the time of *Sylvestre*, bishop of Rome; was a native of *Gaza*, or at least bore the name of *Gazaëus*; he was descended of pagan parents; but, in reading the holy Scripture, discovered and embraced the truth. He wrote a kind of poem, in hexameter verse, commonly stiled *instructions*, but without any regard to quantities. It is divided into several articles, and the initial letters of each article make up its title. In this poem, if we may bestow upon it that name, he impugns the errors of the pagans, but seems not to have been yet well instructed himself in the truths of the Christian religion (4). *Juvencus*, frequently mentioned by St. *Jerom*, flourished under *Constantine*: he was by birth a *Spaniard*, sprung from an illustrious family, and not only a

Christian, but in holy orders. However, he applied himself to the study of poetry, and wrote a poem, comprising the four gospels in as many books. He keeps close to the text, choosing rather to preserve the truth of the history, than to display his genius. This poem was composed when *Constantine* had settled both the church and empire in peace (5), that is, after the defeat of *Licinius*. Some of his verses are quoted by the venerable *Bede* (6). The council of Rome held in the time of *Gelasius*, bishop of that city, approved of this work, stiling it a laborious and excellent performance (7). He wrote another poem on the order of the sacraments, of which the abbot *Tritenham* (8) assures us he had seen and perused two books; but they have not reached our times. *Crinitus* ascribes to him some hymns (9), of which no mention is made by any other writer.

(P) *Gregory of Nazianzus* writes, that *Julian* was privately convey-

(4) *Comm.* p. 23. c. 33. *Gennad.* c. 15.

(5) *Juvenc.* l. iv. p. 657. *uer.*

(6) *Vide l'Abb. de Script. ecclesiast.*

(7) *Concil. tom. iv. p. 1264.*

(8) *Trit. de Script. ecclef. p. 14.*

(9) *Bib. pat. t. viii. p. 657.*

THE three brothers met in *Pannonia* in the beginning of the ensuing year 338. when *Ursus* and *Polemius* were consuls, to divide among them the dominions of the two deceased princes *Dalmatius* and *Annibalianus*; but all we know of this division is, that *Constantine* had *Thrace* (for he is said to have reigned at *Constantinople*)<sup>§</sup>; and *Constans*, *Greece* and *Macedon*; (for *Corinth*, and some places in *Macedon*, are said to have belonged to him<sup>h</sup>.) Each of them kept the dominions allotted to them by *Constantine* in his life-time, that partition being confirmed by his last will; viz. *Constantine*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; *Constantius*, *Asia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*; and *Constans*, *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Africa*. *Constantine* seems to have yielded this very year *Thrace* to *Constantius*, and *Constans* *Africa* to *Constantine*. While *Constantius* was absent in *Pannonia*, the *Persians*, finding the frontiers unguarded, entered *Mesopotamia*, committing every-where dreadful ravages. At the same time the *Armenians* revolted, drove out their king, who was a friend to the *Romans*, and joined the *Persians*; who, being thus strengthened, laid siege to *Nisibis*; but, after having continued before it sixty-three days, they were obliged to drop that enterprize, and retire. The preservation of that important place is ascribed by *Theodoret* to the prayers of the holy bishop *James*, during whose life, and residence there, all the attempts of the enemy against it proved ineffectual<sup>i</sup>. *Constantius*, in the mean time, taking leave of his brothers, left *Pannonia*, and returned into the East, where he assembled all his forces, with a design to relieve *Nisibis*; but, finding the *Persians* had retired of their own accord, he turned his arms against the *Armenians*, obliged them to receive again the king whom they had driven out, and drew over to his party the robbers of *Arabia*, no doubt the *Saracens*, who, by frequent inroads into

*Their dominions divided amongst the three brothers.*

*The Persians invade the Roman dominions. Raise the siege of Nisibis, and retire.*

§ Chron. Alex. p. 670.

<sup>h</sup> LIBAN. orat. ix. p. 212.

<sup>i</sup> THEODOR. in vit. patrum, c. i. p. 770.

ed away, and concealed by one *Marcus* of *Arethusa*, whom he afterwards put to a cruel death (1). All authors agree, that neither young *Constantine*, nor *Constans*, had any hand in the massacre of the imperial family: as for *Constantius*, *Eutropius* (2) and *Socrates* (3) write, that he rather

permitted than commanded it. *Julian* (4, St. *Jerom* (5), and *Zosimus* (6), tell us in plain terms, that he was the author of that cruel massacre; and St. *Athanasius* openly reproaches him as the murderer of his uncles and cousins (7).

(1) *Naxian. orat. iii. p. 90.*

(4) *Julian. ad Athen. p. 497.*

(7) *Athan. solit. p. 356.*

(2) *Eutrop. p. 553.*

(5) *Illic. chron.*

(3) *Socrat. p. 115.*

(6) *Zos. p. 692.*

the *Persian* dominions, made a powerful diversion, and greatly annoyed the enemy <sup>k</sup>. The war, however, continued during the whole time of his reign: many battles were fought, some gained by the *Romans*, and some by the *Persians*: the cities of *Mesopotamia* were often taken and retaken; and that of *Nisibis* three times besieged by the enemy, without their ever being able to reduce it. *Ammianus Marcellinus* observes, that the *Romans* gained great advantages, when commanded by the emperor's lieutenants; but were constantly defeated, when headed by the emperor in person <sup>l</sup>. The following year, 339. when *Constantius* was consul the second time, with his brother *Constans*, several laws were enacted in the name of the three emperors; and, among the rest, one forbidding, under no less a penalty than that of death, marriages between uncles and nieces, which had been allowed by a decree of the senate, issued in favour of the marriage of *Claudius*, and the celebrated *Agrippina*. Notwithstanding this decree, such marriages were ever looked upon by the *Romans* as incestuous, but frequently practised by other nations, especially the *Phœnicians*, to whom the law forbidding them, dated the thirty-first of *March* of this year, is addressed <sup>m</sup>.

THE next consuls were *Acyndinus* and *Proculus*. This year *Constantine*, dissatisfied with the late partition of the provinces, after having solicited in vain his brother *Constans* to yield to him *Italy*, or at least part of that country, raised a considerable army, and, under pretence of marching to the assistance of *Constantius*, who was at war with the *Persians*, left *Gaul*, and, entering the dominions of *Constans*, made himself master of several places. Hereupon *Constans*, who was then in *Dacia*, detached part of his forces against him, who, having drawn him into an ambuscade near *Aquileia*, cut both him and his army in pieces. His body was thrown into the river *Ansa*, at a small distance from *Aquileia*; but being afterwards discovered, it was sent to *Constantinople*, and interred there near the tomb of his father <sup>n</sup>. Such was the end of the great *Constantine's* eldest son. He was born at *Arles*, as is commonly believed, on the seventh of *August*, 316. created *Cæsar* the first of *March* 317. and saluted *Augustus* on the ninth of *September* 337. so that he did not enjoy the imperial dignity three whole years. His panegyrist paints him as a prince endowed with great accomplishments both of body and mind; and adds, that he studied the Scriptures, and, to the utmost of his power,

Constantine invades the dominions of Constans, and is killed.

Year of the flood 2790.  
Of Christ 340.  
Of Rome 1138.

<sup>k</sup> I. IBAK. p. 122. JULIAN. orat. i. p. 37.

<sup>l</sup> AMMIAN. l.

xx. p. 177.

<sup>m</sup> Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 11. p. 294.

<sup>n</sup> ZONAR. p. 11. VICT. epit. p. 544. EUTROP. p. 588.

practised what they required °. But his invading his brother's dominions, without the least provocation, can by no means be justified. He received and treated with great kindness the great *Athanasius*, when he was banished by his father into *Gaul*; which province he then governed °. By his death, *Constans* remained sole master of the western provinces, *Constantius* voluntarily yielding to him the whole share of the deceased prince °. *Constans*, soon after the death of his brother, arrived at *Aquileia*, where he was on the ninth of *April*, and on the twenty-fifth of *June* at *Milan* °. All we find of *Constantius* this year is, that on the fifth of *August* he was at *Bessus* in *Thrace*, and on the ninth of *September* at *Antioch* °.

THE next year, when *Marcellinus* and *Probinus* were consuls; many cities in the East were overturned by a violent and dreadful earthquake °; and the *Franks* in the West, having crossed the *Rhine*, made an irruption into *Gaul*, committing every-where great ravages. *Constans* marched against them; gave them battle; but, as he gained no great advantage over them, the war was not ended till the ensuing year °. On occasion of this war, *Libanius* speaks much at large of the turbulent and restless temper of the *Franks* °. This year a law was enacted in the name of the two emperors, forbidding, under the severest penalties, all manner of idolatrous worship °. *Firmicus Maternus* writes, that *Constans* ordered several temples to be demolished, and likewise the celebrated altar of *Victory* in the senate at *Rome* °. *Constantius* built this year, and fortified, the city of *Amida* upon the *Tigris* in *Mesopotamia*. *Stephanus* the geographer takes no notice of this city: however, it is certain, that it sustained a long siege in the latter end of the present reign, and became afterwards the metropolis of *Mesopotamia*, properly so called, as *Edeffa* was the metropolis of that part, which was known by the name of *Osrhoene*. The *Arabians*, the present inhabitants, call it *Hemit* or *Ameth*, and the *Turks* *Caramit* °.

THE following year, *Constantius* entered upon his third, and *Constans* upon his second consulship. The latter either conquered or appeased the *Franks*, to use the expression of *Idatius*; and that warlike people submitted to the princes of their own

° Monodia, seu orat. in Constantin. junior. mort. p. 7—8—11.

° Idem ibid. ° Soz. l. iii. p. 99. JUL. orat. ii. p. 175.

° Cod. Theodof. p. 97. chronol. p. 41. ° Cod. Theodof.

chronol. p. 42. ° SOCRAT. p. 88. Soz. p. 504. THEOPHAN.

p. 30. ° SOCRAT. p. 88. Soz. p. 504. LIBAN.

orat. iii. p. 138. ° Cod. Theodof. l. xi. tit. 3. leg. 1. p. 2.

° FIRM. MAT. p. 57. ° Vide BAUDR. p. 35.

nation, whom he was pleased to appoint over them <sup>a</sup>. *Constantians*, being thus disengaged, passed over into *Britain* the following year 343. when *Placidus* and *Romulus* were consuls, to oppose the *Scots*, who made frequent inroads into the *Roman* dominions; but the silence of *Libanius*, with respect to this expedition, is a manifest proof that he performed no great exploits against that brave and gallant nation. He was at *Boulogne* on the twenty-fifth of *January* on his way to *Britain*, and returned to *Treves* on the thirtieth of *June* <sup>b</sup>. As for *Constantius*, he was, on the fifth of *April*, and the eleventh of *May*, of the preceding year, at *Antioch* <sup>c</sup>; and this year, on the eighteenth of *February*, at *Antioch*, and on the twenty-seventh of *June*, and fourth of *July*, at *Hierapolis* in *Euphratesiana* <sup>d</sup>. By a law enacted this year on the twenty-seventh of *August*, and commonly ascribed to him, the ecclesiastics and their domestics are exempted from all new impositions, and an intire immunity from all customs granted to such of them as were by their poverty obliged to earn a livelihood by trading <sup>e</sup>. When the church acquired sufficient wealth to support her ministers, they were forbidden by the canons to merchandise, or follow any trade (Q).

THE following year, when *Leontius* and *Sallustius* were consuls, is remarkable for a dreadful earthquake, which intirely ruined the city of *Neocæsarea* in *Pontus*, no one edifice having withstood the violence of the shock, except the church, and the habitation of the bishop, who was saved, with the clergy, and some other pious persons, while the other inhabitants were all buried in the ruins <sup>f</sup>. *Theophanes* speaks of a battle this year between the *Romans* and *Persians*, in which the latter were defeated with great loss <sup>g</sup>. The year ensuing, when *Amentius* and *Albinus* were consuls, the city of *Duras* on the coast of *Greece* was swallowed up with all its inhabitants in an earthquake, and twelve cities in *Campania* overturned. The above-mentioned consuls were succeeded by *Constantius* the

<sup>a</sup> IDAT. p. 85. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 13. p. 90. <sup>b</sup> Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 44. <sup>c</sup> Idem, p. 43. <sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>e</sup> Cod.

<sup>f</sup> Theodof. l. xvi. tit. 2. l. viii. p. 32. <sup>g</sup> GREG. NYSS. in vit.

Greg. Thaum. <sup>h</sup> THEOPH. p. 31.

(Q) *Theophanes* tells us, that *Constantius* triumphed this year over the *Persians*; for, as we observed above, he was at war with them during the whole time of his reign (8); but he often triumphed, when he had been overcome, to conceal the shame of his defeat (9).

(8) *Theoph.* p. 30.

(9) *Liban. orat.* xii. p. 309.

fourth time, and *Constans* the third time, consuls. The latter was at *Cesena* in *Italy* on the twenty-third of *May*, at *Milan* on the twenty-first of *June*, from whence he passed into *Macedon*, and was at *Thessalonica* on the sixth of *December*: from *Macedon* he seems to have returned to *Gaul*; for he sent from thence *Athanasius* and *Osius* to the council of *Sardica*, held the following year 347<sup>h</sup>. As for *Constantius*, he was, on the seventh and twenty-sixth of *May*, and the twenty-third of *August*, at *Constantinople*<sup>l</sup>. The law dated the twenty-sixth of *May*, and addressed to the bishops, confirms to them, and the inferior clergy, to their wives, children and domestics, several immunities and exemptions<sup>k</sup>. This year *Constantius* caused an harbour to be made at *Seleucia*, at an immense charge, for the convenience of the city of *Antioch*, which stood on the *Antiochat* *Orontes*, at a small distance from thence. This work cost him, according to *Libanius*, and the emperor *Julian*<sup>l</sup>, incredible sums, the mouth of the *Orontes*, where the port was made, being full of rocks and sands. He likewise rebuilt the cities of *Seleucia* in *Syria*, and *Antaradus* in *Phœnicia*; whence the latter, in the acts of some councils, is called from him *Constantia*<sup>m</sup>.

THE same year, *Sapor* king of *Persia*, besieged *Nisibis* a second time; but was obliged to retire with disgrace, after having continued before it three months, as we read in St. *Jerome*, or seventy-eight days, as *Theophanes* will have it. The following year, when *Rufinus* and *Eusebius* were consuls, the emperor *Constantius* pretended to have gained a considerable victory over the *Persians*<sup>n</sup>: he was at *Ancyra* on the eighth of *March*, and at *Hierapolis* on the eleventh of *May*<sup>o</sup>. The next consuls were *Flavius Philippus*, a great stickler for the doctrine of *Arius*, and *Flavius Salla* or *Salia*, a zealous defender of the faith of the council of *Nice*. This year *Constans*, filled with indignation against the *Arians*, and ashamed of the weakness of his brother, who suffered himself to be imposed upon and deluded by those subtle heretics, threatened to restore by force of arms the orthodox bishops, whom he had banished at their infliation, unless he recalled them of his own accord. *Constantius* was, either by fear, or the reasons alleged by *Constans* in behalf of the exiled bishops, prevailed upon to give his consent to their return<sup>p</sup>. The same year *Constans* sent *Ma-*

<sup>h</sup> Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 46. ATH. apol. i. p. 676. <sup>i</sup> Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 46. <sup>k</sup> Cod. Theodof. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 10.

p. 34. <sup>l</sup> LIBAN. orat. xiii. p. 386. JULIAN. orat. i. p. 74.

<sup>m</sup> THEOPH. p. 31. BAUDR. p. 45. <sup>n</sup> ATHAN. folit. p. 819.

<sup>o</sup> Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 46, 47. <sup>p</sup> THEODOR. vit. patrū, l. ii. c. 8. p. 13.



*The Donatists suppressed in Africa.*

*carinus* and *Paulus*, two officers of distinction, into *Africa*, with large sums to be distributed among the poor of the province. They were likewise enjoined by that most religious prince, as he is styled by a council <sup>9</sup>, to use their utmost endeavours in reclaiming the *Donatists*, and reuniting them to the church. Their endeavours were crowned with success; for the most obstinate and stubborn among these sectaries being driven out of the province, the rest yielded to reason, and were received again into the church; so that the Christians there enjoyed a profound tranquillity, till those who had been banished were recalled by the emperor *Julian*<sup>r</sup>.

*The battle of Singarus.*

Year of the flood  
2798.  
Of Christ  
348.  
Of Rome  
1146.

BUT this year is chiefly remarkable for a great battle between the *Persians* and *Romans*, fought in the neighbourhood of *Singarus*, a city of *Mesopotamia*. The *Persians* had posted themselves there, and fortified their camp with a deep ditch and ramparts; on which, as well as on the neighbouring hills, they had placed an incredible number of archers: their army was very numerous, and composed of almost all the nations of the East, *Sapor*, their king, being determined to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement, and end, if possible, by a single victory, so tedious and expensive a war. He did not doubt but the *Romans* would attack him in his camp, and therefore had fortified it with extraordinary care, and placed bodies of archers on all the eminences which commanded the avenues leading to it. Accordingly the *Romans*, finding they could by no means intice the enemy into the open field, obliged *Constantius* to lead them up to the very ramparts of their camp, which they attacked with a fury hardly to be expressed, and forced, in spite of the showers of arrows that were discharged upon them from the eminences, and the vigorous resistance they met with from those in the camp. Great numbers of the *Persians* were cut in pieces, and the rest either put to flight, or taken prisoners: amongst the latter was the king's son, whom the *Romans* are said to have put to death, after having caused him to be publicly beaten with rods<sup>r</sup>. Thus the *Romans* made themselves masters of the enemy's camp, baggage, and treasures: but while they were, without the least apprehension of danger, quenching their drought with the fresh water, of which they found great plenty in the camp, the *Persian* archers, rallying, fell upon them unexpectedly, and snatched the victory, to use the expression of *Libanius*<sup>t</sup>, out of their hands. In this attack, which hap-

*The Romans force the Persian camp.*

<sup>r</sup> Concil. tom. ii. p. 713. <sup>r</sup> PHILOSTORG. l. iii. c. 12. p. 45.  
SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 23. p. 107. <sup>t</sup> LIB. p. 13. EUSEB. p. 580.  
JULIAN, p. 43. <sup>t</sup> LIB. p. 133.

pened in the night-time, great havock was made of the *Romans*; but nevertheless the *Persians*, as soon as day began to appear, withdrew beyond the *Tigris*, and broke down the bridges, which they had laid over that river, that the *Romans* might not pursue them<sup>u</sup>. The loss was great on both sides; but the *Romans*, by remaining masters of the field, claimed the victory<sup>w</sup>.

THE following year, when *Ulpus Limenius* and *Aconius Gallinus* were consuls, the city of *Berytus* was in great part overturned by an earthquake; which so frightened the inhabitants, that such of them as had not yet embraced the Christian religion, crowded to the churches to be baptized: but the lives of such converts, not instructed in the holy mysteries, and the duties of their profession, did no great honour to the religion they pretended to embrace<sup>x</sup>. *Constantius*, in the beginning of this year, was in *Gaul*: there *Athanasius* took leave of him, upon his setting out for his see in *Egypt*. From *Gaul* he passed into *Illyricum*, and was on the twenty-seventh of *May* at *Sirmium*<sup>y</sup>; whence he returned to *Gaul* before winter. As for *Constantius*, he was on the first of *April* at *Antioch*, and some time after at *Edeffa* in *Mesopotamia*; whence he wrote to *Athanasius*, pressing him to hasten his return to the East. He was at *Constantinople* on the third of *October*<sup>z</sup>. The law enacted this year on the eleventh of *April*, exempting the ecclesiastics from all civil functions and employments, is commonly ascribed to him.

THE following year 350. when *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus* were consuls, is remarkable for many great events. The *Persians*, notwithstanding the loss they had sustained in 348. returned this year with a mighty army, an incredible number of elephants, and warlike engines of all kinds; and, after ravaging *Mesopotamia*, and taking several strong-holds there, sat down before *Nisibis* the third time, and left nothing unattempted to reduce that important place. *Constantius* was then at a great distance, the disturbances which happened this year in the West, requiring his presence there. But the city was defended by *Lucilianus*, father-in-law to *Jovian* afterwards emperor, an officer of great courage and experience, and by the holy bishop *James*, in whose prayers the garison and inhabitants confided more than in their own valour and arms<sup>b</sup>. The *Persians* battered the walls for several days together, with

<sup>u</sup> LIB. p. 133. JULIAN. orat. i. p. 45.

<sup>w</sup> AMMIAN. p. 122.

<sup>x</sup> THEOPH. p. 32. CEDREN. p. 299.

<sup>y</sup> ATHAN. apol. ii.

p. 774. <sup>z</sup> Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 48.

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>b</sup> PHILOSTORGO. l. iii. c. 23. THEODOR.

the many engines which they had brought with them for that purpose, and at the same time endeavoured to undermine them; but, all their efforts proving ineffectual, *Sapor* caused *All the ef-* the river *Mygdonus*, flowing through the city, to be turned *ports of Sa-* into a new chanel, hoping by that means to distress the inha- *por against* bitants for want of water; but, finding them sufficiently sup- *it rendered* plied with wells and springs within the walls, he caused the *ineffectual.* course of the river to be stopped, and by that means laid the whole country round the town under water; insomuch that it seemed an island in the midst of the sea. His design was to overflow the town; but as it stood on a rising ground, the waters did not quite reach the top of the walls. He therefore ordered them to be battered with all kinds of warlike engines from ships and boats, of which he assembled an incredible number for that purpose. This attack lasted several days; but, proving in the end ineffectual, *Sapor* caused the river to be stopped above the city by a wall or mole of an extraordinary breadth and height; which being suddenly broken down, the waters rushed with such violence against the wall of the city, that it was overturned, and laid level with the ground, for the space of an hundred cubits.

*The vigo-  
rous resist-  
ance of the  
garrison and  
inhabit-  
ants.*

HEREUPON the enemy, believing themselves now masters of the place, advanced with loud shouts to the attack; but, to their great surprize, met with so vigorous a resistance, the garrison and inhabitants being encouraged and animated by their holy bishop, that they were obliged to retire, after having lost a great many men, horses, and elephants, as the reader will find related at large by the emperor *Julian*<sup>c</sup>. Heaven itself seemed to espouse the cause of the inhabitants of *Nisibis*; for the *Persians*, during the attack, were so terrified with dreadful flashes of lightning, winds, and rain, that they were not in a condition either of defending themselves, or of sending the enemy<sup>d</sup>. They are said to have lost in this one attack above ten thousand men<sup>e</sup>. *Sapor* did all that lay in his power to prevent the inhabitants from repairing the breach, annoying them with incessant showers of arrows, but to no effect; for the very next morning he saw, to his great surprize, a new wall raised, and the garrison ready to receive him. He continued however the siege; but was, as often as he attacked the place, repulsed with great loss. Besides, his army was annoyed with swarms of small flies; which, entering the nostrils of the horses, and the trunks of the elephants, rendered them quite wild and ungovernable; insomuch that great num-

<sup>c</sup> JUL. orat. ii. p. 116.  
ibid. & chron. Alexand.

<sup>d</sup> THEOPH. p. 33.

<sup>e</sup> Idem  
bers

bers of the *Persians* were by them trodden under foot, and crushed to pieces. To these evils was added a dreadful famine, and soon after a plague, which made a terrible havock in the *Persian* camp, and in the end obliged *Sapor*, despairing of success, to raise the siege, after it had lasted near four months, and retire with the loss of twenty thousand men and upwards<sup>f</sup>. The many evils and calamities which afflicted the *Persians* during this memorable siege, are ascribed by *Theodoret* and *Sozomen* to the prayers of *James*, bishop of the place. Be that as it will, *Sapor* was forced to abandon the enterprize, after having, in the transports of his rage, put some of his chief commanders to death, and all those who had advised him to this war. He gave no further trouble to the *Romans* till the year 359. when the war was rekindled, as we shall relate in a more proper place (R). *The siege raised.*

WE shall now give a succinct account of the disturbances in the West, which encouraged the *Persians* to invade the *Roman* dominions, and lay siege to *Nisibis*. *Magnentius*, the *Magnen* son of one *Magnus*, a native of *Germany*, and commander of *tius re* some troops, appointed to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, find- *volts.* ing *Constans* universally despised by the army, on account of his indolence and inactivity, resolved to dispatch him, and set up for himself. Accordingly, having imparted his design to *Marcellinus*, receiver of the revenues in *Gaul*, to *Chrestus*, and some other officers, and gained them over to his interest, on the day appointed for the execution of the plot, *Marcellinus*, under pretence of celebrating his son's birth-day, invited *Magnentius*, and the chief officers of the army, to an entertainment, which lasted till the night was far spent, when *Magnentius* withdrew, and soon after returned in the imperial robes, and with all the ensigns of sovereignty. Such of the company as were privy to the design, immediately saluted him with the title of *Augustus*. The rest, who looked upon it at first as a jest (and for such it had passed, had the plot miscarried), were easily prevailed upon, as they were heated with wine, to follow the example of the conspirators; so that *Magnentius* was, by all who were present, acknowledged emperor. This happened in the city of *Autun*, on the eighteenth

<sup>f</sup> JULIAN. THEOPHAN. *ibid.* THEODOR. p. 633.

(R) The history of the siege probably succeeded *James* in that of *Nisibis* was written by *Vologeses* bishop of the place (1), who ed our times.

(1) *Chron. Alex.* p. 674.

of January, while *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus* were consuls, four years after the council of *Sardica*, and ten after the death of young *Constantine* <sup>g</sup>. The usurper immediately seized on the imperial palace at *Autun*, and distributed among the populace what sums he found there; which induced not only the city, but the neighbouring country, to espouse his cause. Their example was followed by a body of cavalry detached from the army in *Illyricum*, to reinforce that in *Gaul*. *Magnentius*, upon his first assuming the title of emperor, dispatched one *Gaiso*, a principal commander in the army, with orders to put *Constans* to death. The unhappy prince, being informed of what had passed, notwithstanding *Magnentius* had ordered the gates of *Autun* to be kept shut a whole day, and placed guards on all the roads, had thrown off the imperial robes, and fled towards *Spain*. But *Gaiso*, informed of the route he had taken, followed him close with a chosen body of troops, and, overtaking him at *Helena*, a small village at the foot of the *Pyrenees*, dispatched him there with many wounds <sup>h</sup> (S).

Constans  
murdered:  
Year of  
the flood  
2800.  
Of Christ  
350.  
Of Rome  
1148.

His character.

SUCH was the end of *Constans*, the great *Constantine*'s youngest son, in the thirtieth year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign. He was created *Cæsar* on the twenty-fifth of December 333. and assumed the title of emperor on the ninth of September 337. He was a zealous defender of the christian religion, and the orthodox faith, a declared enemy to the *Arians*, *Donatists*, and all sectaries. He filled the churches with gifts and offerings, and had nothing so much at heart as the propagation of the gospel, the abolishing of idolatry, and the unity of the church <sup>i</sup>. Thus *Athanasius*, who never speaks of him but with the greatest respect and veneration, giving him constantly the title of *Blessed*. The same writer assures us, that he had received the sacrament of baptism, and seems to rank him among the martyrs <sup>k</sup>. On the other hand, the pagan writers lay several things to his charge. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that, after he had reigned some years with great applause, he abandoned himself to cruelty and avarice <sup>l</sup>. *Libanius* charges him with suffering one *Eugenius*, and his other favourites, to

<sup>g</sup> ZOS. p. 662. ZONAR. p. 12. JUL. orat. ii. p. 106, 107. HIER. chron. <sup>h</sup> ZONAR. p. 12. ZOS. p. 693. <sup>i</sup> ATHAN. apol. i. p. 678, 679. <sup>k</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>l</sup> AUR. VICT. p. 527.

(S) St. *Chrysostom* writes, that himself (2). But this is not the unfortunate prince, finding vouched by any antient historian; nay, we are no-where told, it impossible to make his escape, rian; that he had any children, first slew his children, and then

oppress the people, and fill their own coffers at their expence <sup>m</sup>. *Victor* the younger complains of his preferring to the most profitable employments such as were able to lay down most money for them, without any regard to merit <sup>n</sup>. *Eutropius* likewise finds fault with his ministers, and adds, that the many vices which began to appear in the prince, joined to the rapaciousness of his ministers, rendered him odious to the soldiery, and insupportable to the people <sup>o</sup>. *Zosimus*, an avowed enemy to all princes who professed the Christian religion, speaks of him as the most cruel and inhuman tyrant that ever wore and disgraced a diadem, and paints him as one addicted to all manner of lewdness, and guilty of such crimes as are most repugnant to nature <sup>p</sup>. *Aurelius Victor* <sup>q</sup> and *Zonaras* <sup>r</sup>, seem to confirm this charge. But, had it been true, we cannot think the great *Athanasius*, who could not be unacquainted with it, would have commended him on account of his piety, as he frequently does. *Libanius*, in an oration which he pronounced not long before his death, extols his continence, and aversion to unlawful pleasures; which would have been rather deriding than commending him, had he been guilty of the above-mentioned crimes.

MAGNENTIUS, by the death of *Constans*, became master of all the countries beyond the *Alps*, and soon after of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Africa* <sup>s</sup>. To strengthen his interest, he declared Magnentius his brother *Desiderius*, and *Decentius*, according to some, his other brother, according to others, only his cousin, *Cæsars*. The latter took also the names of *Magnentius* and *Magnus*, and is distinguished on his medals with the uncommon title of *Fortissimus*, or *Most valiant* <sup>t</sup>. The news of the death of *Constans*, and the revolt of *Gaul*, no sooner reached *Illyricum*, than *Veteranio*, general of the foot in *Pannonia*, assumed the imperial robes, and caused himself to be saluted with the title of *Augustus* by the legions under his command. This happened at *Sirmium*, on the first of *May*, according to *Idatius*, or on the first of *March*, as we read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*. He was a native of *Upper Mæsia*, and advanced in years when he usurped the sovereignty; but so illiterate, that he then first learned to read <sup>u</sup> (T). Besides *Magnentius* and *Veteranio*,

<sup>m</sup> LIBAN. orat. iii. p. 212.<sup>n</sup> VICT. epit. p. 544.<sup>o</sup> EUTROP.

p. 588.

<sup>p</sup> ZOS. l. ii. p. 692.<sup>q</sup> AUR. VICT. p.

527.

<sup>r</sup> ZONAR. p. 11.<sup>s</sup> JULIAN. orat. i. p. 47. ZOS.

l. ii. p. 693.

<sup>t</sup> BIRAG. p. 483, 485.<sup>u</sup> ZOS. p. 693.

(T) *Aurelius* speaks of him as emperor *Julian* writes, that he  
 a man of parts (3). But the was no despicable man (4); and

(3) AUR. VICT. p. 527.

(4) JULIAN. p. 59.

Nepotianus assumes the title of emperor, and seizes Rome.

*teranio*, a third pretender to the empire started up; to wit, *Flavius Popilius Nepotianus*, the son of *Eutropia*, sister to *Constantine the Great*; who, having assembled a company of gladiators, and several others of desperate fortunes, assumed the purple on the third of *June*, and in that attire presented himself before the gates of *Rome*. The prefect *Anicetus*, who commanded there for *Magnentius*, sallied out against him with a body of *Romans*, who were soon repulsed, and driven back into the city; which *Nepotianus* took not long after, and filled with blood and slaughter, putting to death among the rest the prefect *Anicetus*. *Magnentius* was no sooner informed of what had happened, than he sent *Marcellinus*, his chief favourite, and prime minister, against this new competitor. *Nepotianus* received him with great resolution; whereupon a bloody battle ensued between the soldiers of *Magnentius* and the *Romans* who had espoused the cause of *Nepotianus*; but the latter being betrayed by a senator, named *Heracitus*, his men were put to flight, and he himself killed, after having enjoyed the sovereignty twenty-eight days\*. *Marcellinus* ordered his head to be carried on the point of a lance through the chief streets of the city, put all those to death who had declared for him, and, under pretence of preventing future disturbances, commanded a general massacre of such as were any-ways related to *Constantine*. On this occasion many persons of great

\* *Zos.* l. ii. p. 693. *EUTROP.* p. 588. *AUR. VICT.* p. 527. *AMMIAN.* p. 316, 319.

*Eutropius* commends him on account of his probity and affability; and adds, that as he had served in the army from his infancy, and had been always attended with success, he was universally beloved by the soldiery (5). It appears, both from the chronicle of *Alexandria* (6), and from his medals (7), that he was a Christian (8). *Philostorgius* (9) and *Theophanes* (1) write, that he was invested with the purple by *Constantia*, the eldest sister of *Constantius*, and widow of *Annibalianus*, who claimed that right,

as having been declared empress by her brother *Constantine*. The emperor *Julian* does not speak of him as an usurper; and *Zonaras* tells us, that, in assuming the imperial dignity, he wrote to *Constantius*, assuring him, that he had nothing in view but to oppose the usurper *Magnentius*; and that he should always look upon himself rather as his lieutenant, than an emperor or sovereign (2). *Philostorgius* adds, that *Constantius* confirmed to him the title of emperor, and sent him the diadem (3).

(5) *Eutrop.* p. 588.  
 (6) *Chron. Alexand.* p. 678.  
 (7) *Spanb. l.*  
 (8) *Philostorg.*  
 (9) *Philostorg.*

(1) *Theoph.* p. 14.  
 (2) *Zonar.* p. 14.  
 (3) *Philostorg.*

distinction were inhumanly murdered, and among the rest *Eutropia*, the mother of *Nepotianus* \*.

SOON after, *Magnentius* himself came to *Rome*, to raise the necessary supplies for carrying on the war against *Constantius*, who was making great preparations to attack him, and revenge the murder of his brother. The tyrant, during his stay at *Rome*, put many persons of distinction to death, whom *Marcellinus* had spared, in order to seize their estates; and oppressed the rest in a most tyrannical manner, obliging them, under pain of death, to contribute half what they were worth towards the expences of the approaching war. Having by this means raised great sums, he assembled a mighty army, consisting of *Romans*, *Germans*, *Gaals*, *Franks*, *Britons*, *Spaniards*, &c. but at the same time dreading the uncertain issues of war, he dispatched ambassadors to *Constantius*, with offers of an accommodation †. That prince was then at *Antioch*, where, upon the first advice of his brother's death, he had caused himself to be acknowledged emperor of the West; and, to support that title, had assembled all the troops dispersed in the several provinces of the East, and a more powerful fleet, if the emperor *Julian* is to be credited, than that with which *Xerxes* formerly invaded *Greece* ‡ (U). *Constantius* set out from *Antioch* about the beginning of the autumn, and, passing through *Constantinople*, arrived at *Heraclea*, where he was met by deputies from *Magnentius* and *Veteranio*, who had agreed to support each other, in case *Constantius* would not hearken to an accommodation. The terms proposed by their deputies were, That they were ready to assist him with all their forces against the *Persians*, and other barbarians, and to acknowledge him as the first emperor, provided he suffered them to enjoy the same title. The deputies of *Magnentius* proposed in his name a match between him and *Constantia*, or rather *Constantina*, the sister of *Constantius*, and widow of *Annibalianus*,

\* THEMIST. orat. ii. p. 43. JULIAN. orat. iii. p. 106, 107.  
 † AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 64. SOCRAT. l. i. c. 32. p. 127. ‡ JUL. orat. i. p. 77, 78.

(U) *Theodoret* writes, that *Constantius*, before he set out on his march to *Europe*, exhorted all his soldiers to receive the sacrament of baptism, and dismissed such as refused to be baptized, declaring, that he could not prevail upon himself to expose to the dangers of war persons not initiated in the holy mysteries (4). This seems to us somewhat strange, since *Constantius* himself was not yet baptized.

(4) *Theodoret. l. iii. c. 1. p. 638.*



offering at the same time to *Constantius* the sister of *Magnentius* <sup>a</sup> (W).

*Constantius rejects the terms of an accommodation proposed by Magnentius.*

BUT *Constantius*, resolved to hearken to no terms, ordered the deputies, both of *Magnentius* and *Veteranio*, to be committed to custody ; and, pursuing his march with incredible expedition, arrived at *Sardica*, before *Veteranio* knew of his departure from *Heraclea*. However, he assembled in haste what troops he could, resolved to put the whole to the issue of a battle ; which *Constantius* wisely declined, offering to conclude a separate treaty with *Veteranio*, that he might not have two enemies to contend with at once. *Veteranio* hearkened to the proposal, and, being acknowledged emperor by *Constantius*, joined him with all his forces. The two princes, after the conjunction of their forces, mounted the tribunal together to harangue their troops. *Constantius*, who spoke the first, reminded the soldiers, in a very elegant and artful speech, of their obligations to his father ; of the bounties they had received at his hands ; of the oaths of allegiance which they had taken to his sons, &c. and concluded with exhorting them not to suffer the inhuman murder of his brother, the son of so great a prince, to pass unrevenged ; and declaring, that he only demanded what was in justice due to him, it being agreeable to all the laws of equity, that to a brother should succeed a brother, and not a stranger, much less an open enemy to the whole imperial family <sup>b</sup>. Tho' this speech was leveled against *Magnentius* alone, yet the soldiers, applying it to *Veteranio*, cried out aloud, That they acknowledged no other emperor but *Constantius* ; pulled *Veteranio* down from the tribunal, and obliged him to quit the purple and diadem ; who thereupon threw himself at *Constantius*'s feet, and implored his mercy. The emperor received him with great kindness, embraced him, stiled him *father*, entertained him at his table, and afterwards sent him to *Prusia* in *Bithynia*, where he allowed him a maintenance suitable to his quality. This happened, according to some, at *Sirmium*, according to

*Veteranio deposed by the soldiery.*

<sup>a</sup> ZONAR. p. 14. THEMIST. orat. iii. iv. p. 42, 56. JUL. orat. ii. p. 55. <sup>b</sup> JUL. orat. ii. p. 143. Zes. p. 694. ATHAN. solit. p. 844.

(W) We are told, that while *Constantius* was deliberating with himself, whether or no he should yield to these terms, and come to an agreement with the two pretended emperors, his father

*Constantine* appeared to him in a dream the night following, and presenting *Constantius* to him, commanded him to revenge his death, and assured him of success in so commendable an undertaking.

others,

others, at *Naissus*, on the twenty-fifth of *December* 350. *Veteranio* spent the residue of his life, which was six years, in works of piety, in assisting daily at the holy mysteries, in relieving the distressed, &c. without ever intermeddling in affairs of state; nay, he is said to have written frequently to *Constantius*, returning him thanks for having delivered him from the anxiety and cares attending the sovereignty, and by that means procured him the happiness he enjoyed <sup>c</sup>.

THE following year *Magnentius* entered upon his first consulship, and took *Gaiso* for his colleague, rewarding him with that dignity for the murder of *Constans*; but as neither of them was acknowledged in the countries subject to *Constantius*, the present year is in all the *fasti* dated thus, *the year after the consulate of Sergius and Nigrinianus* <sup>d</sup>. *Constantius*, now master of all *Illyricum*, which was held by *Veteranio*, and of the army he commanded, consisting of an incredible number of foot, and twenty thousand horse, resolved to march against *Magnentius*, as soon as the season would allow him to take the field, and attack the tyrant in his own dominions. In the mean time, upon advice that the *Persians* were preparing to invade the eastern provinces, he married his sister *Constantina*, Gallus the widow of *Annibalianus*, to Gallus his cousin-german, the son of his uncle *Julius Constantius*; created him *Cæsar* on the fifteenth of *March*; allotted him for his share not only all the East, but *Thrace* too and *Constantinople*; and sent him to oppose the *Persians*, in case of an invasion <sup>e</sup>. *Philostorgius* writes, that, before the two princes parted, they took a solemn oath in the presence of *Theophilus*, and the other bishops then at court, to maintain an inviolable fidelity to each other <sup>f</sup>. The *Persians* contented themselves with only making some inroads into the *Roman* dominions; but were constantly repulsed by Gallus <sup>g</sup>. These inroads and incursions are the war mentioned by *Philostorgius* <sup>h</sup> and *Theophanes* <sup>i</sup>, and said to have been finished with great glory by Gallus *Cæsar*. About the same time that Gallus was created *Cæsar* by *Constantius*, *Magnentius*, who was then at *Milan*, gave the same title, according to *Zonaras*, to his brother *Decentius*, whom he dispatched into *Gaul*, to defend that country against the barbarians, who had invaded it; for *Constantius* had not only stirred up the *Franks* and *Saxons* to break into that province, by

<sup>c</sup> ZONAR. p. 14. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 28. p. 120. ZOS. p. 695.

<sup>d</sup> BUCH. cycl. 340. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 29. p. 120. <sup>e</sup> AUR.

VICF. p. 427. ZOS. l. ii. p. 695. AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 1, 3.

<sup>f</sup> PHILOSTORG. l. iv. c. 1. p. 63. <sup>g</sup> AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 7, 8.

<sup>h</sup> PHILOSTORG. p. 60. <sup>i</sup> THEOPH. p. 34.

promising to relinquish to them all the places they should reduce, but had sent them large supplies of money and arms for that purpose <sup>k</sup>.

The  
Franks  
and Sax-  
ons invade  
Gaul.

THE barbarians, upon this encouragement, invaded *Gaul* with a mighty army, overthrew *Decentius* in a pitched battle, committed every-where dreadful ravages, and reduced the country to the deplorable condition in which *Julian* found it, as he himself relates at large, in the year 356 <sup>l</sup>. In the mean time *Magnentius*, having assembled a numerous and formidable army, consisting chiefly of *Gauls*, *Franks*, and *Saxons*, left *Italy*, and, crossing the *Alps* that part it from *Noricum*, advanced into the plains of *Pannonia*, where *Constantius*, whose main strength consisted in cavalry, was waiting for him. *Magnentius*, hearing that his competitor was encamped at a small distance, dispatched a messenger to him, inviting him into the extensive plains of *Sciscia* on the *Save*, to decide there which of them had the best title to the empire. *Constantius* accepted the challenge with great joy, and ordered his troops to file off towards *Sciscia*; but as they marched in disorder, they fell into an ambuscade, and were put to flight with great slaughter <sup>m</sup>. *Magnentius*, elated with this success, quickened his march towards *Sciscia*, without hearkening to the terms proposed to him by *Philip* in *Constantius*'s name, who, dreading the evil consequences of a civil war, offered to yield to him the prefecture of *Gaul*, that is, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, and to acknowledge him emperor, upon condition that he relinquished *Italy*. *Philip* being dismissed, *Magnentius* attempted to pass the *Save* in the neighbourhood of *Sciscia*; but the garison falling out, and *Constantius*, who was at a small distance, hastening with a strong detachment to support them, *Magnentius*'s men were put to flight, and great numbers of them cut in pieces. But the usurper, notwithstanding this defeat, sent a few days after one *Titianus*, a *Roman* senator, with the character of ambassador, to *Constantius*, advising him, if he tendered his life, to relinquish the empire, and pass the residue of his days in retirement. To this haughty message, and the bitter invectives uttered by *Titianus* against the great *Constantine* and his children, which *Zosimus* himself styles outrageous insults <sup>n</sup>, *Constantius* answered with great temper, That he did not doubt but Heaven would espouse his cause, and revenge the blood of his brother on the author of his death <sup>o</sup>.

Magnen-  
tius rejects  
all terms  
of peace.

<sup>k</sup> LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 269.

<sup>l</sup> JUL. epist. ad Athen. p. 511, 512.

<sup>m</sup> Zos. p. 695. JUL. orat. i. & ii. p. 64, 181.

<sup>n</sup> Zos. p. 698. <sup>o</sup> Idem ibid. & JUL. orat. i. ii. p. 88, 181.

WHILE the two armies lay at a small distance from each other, *Sylvanus*, of whom hereafter, abandoning *Magnentius*, fled over to *Constantius*, with a considerable body of cavalry under his command. *Magnentius*, no way disheartened at his defection, attacked *Sciscia*; and, having taken it by assault, and levelled it with the ground, he laid waste the whole country lying on the *Save*, and then sat down before *Sirmium*, the metropolis of *Illyricum*; but, not being able to reduce it, he removed from thence, and laid close siege to *Mursa*; which obliged *Constantius* to quit his camp at *Cibale*, where his father had formerly defeated *Licinius*, and hasten to the relief of the place. *Magnentius*, informed of his approach, placed four thousand *Gauls* in a neighbouring wood, with orders to fall upon the enemy's rear, when they found both armies engaged. But *Constantius*, receiving timely notice of the ambuscade, seized all the avenues leading to the wood, by which means the party was cut off<sup>p</sup>. After this, *Constantius* approached *Mursa*, and drew up his army in the adjoining plain along the *Drave* or *Draw*, on which *Mursa* stood, the river being on his right, and *Magnentius's* left. Both armies, thus ranged in battle-array, continued in the presence of each other till the close of the day; during which time *Magnentius*, tho' he professed the Christian religion, is said to have sacrificed, by the advice of a magician, a virgin, and to have obliged his men to drink of her blood, mixed with wine<sup>q</sup>.

At length the signal was given, and the two armies advanced against each other with a fury hardly to be expressed. *Magnentius's* centre, according to the account of the emperor *Julian*, was, at the first onset, put in disorder by *Constantius's* left wing and cavalry; which *Magnentius*, who had drawn them up unskilfully, as being altogether ignorant of the art of war, no sooner observed, than he abandoned them, and betook himself to a shameful flight. His men, especially the *Gauls* and barbarians, ashamed to follow the example of their leader, though broken, and in the utmost confusion, often rallied in platoons, and, in spite of the utmost efforts of the victorious army, stood their ground till the night was far spent, having no resource but in victory, and being animated by their commanders, who were men of great valour and experience (X). Some, favoured by the darkness of the night,

<sup>p</sup> JUL. *ibid.* AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 44. ZONAR. p. 15. ZOS. l. ii. p. 698. <sup>q</sup> ZONAR. p. 15. JUL. *orat.* i. ii. p. 65, 106.

(X) Thus the emperor *Julian* writes, that *Magnentius* did not But *Zosimus* (5) and *Zonaras* (6) retire till his army was intirely

(5) Zos. l. ii. p. 700.

(6) Zonar. p. 15.

routed;

The battle of Mursa.  
Year of the flood 2801.  
Of Christ 351.  
Of Rome 1149.

The battle  
of Mursa  
fatal to  
the empire.

made their escape ; but the far greater part were either cut in pieces, or pushed into the river, and drowned <sup>a</sup>. Such was the issue of the memorable battle of *Mursa*, fought, according to the emperor *Julian* <sup>t</sup>, about the end of the autumn ; but, according to *Idatius*, on the twenty-eighth of *September*. *Zonaras* writes, that *Magnentius* lost on this occasion twenty-four thousand men, and *Constantius* thirty thousand ; which we can hardly believe. However that be, it is certain, that the empire was greatly weakened by this blow and that the battle of *Mursa* is generally reckoned by the antients one of the most dreadful calamities that ever happened to *Rome* <sup>u</sup>. Most of the officers on both sides were killed, and among the rest *Menelaus*, who commanded the *Armenian* archers under *Constantius*, and had signalized himself during the engagement in a very eminent manner. He was slain by *Romulus* the enemy's general, who, being mortally wounded by him, would not retire till he had killed the person who had given him the wound (Y). *Marcellinus*, the chief author of this war, and all the evils attending it, signalized his courage in the battle ; but was never afterwards heard of, nor could his body be found ; whence he was believed to have been drowned in the river <sup>w</sup> (Z). As soon as it was day (for the battle continued almost

<sup>a</sup> JUL. orat. i. ii. p. 67, 110.

<sup>t</sup> Idem, orat. i. p. 69.

<sup>u</sup> VICT. epit. HIER. chron. EUTROP. &c.  
ii. p. 106.

<sup>w</sup> JULIAN. orat.

routed ; and *Eutropius*, that he narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. *Zonaras* adds, that, to avoid being taken, he turned his horse loose, adorned as he was with the imperial ornaments, that the enemy, imagining the rider to have been slain, might not pursue him (7). As for the battle, *Zonaras* tells us, that fortune favoured sometimes one side, and sometimes the other (8) ; and *Zosimus*, that the victory was long doubtful ; and that *Constantius*, grieved to see so much blood shed for a few provinces, sent, even in the heat of the combat, deputies to *Magnentius*, with terms for an accom-

modation ; but that the soldiers and officers of the tyrant, rejecting them with the utmost indignation, fought like men in despair, till the night was far spent, when they were at length put to flight by *Constantius's* cavalry, armed cap-a-pé, and pursued to their camp, which was taken and pillaged (9).

(Y) We are told, that *Menelaus* was famous for his skill in archery ; that he used to shoot three arrows at a time, which did execution in three different places ; and that this greatly contributed to the victory (1).

(Z) Tho' we are not told in express terms by any writer, that

(7) Zonar. p. 15.  
l. ii. p. 700.

(8) Idem ibid.

(9) Zof. p. 699.

(1) Zof.

almost all night), the emperor, beholding from an adjoining eminence the plain covered, and the river choaked up, with dead bodies, could not refrain from tears at so melancholy a sight; and, being more grieved at the slaughter of so many men, than rejoiced at the victory, he ordered all the slain to be buried without distinction, and such as were wounded to be attended with care. At the same time he caused a general pardon to be proclaimed for all those who had borne arms against him; those only were excepted, who had been concerned in the death of his brother *Constans* <sup>x</sup>. *Magnentius*, abandoning *Pannonia*, fled with the remains of his shattered army into *Italy*, there to recruit his broken forces, and try the fortune of another battle <sup>y</sup>. *Constantius* did not pursue him, because the winter approached, says *Julian* <sup>z</sup>; and likewise, without all doubt, because his army was greatly fatigued, weakened, and consequently not in a condition to undertake any new expedition.

THE following year, *Decentius Cæsar* and *Paulus* were acknowledged consuls at *Rome*, and *Constantius* the fifth time, with *Gallus Cæsar*, at *Constantinople*. *Constantius* passed the winter at *Sirmium*, as appears from the dates of several of his constitutions. By one dated the twenty-sixth of *February* of this year 352. and addressed to the prefect *Rufinus*, he granted to eunuchs the liberty of making testaments <sup>a</sup>; whence it is evident, that, till his time, they had been excluded from that privilege. *Constantius* was a great favourer of eunuchs, and intirely governed by them, and his other domestics <sup>b</sup>. *Magnentius*, having, after the battle of *Mursa*, fortified the passes of the *Alps*, and left a sufficient number of troops to defend them, remained the whole winter at *Aquileia*, passing his time, if *Julian* is to be credited <sup>c</sup>, in feasting and debaucheries, as if no danger threatened him. But *Constantius*, as soon as the season was proper for action, assembled his troops; and having, without the loss of one man, surprised and taken a castle on the *Alps*, in which *Magnentius* had left a strong garison, advanced in order to force the rest. His sudden approach struck

*Constantius passes the Julian Alps.*

<sup>x</sup> JUL. orat. i. ii. p. 69, 107.

<sup>y</sup> Zos. l. ii. p. 700. JUL.

orat. i. p. 69.

<sup>z</sup> JUL. ibid.

<sup>a</sup> Cod. Just. l. vi. tit. 22.

leg. 5. p. 544.

<sup>b</sup> Vide BARON. ann. 352.

<sup>c</sup> JUL. ibid.

p. 132.

*Constantius* was in person at the battle of *Mursa*; yet we can scarce believe what we read in *Sulpicius Severus*; to wit, that, not daring to appear in the field, he waited the issue of the combat in a neighbouring church (2).

(2) *Sulp. Sever. l. ii. p. 132.*

the tyrant with such terror, that he immediately abandoned *Aquileia*, and ordered the troops that guarded the other passes on the *Alps* to follow him. By this means *Constantius* entering *Italy* without opposition, made himself master of *Aquileia*, and the neighbouring country. From thence he advanced to *Pavia*, where *Magnentius* gained a considerable advantage over him; which, however, did not prevent him from reducing the whole country bordering on the *Po*, *Magnentius's* men abandoning him in whole troops, and delivering up to the enemy the places they garisoned. This so disheartened the tyrant, that in the end he left *Italy*, and retired with all his forces into *Gaul* <sup>a</sup> (A).

Magnentius abandons Italy, and retires into Gaul.

Africa, Sicily, and Spain, declare for Constantius.

CONSTANTIUS was master of *Rome* and *Italy* before the third of *November*; for we find a law bearing that date, addressed to the *Roman* people, wherein the emperor declares void some of the acts of *Magnentius* <sup>c</sup>. But, not satisfied with driving him from *Italy*, he sent a powerful fleet to seize on *Africa* and *Carthage*; which immediately submitted, as did soon after *Sicily* and *Spain* <sup>f</sup>. At the same time several cities in *Gaul* revolted from the tyrant, and among the rest *Treves*, the inhabitants of which important place, shutting their gates against *Decentius Cæsar*, the tyrant's brother, declared for *Constantius*, and chose one *Pemenes* to govern them in his name <sup>g</sup>. *Magnentius*, apprehending his affairs to be now in a desperate condition, dispatched to *Constantius* a senator, and after him some bishops, to treat of a peace, offering to resign the sovereignty, upon condition that the emperor would grant him his life, and some honourable employment. But the emperor treated the senator as a spy, and dismissed the bishops, without deigning to return them an answer <sup>h</sup>. Hereupon *Magnentius*, perceiving there was no room left for pardon, recruited his army in the best manner he could, and dispatched an assassin into the East to murder *Gallus Cæsar*, hoping that his death would oblige the emperor to withdraw his forces from *Gaul*, and march in person to the defence of the eastern

<sup>a</sup> JUL. ORAT. II. P. 133, 134. AMMIAN. I. XXXI. P. 457.

<sup>c</sup> COD. THEODOS. TIT. 5. P. 408.

<sup>f</sup> JUL. ORAT. I. II. P. 73, 74.

137. <sup>g</sup> AMMIAN. I. XV. P. 45.

<sup>h</sup> ZONAR. P. 15.

(A) *Zosimus* writes, that he drew into *Gaul*, he came to abandoned *Italy*, because he *Rome*, and there put a multitude found the city of *Rome* greatly of persons of all ranks to death attached to *Constantius* (3); and (4). *Socrates*, that, before he with-

(3) *Zos.* I. II. P. 700.

(4) *Socrat.* I. II. C. 32. P. 127.

provinces,

provinces, threatened by the *Persians*. The assassin had already gained some of *Gallus's* guards; but, the plot being discovered before it could be put in execution, they were all seized, and executed as traitors<sup>1</sup>.

TOWARDS the close of this, or the beginning of the following year 353. *Constantius* married *Eusebia*, a native of *Thessalonica*, the metropolis of *Macedon*, and the daughter of a consular, and of a lady who is greatly commended for her chastity, and the extraordinary care she took in educating her children after the death of her husband<sup>k</sup>. She had two brothers, *Eusebius* and *Hypatius*, whom we shall see consuls in 359. The emperor sent for her out of *Macedon*, married her with great solemnity, loved her to the last more than he had done any of his other wives (for he had several), and to perpetuate the memory of her name, made a new diocese, comprehending *Bitthynia*, and some other provinces, to which he gave the name of *Pietas*, or *Piety*, the import of the Greek word *Eusebia*<sup>1</sup> (B). *Constantius* was this year, as appears from the dates

*Constantius marries Eusebia.*

<sup>1</sup> Idem, p. 15, 16.

<sup>k</sup> JULIAN. orat. iii. p. 205. <sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 185. CANG. Byzant. fam. p. 43. JULIAN. p. 206. VICT. epit.

(B) She is greatly commended by *Ammianus* (5), *Zosimus* (6), and above all by *Julian*, who wrote her panegyric about the year 357 (7). for her beauty, virtue, obliging behaviour, skill in polite learning, prudence, &c. *Julian* was indebted to her both for his life, and the dignity of *Cæsar* (8). She was no sooner vested with power, than she raised to the first employments all her relations, and the friends of her family (9). On the other hand, *Victor* the younger charges her with not imitating the example of the empress *Plotina*, who advised her husband *Trajan* to prefer the interest of his people to that of the exchequer (1).

*Baronius* speaks of her as a professed enemy to the catholic church, and a zealous favourer of the *Arians*, probably induced thereunto by what he had read in *Athanasius* and *Theodoret*, of whom the former says in general terms, that the *Arians* were supported by the credit of women (2); and the latter, that the empress having sent money to *Liberius* bishop of *Rome*, to be distributed among the indigent Christians, he could not be prevailed upon to accept it, saying, Let the empress employ as her almoners her *Arian* bishops, *Auxentius* and *Epiſetus* (3). *Suidas* tells us, that *Leontius* bishop of *Tripoli* in *Lydia*, refusing to

(5) *Ammian.* l. xxi. p. 185. orat. iii. p. 190.

(6) *Zos.* l. iii. p. 702.

(7) *Julian.*

(8) *Ammian.* l. xxi. p. 185.

(9) *Jul.* ibid. p. 116,

117.

(1) *Vict. epit.* p. 545.

(2) *Atban. solit.* 813.

(3) *Theo-*

*doret.* l. ii. c. 13. p. 609.



dates of his laws, on the twenty-sixth of *February*, and fifth of *March*, at *Sirmium*; on the eighth of *April* at *Sabaria* in *Pannonia*; on the twenty-seventh of the same month, the thirteenth of *May*, and the twenty-fourth of *June*, at *Sirmium*; on the third of *November*, at *Milan*; and, on the first of *December*, again at *Sirmium*<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> Cod. Just. l. vi. tit. 22. leg. 5. p. 544.

wait upon the empress, because she had received other bishops with great haughtiness, she sent for him; but he, instead of complying immediately with her message, acquainted her, that he thought himself obliged to avoid appearing before her, unless she promised to receive him with that respect, which was due to his character; that is, to descend from her throne, as soon as he appeared; to meet him near the door; to receive his blessing in an humble posture; and stand till he had taken his place, and given her leave to sit down. The empress, transported with rage, says the historian, at this answer, and swelled with pride, uttered, in the height of her fury, dreadful menaces against the bishop; and, complaining to *Constantius* of his unreasonable pretensions, endeavoured to inspire him with her own rage. But the emperor, giving no ear to her complaints, commended the bishop for thus maintaining his sacred dignity and character, and desired the empress to retire to her apartment, till her anger was allayed (4). Both *Suidas* and *Philostorgius* (5) bestow mighty encomiums on *Leontius*, and paint him as a man of extraordinary merit; but to us he seems to have been,

at least, destitute of prudence and discretion. The prelates of the church ought not to flatter princes with a mean complaisance; but neither are they allowed, in admonishing them of their faults, to be wanting to that respect, which is due to their high station. *Eusebia* proved barren; whence, either out of jealousy, or for some reasons of state unknown to us, she obliged her sister-in-law *Helenæ*, whom *Julian* had, by her interest, obtained in marriage of *Constantius*, to take a potion, which made her miscarry as often as she proved with child (6). *Julian* married her about the end of the year 355. and this potion was given her, as *Ammianus* assures us, at *Rome* in 357. Before that time she had been delivered in *Gaul* of a son, the only child she could yet have; but he was dispatched by the midwife, not without private orders from *Eusebia*, uneasy at *Julian's* having any issue. *Eusebia* was still living in the year 359. but dead some time before the end of the year 360 (7). We are told, that she died of a distemper occasioned by her barrenness; and that her death was hastened by a remedy with which an unskilful woman pretended to remove it (8).

(4) *Suid.* l. 2. p. 20.

(5) *Philostorg.* l. vii. c. 6. p. 504. *Suid.* *ibid.*

(6) *Ammian.* l. xvi. p. 72.

(7) *Idem.* l. xviii. p. 118. & l. xxi. p. 125.

(8) *Zonar.* p. 20. *Cbryf. in Philip. bom.* v. p. 144.

THE following year, when *Constantius* was consul the sixth time, and *Gallus Cæsar* the second, the war against *Magnentius* was carried on with more vigour than ever, and happily ended by a third battle, says *Julian*<sup>a</sup>, fought by the emperor's generals in the *Cottian Alps*, that is, in the *Higher Dauphiné*, near a castle called *Mons Seleucus*, or *Mons Se-leuci*, which stood between *Die* and *Gap*, not far from the place where the present borough of *Asprès* stands \*. *Magnentius*'s forces being in this battle likewise routed and broken, the tyrant took shelter in *Lions*; but the few soldiers who attended him, despairing now of any further success, resolved to purchase the emperor's favour by delivering up to him his rival, the author of the present calamitous war; and accordingly surrounded the house where he lodged, to prevent his escape. It was probably on this occasion that, *Magnentius* addressing himself to his men, they, instead of listening to him, cried out with one voice, *Long live Constantius Augustus* (C). The tyrant, well apprised of the intention of his men, and thereupon transported with rage and despair, first slew with his own hand his mother, his brother *Desiderius*, whom he had created *Cæsar*, and such of his relations and friends as were with him; and then, fixing his sword in a wall, threw him-  
He lays vi-  
olent hands  
on himself.  
Year of  
the flood  
2803.  
Of Christ  
353.  
Of Rome  
1151.

<sup>a</sup> JUL. orat. ii. p. 137.  
 ANTON. p. 22. BAUD. p. 493.  
 ii. p. 701. JUL. orat. i. p. 73.

\* Burdigal. itin. p. 39. Itin.  
<sup>p</sup> ZONAR. p. 16. ZOS. l.  
 VICT. epit.

(C) This at least to us seems more probable, than what we read in *Socrates* (9) and *Sozomen* (1); to wit, that *Magnentius* endeavouring in a set speech to encourage his men, whose spirits began to sink under their ill fortune, they, forced by a superior impulse, instead of *Long live Magnentius Augustus*, cried out with one voice, *Long live Constantius Augustus*. From this mi-

racle, add these two authors, *Magnentius* concluded, that his rival was favoured by Heaven; and therefore, from that time forward, laying all other thoughts aside, studied only how to make his escape.

(D) We have shewn pretty plain, in the reign of the emperor *Philip*, that he was the first Christian who imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign.

(9) *Socrat.* l. ii. c. 32. p. 127.

(1) *Soz.* l. iv. c. 7. p. 544.

Decentius  
Cæsar  
strangles  
himself.

Constantius's  
clemency ex-  
toll'd by  
the panegy-  
rists;

from whom  
historians  
differ;

ALL authors agree, that *Magnentius* died this year 353, about the middle of *August*, says *Socrater*, after he had held the supreme power three years, and near seven months, being, at the time of his death, about fifty years old. His head was, by the emperor's orders, cut off, and carried through most of the provinces of the empire<sup>1</sup>. His brother *Decentius Cæsar*, who was marching to his assistance, and had already reached *Sens*, hearing of his death, and finding himself surrounded on all sides by the enemy's forces, chose rather to strangle himself, than to fall alive into the emperor's hands. His death happened on the eighteenth of *August*<sup>2</sup>. On some of his medals he is stiled *Augustus*; and both on his, and those of *Magnentius*, mention is made of a victory gained by the two *Augusti*, and by *Cæsar*<sup>3</sup>. This victory is perhaps the advantage they gained over *Constantius* at *Pavia*, as we have related above; after which *Magnentius* probably gave *Decentius* the title of emperor. *Zonaras* writes, that *Desiderius* was not killed by *Magnentius*, but dangerously wounded; and that, upon his recovery, he yielded himself up to *Constantius*<sup>4</sup>. That author does not tell us what reception he met with; but *Julian* says in general terms, that *Constantius*, after the victory, sheathed his sword, and spared those who were suspected of the greatest crimes, the tyrant's favourites and confidants, and such as, taking upon them to discharge his embassies, had abused their prince in a most outrageous manner. The writer means, no doubt, *Titianus*, of whose embassy to *Constantius*, and insolent behaviour, we have spoken above; as does likewise *Themistius*, where he tells us, that the emperor having got into his power the person, with whose outrages he had been most affected, he not only forgave him, but requited his injuries with innumerable favours, the sense of which kindness from the hands of a prince whom he had so insolently abused, broke his heart<sup>5</sup>. Thus the panegyrists.

BUT historians do not speak so favourably of *Constantius*; for *Zosimus* tells us, that, not able to bear his good fortune, he grew proud, haughty, and imperious<sup>6</sup>; and *Libanius*, that those who had served under *Magnentius*, dreading the severity of *Constantius*, and not daring to shew themselves, turned public robbers, and infested the highways, till they were again taken into the service by *Julian*<sup>7</sup>. *Ammianus* assures us,

<sup>1</sup> VICT. epit. p. 544. AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 227.

ibid. Zos. p. 701. SOCRAT. p. 128. ZONAR. p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> BIRAG. p. 483--485.

<sup>3</sup> ZON. p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> THEMIST. orat. vi. p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Zos. l. ii. p. 701.

<sup>6</sup> LIBAN. orat. ii. p. 285,

286.

that the emperor spared none who had, or were suspected to have, rendered the usurper any considerable service; and that many officers, both civil and military, were under that pretence loaded with chains, and dragged to the tribunal of the emperor, who sentenced them to death, or seized their estates, and confined them to desert islands, upon the deposition of their known enemies, or persons altogether unworthy of credit; nay, frequently upon bare suspicions, when no one appeared against them<sup>7</sup>. Many innocent persons, says the same writer, were put to death, or banished: among the latter he names one *Gerontius*, who had been honoured by *Magnentius* with the title of *comes* or *count*, and was therefore first racked, by *Constantius's* order, in a most inhuman manner, and then sent into exile<sup>2</sup>. *and give us several instances of his cruelty.*

As the emperor gave ear to informations, informers multiplied without number; but the most mischievous of that infamous tribe was one *Paulus*, a *Spaniard*, who had the character of secretary, and was nicknamed *Catena*; that is, *Chain*; being remarkable for making accusations arise from one another, and linking them together, as it were, in a chain. He was sent into *Britain*, to bring from thence the tribunes *Paulus* and other officers, who had sided with *Magnentius*; that is, *Catena*, who had obeyed the usurper, when they were not in a condition to oppose him. He discharged this commission with such cruelty and injustice, that *Martinus*, a man of known integrity, and at that time vicar of the island, generously interposing in behalf of the innocent, declared, that, unless *Paulus* altered his measures, he would withdraw from his government, not being able to see the innocent thus tyrannically oppressed, and confounded with the guilty. This *Paulus* highly resented, and even threatened to treat him as a traitor, and send him loaded with chains to the emperor. Hereupon *Martinus*, drawing his sword, attempted to kill the informer; but he, dextrously avoiding the push, received only a slight wound; and the brave *Martinus* buried his sword in his own breast<sup>3</sup>. Notwithstanding the odium which the death of so deserving a man cast upon the reign of *Constantius*, all those, whom *Paulus* brought to him, were stripped of their estates, and either proscribed, banished, or put to death<sup>b</sup> (E). The emperor *noted informer, sent into Britain, His cruelty.*

<sup>7</sup> AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 9.<sup>2</sup> Idem *ibid.*<sup>3</sup> Idem, p. 9, 10.<sup>b</sup> Idem *ibid.*

(E) The name of *Paulus* is frequently mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who relates several instances of his cruelty. *Libanius* likewise speaks of one *Aristophanes*, whom that inhuman

emperor was this year, on the sixth of *September*, at *Lions*, as appears from a law bearing that date, which declares void all the public acts of the usurper, and promises indemnity and pardon to all concerned in his revolt, excepting those who were guilty of five crimes, which the laws punished with death. *Gothofredus* endeavours to explain this law <sup>c</sup>. By another law of this year, the date of which is much disputed, he granted many valuable privileges and exemptions to the clergy, to their wives, children, and domestics <sup>d</sup>. From *Lions* the emperor removed to *Arles*, where he passed the winter, and solemnized with great pomp and rejoicings the end of the thirtieth year of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created *Cæsar*; that is, from the eighth of *November* 323 <sup>e</sup> (F).

The Isaurians over-ran several provinces.

GAUL was this year miserably ravaged by the barbarians beyond the *Rhine*, and the disbanded troops of *Magnentius*. At *Rome* the populace rose on account of the scarcity of provisions, and committed great disorders. In *Asia* the *Isaurians* robbers over-ran *Lycaonia* and *Pamphylia*, and even laid siege to *Seleucia*, a great and populous city, and the capital of *Isauria*. Count *Castricius* defended the place with three legions, says *Ammianus*; which shews, that the legions were not at this time near so numerous as formerly, but much the same with our regiments. *Gallus Cæsar* no sooner received news of the siege of *Seleucia*, than he dispatched *Nibridius*, count of the East, to the relief of the place, who obliged the *Isaurians* to abandon the enterprize, and take refuge in their inaccessible mountains <sup>f</sup>. At the same time the *Saracens* committed dreadful ravages in *Mesopotamia*; and the *Persians*, under the command of *Nohadarus*, attempted to surprise the city of *Batne* in the province of *Anthemusia* on the *Euphrates*, on occasion of a great fair which was annually held there for the vent of *Indian* and *Chinese* commodities <sup>g</sup>. But the eastern provinces were not so much harassed by the barbarians as by

<sup>c</sup> Cod. Theodof. l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 2. p. 270. <sup>d</sup> Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 34, 35. <sup>e</sup> AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 8, 9. Nor. dec. c. 1. p. 78, 79. <sup>f</sup> Idem, p. 10—15. <sup>g</sup> Idem ibid.

man minister caused to be beaten with balls of lead, till he was ready to expire 2).

(F) Some modern writers pretend, that on occasion of this solemnity was erected at *Arles*

the obelisk, which was not long since discovered there (3). But this is a mere conjecture; for we have no positive proof even of its having been raised in honour of *Constantius*.

(2) Liban. orat. ix. p. 214.

(3) P. Pagi, p. 353.

*Gallus* himself, who commanded there with the title of *Cæsar*, *The extravagant behaviour of Gallus.* and governed more like a tyrant and madman, than a prince. His unexpected advancement at the age of twenty-four, or twenty-five, his great quality (for he was the nephew of *Constantine*, the cousin and brother-in-law of *Constantius*), some slight advantages obtained over the *Jews*, *Persians*, and *Issaurians*, and the flattering panegyrics of *Libanius* and others pronounced before him, inspired him with such pride and arrogance, that he became altogether insupportable, and abandoned himself to every act of violence and oppression. He is even said to have entertained thoughts of revolting from *Constantius*, and setting up for himself<sup>h</sup>. He was naturally inclined to cruelty; and his wife *Constantina*, instead of softening his savage temper, took pains to encourage him in his cruelty, and to exasperate him against such as did not yield to her the most slavish submission, being elated beyond measure with the thought, that she was the daughter and sister of an emperor, the widow of a king, and the wife of *Cæsar*. *Ammianus* styles her the *Megara* or fury of her sex, and adds, that her cruelty was equal to her ambition<sup>i</sup>.

*GALLUS*, being thus stimulated by his natural cruelty, and the restless and turbulent spirit of his wife, broke out into all acts of violence imaginable. Some were murdered upon bare suspicions; others deprived of their estates, and banished. *His cruelty and suspicious temper.* The prince entertained an incredible number of informers and spies, who, insinuating themselves into all companies, related to *Gallus* and his wife, and exaggerated, what they had found of them; and the persons thus accused were, without so much as being heard, hurried to execution, or privately dispatched. *Gallus* himself, in order to make discoveries, used to walk the streets in the night-time in disguise, and to mix with the populace in public-houses; but he did not long continue so shameful a practice, having been often known, by reason the streets of *Antioch*, where he resided, were illuminated the whole night with a great number of lights. His suspicious and cruel temper being once discovered, such as had private enemies laid hold of the prince's foible to gratify their own hatred, nothing being more easy than to destroy the most innocent persons, and procure the confiscation of their estates; for under *Gallus* it was one and the same thing to be accused or suspected, and condemned. By this means all the cities and provinces were filled with blood and slaughter; and no man, says *Ammianus*, however free from guilt, was sure to live, or

<sup>h</sup> Idem, p. 31. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 34. p. 128. Liban. vit. p. 34.  
<sup>i</sup> AMMIAN. p. 2, 3.

Thalaf-  
sus's im-  
prudent be-  
haviour.

enjoy his estate, a whole day. Among the many innocent persons, whom *Gallus* unjustly deprived of their lives, liberty, or estates, authors particularly mention one *Clematius*, a nobleman of *Alexandria*, who refusing to comply with the lustful desires of his wife's mother, she turning her love into hatred, applied to *Constantina*, and presenting her with a necklace of great value, obtained a warrant to *Honoratus*, count of the East, to put him to death; which he did accordingly <sup>k</sup>. *Thalassus*, at that time prefect of the East, was greatly concerned at the conduct of *Gallus*; and, had he been a man of prudence and discretion, might have easily corrected it, and prevented many disorders; but being himself of an haughty and imperious temper, instead of admonishing *Gallus* of his faults with the respect that was due to his rank, he opposed him with too much heat, and checked him with a great deal of roughness and ill-nature; and not satisfied with that, he informed the emperor of all his actions, exaggerating every thing to a great degree, not privately, but in public, with a design *Gallus* should know he had done it; which, instead of reclaiming him, prompted him to still greater excesses, that he might not seem to yield to his inferior <sup>l</sup>.

Constantius  
marches  
against the  
Alemans.

THE following year, *Constantius* was consul the seventh time, and *Gallus* the third. The emperor, having passed the winter at *Arles*, went early in the spring to *Valence*, with a design to march against *Gondomadus* and *Vadomorus*, two brothers, and both kings of the *Alemans*, who had made frequent inroads into that part of *Gaul*, which lay next to their territories. The rendezvous of the troops designed for this expedition was at *Chalons*, on the *Sône*, where they began to mutiny for want of provisions, the heavy rains that had fallen preventing the arrival of the corn that was expected from *Aquitaine*. *Constantius* was inclined to send to the mutinous army *Rufinus*, prefect of *Gaul*, with a design, as was supposed, to expose him to the fury of the incensed soldiery, he being very powerful, and by the mother's side uncle to *Gallus*, on whose ruin the emperor had already resolved. But *Rufinus*'s friends at court prevailed upon the emperor to change his mind; and *Eusebius*, *Constantius*'s great chamberlain, gained over the most mutinous and refractory by distributing money among them underhand. The emperor staid some time at *Valence*, and there received certain advice of what *Gallus* had done <sup>m</sup>; that is, as we conjecture, of the murder of *Domitian*, of which we shall presently speak.

<sup>k</sup> AMMIAN. p. 27.  
p. 23.

<sup>l</sup> Idem, l. xiv. p. 3.

<sup>m</sup> Idem;

THE mutiny being appeased, and the expected convoys arriving soon after, the army marched cheerfully towards *Rauracum* on the *Rhine*, a little above the present city of *Basle*, where the emperor attempted to lay a bridge over that river; but the *Germans* from the other side of the *Rhine* plied the workmen so warmly with incessant showers of darts and arrows, that the design was laid aside as altogether impracticable. This reduced the emperor to great streights; but while he was at a loss what course to take, a person well acquainted with the country, shewed him a place where the river was fordable. They were however prevented from crossing it, by the unexpected arrival of deputies from the enemy's camp to sue for peace; which the emperor, by the advice of his council, and approbation of the army, readily granted, that he might be at leisure to consult what measures might be taken with respect to his cousin *Gallus Cæsar*, of whose extravagant conduct new complaints were daily laid before him. With this view he left *Gaul*, as soon as the treaty was concluded, and repaired to *Milan* \*. He was on the twenty-second of *June* at *Cesena* in *Romagna*, and on the twenty-first of *July* at *Ravenna*; whence he went to *Milan*, the usual place of his residence, and there passed the winter \*. We shall now give a succinct account of the affairs of the East, and the strange conduct of *Gallus* there, which gave just occasion to the complaints of the people, and induced the emperor to resolve upon his ruin. What happened there the preceding year, we have related above. In the beginning of the present year, great disturbances were raised at *Antioch*, on account of the scarcity of provisions. For *Gallus* commanding the magistrates to lower the prices, and they representing, that this, instead of mitigating, would increase the evil, he caused some of them to be publicly executed, and others to be dragged to prison. But *Honoratus*, who was still count of the East, opposed this wild decree, and, in spite of *Gallus*, set the prisoners at liberty †.

Attempts  
in vain to  
lay a  
bridge  
over the  
Rhine.

Grants a  
peace to  
the Ale-  
mans.

SOME time after, *Gallus* being to set out for *Hierapolis*, the people of *Antioch* beseeching him to give orders before his departure for the conveying of corn to their city from other countries, he answered, that if they were not supplied, it was the fault of *Theophilus*, governor of *Syria*. This answer the people remembered; and the price of provisions increasing, four or five mean persons threw themselves upon *Theophilus* in the circus; and the mob immediately rising, they not only murdered him, but, transported with rage, dragged his body about

lus, gover-  
nor of Sy-  
ria, abun-  
dantly by  
Gallus to  
the rage of  
the popu-  
lace.

\* Idem ibid. p. 23--25.      \* Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 52.  
† AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 25. Liban. vit.



the streets; a treatment which he no-ways deserved, having discharged his employment with great mildness and integrity. They attempted to treat *Eubulus*, one of the chief men in the city, and his son, in the same manner; but they found means to escape the fury of the populace, who nevertheless burnt their houses. The death of *Theophilus*<sup>9</sup>, thus abandoned by *Gallus* to the rage of the multitude, and his protecting one *Serenianus*, who was universally hated by all good men, and had even aspired to the empire, greatly prejudiced *Constantius* against him. The emperor, however, wrote several obliging letters to him; but at the same time, under various pretences, drew the flower of his troops into the West. About this time *Thalassus*, prefect of the East, dying, *Constantius* named in his room one *Domitian*; and in giving him his instructions at his departure, told him, among other things, he had been informed that *Gallus* was desirous of coming to *Italy*, and paying him a visit; adding, *If you think it proper, you may conduct him to my presence; but let it be done with all the duty and respect owing to his birth and station.*

*The imprudent conduct of the prefect Domitian*

*DOMITIAN* understood the emperor's meaning; but as he was the son of a tradesman, he wanted politeness and address to execute his tacit orders, agreeably to the prince's intention. For on his arrival at *Antioch*, he went directly to the house where the prefects lodged, without paying his respects to *Cæsar*, tho' he passed before his palace; and, under colour of being indisposed, kept several days at home, informing himself of the conduct of *Gallus*, and sending to the emperor an exaggerated account of all he heard. At length *Gallus* sending him word that he should be glad to see him, he went to court; and coming up to the prince, *You must go*, said he abruptly, *to Italy; for such is the emperor's will and pleasure; which if you refuse to comply with, I shall stop the necessary appointments for the maintenance of your household.* Having thus spoken, he withdrew without uttering a single word more, or waiting the prince's answer, who called him back, and afterwards often sent for him; but could never prevail upon him to appear again at court. *Gallus*, highly provoked, and not without reason, at the conduct of the prefect, ordered him to be put under arrest. *Montius*, or, as others call him; *Magnus*, then quæstor, foreseeing the evil consequences that must inevitably attend the execution of this order, thought himself obliged to prevent them; and with great frankness told *Gallus*, that he ought to pull down the statues of *Constantius*,

<sup>9</sup> *AMMIAN.* p. 16. *JULIAN.* p. 111. *LIBAN.* orat. xiv. p. 399.

before he thought of arresting or putting to death a prefect \*. Others say, that addressing himself to *Gallus*, he spoke the following words with an air of contempt; *The emperor has not thought fit to trust you with the power of creating a single magistrate, and you talk of putting a prefect to death* ! *Gallus*, offended at the liberty which the quæstor had taken, complained of it to his guards, who, immediately seizing *Mantius*, and fastening cords to his feet, dragged him to the house of *Domitian*, whom they threw down stairs, and dragged, with *Montius*, through the chief streets of *Antioch*, casting, after many insults, both their bodies into the river †. He and Montius murdered, and many others.

THIS bold attempt, in which *Constantina* is said to have had a great share, was followed by many other cruelties and murders, committed in all the provinces of the East, at the instigation of *Gallus*, and his wife *Constantina*, whose thirst after blood was as great as that of her husband. The reader will find in *Ammianus Marcellinus* ‡ a detail of these cruel and inhuman executions. It being discovered, that a purple garment was making privately at *Tyre*, the two *Apollinares*, father and son, the former governor of *Phœnicia*, and the latter son-in-law to the prefect *Dogitian*, were by *Gallus*'s orders arrested, as if they aspired to the sovereignty, and, without any farther inquiry, condemned to banishment. But those who conducted them, at some distance from *Antioch*, pursuant to their private orders, broke their thighs, and then put them to death §. *Ursinus*, general of the horse, was obliged to abandon the defence of *Nisibis*, and hasten to *Antioch*, to preside at the inquiry which the emperor ordered to be made into this affair; but the other judges being named, and well instructed before-hand, by *Gallus* and *Constantina*, he could not proceed as he would have otherwise done; for *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who served under him, speaks every-where of him as a man of an unblemished character. As this commission gave him an opportunity of discovering many things till then not known, he acquainted the emperor with the state of affairs in the East, and pressed him to redress the many evils which afflicted those provinces \*. Besides the informations the emperor received of *Gallus*'s mal-administration and cruelties, he was told, that, not satisfied with the dignity of *Cæsar*, he aspired Gallus accused of aspiring to the sovereignty.

\* AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 16, 17. ZONAR. p. 16. PHILOSTORGO. l. iii. p. 61. † SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 34. p. 128. AMMIAN. p. 17. ZONAR. p. 17. ‡ AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 18---

23. § Idem, p. 21, 22.

\* Idem ibid.

to the sovereignty, and harboured evil designs against the emperor (G).

CONSTANTIUS, giving credit to these accusations, whether true or false, resolved upon the ruin and death of *Gallus*, tho' his cousin-german and brother-in-law ; but lest he should openly revolt, he carefully concealed his intention, and wrote *Gallus* and a very friendly and obliging letter to *Gallus*, inviting him to *Urficinus Italy*, that he might advise with him on certain affairs of great importance. At the same time he wrote to *Urficinus*, at that time *magister equitum*, or general of the horse, in the East, to come with all speed to *Milan*, in order to deliberate about the most proper measures that might be taken with respect to the *Persians*, who were assembling their forces, as was pretended, with a design to invade *Syria*. This was likewise a pretext, which the emperor made use of to remove *Urficinus*, lest he should raise disturbances in the East during the absence of *Gallus*. For the eunuchs and courtiers, dreading the merits and abilities of that worthy man, and great warrior, filled the emperor's mind with such fears and jealousies, in order to compass his ruin. One *Prosper*, a *comes* or count, was sent to succeed him, but only with the title and character of his deputy, to remove from him all apprehensions of his being suspected. *Urficinus*, on the receipt of the emperor's letter, set out immediately, accompanied by *Ammianus* the historian ; and arrived at *Milan* much sooner than he was expected, to the great joy of the emperor, who now thought of nothing but getting *Gallus* into his power. In order to this, besides the above-mentioned letter to *Gallus*, he wrote several others to *Constantina*, expressing a great desire to see her, and inviting her to court, with the most tender insinuations imaginable ; for he thought that the readiest way to draw *Gallus* thither. They were both too sensible of their evil conduct, not to apprehend the worst from the emperor : however, *Constantina*,

and likewise *Constantina*.

Y AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 26.

(G) This charge was believed by *Socrates* (4), and is not denied by *Ammianus* (5). But other writers will have these to have been mere inventions of *Dynames* and *Picentius*, two mean and infamous informers (6). To them

*Zosimus* adds the prefect *Lamprius*, a man of great ambition, and the eunuchs of the court, who had a great ascendant over the emperor, especially his chief chamberlain *Eusebius*.

(4) *Socrat.* l. ii. c. 34. p. 128. l. ii. p. 701.

(5) *Ammian.* l. xiv. p. 1.

(6) *Zos.*

who was well acquainted with her brother's temper, hoped by her artful insinuations to disarm his rage ; and without any farther deliberation, set out on her journey, leaving *Gallus* at *Antioch* : but she had scarce entered the province of *Bithynia*, when she was seized with a fever at a place called *Cæni Gallicani*, of which she died, leaving behind her one daughter, of whom no farther mention is made in history. Her body was carried to *Rome*, and buried on the *Nomentan* way, where stood the church of the martyr *Agnes*, which she had founded<sup>2</sup>. *Constantina dies on her journey.*

Her death threw *Gallus* into the utmost perplexity : as he had now lost his only advocate with the emperor, he despaired of being able to appease him ; and therefore began to think of assuming the title of *Augustus* ; which he had done, had he met with the least encouragement ; but most of his friends deserting him on account of his inconstant temper, and the rest hating him for his cruelty, and dreading the power of *Constantius*, he was obliged to lay aside all thoughts of openly revolting.

In the mean time the emperor, with frequent letters, and repeated messages, importuned him to come with all speed to court. Among the rest, he sent one *Scudilo* to him, a crafty insinuating man, who, by giving him all imaginable assurances on the emperor's part, prevailed upon him to leave *Antioch*, and begin his journey to *Italy*. He stopt some time at *Constantinople*, where, like a man who apprehended no danger, he exhibited public shews, and diverted himself and the people with the circensian sports. His confident behaviour increased the emperor's fears and jealousies, who thereupon ordered all the garisons to be removed out of the cities and towns through which he was to pass, lest he should corrupt them ; and at the same time dispatched several officers to him, who, under colour of attending him, were to keep a watchful eye over him ; which they did with such strictness, that, tho' the *Thebean* legions encamped in *Thrace*, upon his arrival at *Adrianople*, sent deputies to him, assuring him, that they were ready to stand by him, and assist him to the utmost of their power, yet, during the twelve days he staid in that city, the deputies could never have an opportunity of speaking with him. In the mean time, he received fresh letters from the emperor, requiring him to make what haste he could, and public carriages were provided for his equipage ; but the officers sent to him by *Constantius* advising him to leave his court at *Adrianople*, he set out with a small retinue for *Milan*, where the emperor then was ; but, upon his arrival at *Petaviûm* in *Noricum*, he

<sup>2</sup> Idem, p. 27. PHILOSTORG. p. 62.

*Is arrested* was there met by *Barbatio*, who entering the same evening at Peta- the house where he lodged with a company of soldiers, stripped him of all the ensigns of his dignity, and dispatched one *Apodemus* with his purple shoes to the emperor, assuring him, in the mean time, by repeated oaths, that nothing else was intended by the emperor against him; but nevertheless, putting him into a close litter, he hurried him away to *Flanona*, now *Fianone* in *Dalmatia*, not far from *Pola*, where *Crispus Cæsar*, the son of *Constantine*, had been put to death twenty-eight years before. Thither the emperor sent his two most inveterate enemies, *Eusebius* the eunuch, and *Pentades* his secretary, to examine him about the death of the prefect *Domitian* and others, and to hear what plea he could make<sup>a</sup> (H). *Gallus* owned most of the crimes that were laid to his charge; but alleged, that they proceeded chiefly from the instigation and evil counsels of his wife *Constantina*.

*and put to death.* THE emperor, provoked at this plea, which reflected in so high a measure on his sister, and consequently on himself, and instigated by the enemies of *Gallus*, persuading him, that his safety depended upon the destruction of so dangerous a rival, resolved to put an end to his own fears, and the other's life, and accordingly signed a warrant for his execution<sup>b</sup>. Some authors write, that the emperor, soon after, changing his mind, countermanded the execution; but that *Eusebius*, and the other enemies of *Gallus*, pretended that it came too late<sup>c</sup>. Be that as it will, it is certain that *Gallus* was beheaded, and atoned with his own blood for the blood of many innocent persons, which he had shed. Thus fell *Gallus Cæsar*, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after having reigned near four years. His death was chiefly owing to his own tyrannical conduct, but in great measure to the malice of *Eusebius*, *Scudilo*, and *Barbatio*, his avowed enemies, who charged him with more crimes than he had really committed<sup>d</sup>. All those who had been any-ways concerned with him in the death of the prefect *Domitian*, the quæstor *Montius*, and his other crimes, felt the weight of the emperor's displeasure. Multitudes of people of all ranks were brought out of the East in

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 178. & l. xiv. p. 27--29.

l. xiv. p. 29. & 31.

<sup>c</sup> Idem, p. 30.

<sup>b</sup> Idem, p. 31.

(H) *Julian* (7) and *Libanius* (8) write, that he was condemned without so much as being heard; and truly a prince, who hears

only with the ears of his favourites, may be said not to hear at all.

(7) *Julian. ad Athen.* p. 500.

(8) *Liban. orat.* xii. p. 266.

chains to *Aquileia*, where they were tried by *Eusebius*, and one *Arbora*, men destitute of all mercy and compassion, and on that very account charged by *Constantius* with that commission. These merciless judges, without making any distinction between the guilty and innocent, sentenced some to the rack, and after that to banishment, others to servile offices in the army, and great numbers to death, sparing none but such as could redeem themselves with large sums. *Luscus*, the first magistrate of *Antioch*, was burnt alive. But *Gorgonius*, *Gallus's* great chamberlain, the most guilty of all, escaped by bribing his judges, and the eunuchs of the court. *Julian*, the brother of *Gallus*, tho' no-way concerned in his crimes, was kept seven months under close confinement, and would have been put to death, had he not been saved by the favour of the empress *Eusebia* \*. By the death of *Gallus*, the Roman empire became united under one prince, after it had continued divided for the space of near seventy years, that is, from the year 285. or 286. when *Dioclesian* took *Maximian* for his colleague; for ever since that time there had been either several emperors, or one *Cæsar* (I).

THE next consuls were *Arbetio* and *Lollianus*. During their administration, the emperor enacted two remarkable laws; the one addressed to *Volusianus*, vicar of *Rome*, and dated the thirtieth of *April*, forbidding the marriage of a brother or sister-in-law, and declaring the children born of such

\* *Idem*, l. xiv. p. 18. l. xv. p. 34. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 501.

(I) *Ammianus* observes, that *Constantius*, swelled with pride upon seeing himself sole master of the empire, assumed the title of *eternal*, stiled himself *lord of the universe*, and gave ear to the flatteries of his ambitious and insinuating courtiers (9). As for *Ursicinus*, general of the horse in the East, of whom we have spoken above, he was accused of having put *Gallus* upon all the bad measures he had taken, in order to render him obnoxious to the people, and make the empire fall to his own children. But *Ammianus*, his faithful friend, and inseparable companion, assures

us, that his only crime was the umbrage which the eunuchs, and other courtiers, took at his great power, and extraordinary abilities. However, after the death of *Gallus*, it was resolved in a council, which was held privately in the emperor's apartment, that the following night he should be conveyed out of the city, and executed without any farther trial. But the emperor changing his mind, *Ursicinus* escaped, and *Constantius* was soon after obliged to have recourse to the valour and address of so brave and experienced a commander, as we shall see hereafter (1).

(9) *Ammian.* l. xv. p. 32, 33.

(1) *Idem*, l. xiv. p. 26, 33, 34.

Africanus  
and several  
others  
cruelly tor-  
tured upon  
bare suspi-  
cions.

a marriage illegitimate; the other dated the twenty-third of September, and addressed to one *Severus*, ordaining bishops to be judged by bishops, and not by the civil magistrates<sup>f</sup>. Before the emperor left *Milan*, *Africanus*, governor of *Pannonia Secunda*, was brought prisoner to that city, with several others, who, after being tortured in a most cruel manner, were thrown into prison, because they had at an entertainment expressed themselves with great freedom on matters of state; whence it was concluded, that they were carrying on some plot, and that *Africanus* aspired to the sovereignty. A tribune, by name *Marinus*, who was present at this entertainment, chose rather to lay violent hands on himself at *Aquileia*, than to endure the torture<sup>g</sup>. *Ammianus*, who relates this, does not tell us in this place what became of *Africanus*, and the other prisoners; but seems elsewhere<sup>h</sup> to insinuate, that they were all put to death. The emperor soon after left *Milan* to march against the *Germans*, who made frequent incursions into the empire towards the *Brigantia* lake, now the lake of *Constance*. The emperor himself remained in the plains of the country now belonging to the *Grisons*, in the neighbourhood of the present city of *Coira*; and detached *Arbetio* with the flower of the army against the enemy. *Arbetio* fell into an ambuscade, and lost great numbers of his men; but this loss was soon retrieved by the valour of *Arintheus*, who became famous under the emperor *Valens*, and of two other officers, who, falling upon the *Germans*, without waiting the orders of their general, put them to flight, and obliged them to abandon the *Roman* territories. The emperor, satisfied with this, returned to *Milan*, and there took up his winter-quarters<sup>i</sup> (K).

The Ger-  
mans de-  
feated.

Sylvanus  
falsely ac-

THE tranquillity which *Constantius* enjoyed at this time was soon interrupted by the apprehension of a pretended conspiracy, which produced a true one. *Sylvanus*, the son of *Bonitus*, a leading man among the *Franks*, commanded in *Gaul*, and had

<sup>f</sup> Cod. Theodof. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 2. p. 296. & l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 12. p. 37. <sup>g</sup> AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 34---36. <sup>h</sup> Idem, l. xvi. p. 67. <sup>i</sup> Idem, l. xv. p. 36, 37.

(K) From *Milan*, he wrote a long letter to the senate of *Constantinople* in commendation of the philosopher *Themistius*, whom he had created senator of that city. *Themistius* answered this letter soon after by a panegyric on *Constantius*, wherein he endeavours to prove, that he was the greatest philosopher in the whole empire (2). The emperor's letter, and the oration of *Themistius*, are still extant (3).

(2) *Themist. or. Cons.* p. 18. *or. ii.* p. 24—40.

(3) *Idem ibid.*  
performed

performed there great exploits against the barbarians. He owed his preferment to the artifices of rival courtiers, especially of *Arbetio*, the consul of this year, who, jealous of his extraordinary merit, had proposed him to the emperor as the best qualified person in the empire for driving the barbarians out of *Gaul*, and restoring that province, distressed by their frequent inroads, to its former condition. And truly *Sylvanus* well deserved the character which *Arbetio* gave him; but the consul's main design in commending him, and extolling his military talents, was to remove him from the emperor's presence, in order to compass his ruin, which he did in the following manner: One *Dynames*, keeper of the emperor's mules, leaving *Gaul*, begged of *Sylvanus* letters of recommendation to his friends at court; which being granted, the traitor erased all but the subscription; and having inserted directions to the friends of *Sylvanus* for the carrying on of a conspiracy, delivered the letters to the prefect *Lampridius*, who, being privy, as was supposed, to this wicked contrivance, shewed them to the emperor. Hereupon orders were immediately issued for the apprehending of such persons as were named in the letters. As there were at that time great numbers of *Franks* of distinction at court, they all interposed in favour of their countryman; among the rest, *Malaricus*, their chief, well apprised that the whole was a mere calumny, offered to go into *Gaul*, and bring the supposed criminal before the emperor; adding, that if persons, whom *Sylvanus* mistrusted, should be sent for that purpose, he might be prompted by fear to attempt what he was falsely accused of having already attempted. But *Constantius*, without hearkening to the just and reasonable proposal of *Malaricus*, was persuaded by *Arbetio* to name *Apodemus*, a declared enemy to all men of probity, to inquire into this affair. He immediately set out for *Gaul*; but instead of presenting to *Sylvanus*, as soon as he arrived, pursuant to his instructions, the emperor's letter commanding him to repair forthwith to court, he seized on his estate, and caused his friends in *Gaul* to be apprehended, and put to the torture. This coming to the ears of *Sylvanus*, who was then at *Cologne*, and too well acquainted with the emperor's suspicious temper, and the ascendant his enemies at court had over him, to suffer himself to be arrested, he resolved at first to take shelter among the *Franks*, his countrymen; but being persuaded by his friends not to trust a people so remarkable for their fickleness and treachery, he determined, for his own preservation, to do what otherwise he would never have thought of; and accordingly assumed the purple, and caused himself

*Is forced to assume it in his own defence.*



to be proclaimed emperor by the troops under his command \* (L).

He is declared innocent.

Urficinus sent against him.

WHILE these things passed in *Gaul*, *Dynames*, to strengthen his accusation against *Sylvanus*, forged a letter in the name of that general, and of *Malaricus*, to a tribune, desiring him to get every thing ready, without explaining himself further. The tribune, being at a loss about the meaning of it, sent it to *Malaricus*, who knowing it to be forged, complained aloud of the treachery, and, with the other *Franks*, demanded vengeance on those who were by such malicious contrivances endeavouring to prejudice the emperor against those of their nation. This occasioned an inquiry, and unraveled the whole scene of iniquity. The emperor, well apprised of the innocence of *Sylvanus*, and the malice of his accusers, deposed the prefect *Lampridius*, and even ordered him, with several other persons of distinction, to be put to the torture; on which some of them owned the whole to be a mere calumny. They were, however, in the end all absolved, so great was the power of their faction at court; and *Dynames* was even preferred to the government of *Hetruria*. As *Sylvanus* was declared innocent, they were all greatly surprised by the arrival of a messenger from *Gaul*, dispatched to acquaint the emperor, that *Sylvanus* had actually assumed the title of emperor. The messenger arrived at *Milan* about the close of the evening, and the emperor, thunder-struck at the unexpected tidings, summoned a council the same night; the result of which was, that *Urficinus*, of whom we have spoken above, should be sent forthwith into *Gaul*, the courtiers, who dreaded *Urficinus* no less than *Sylvanus*, hoping by that means to get rid of one whom they hated, and perhaps of both. *Urficinus* made what haste he could to reach *Cologne*, that *Sylvanus*, supposing his revolt not to be yet known at court, might the more readily comply with the emperor's injunctions. For *Urficinus* was charged with letters from the emperor to *Sylvanus*, confirming him in his post of general, injoining him to repair to court, and in the mean time deliver up the command of the army to *Urficinus*. But *Urficinus*, notwithstanding the haste he made,

\* AMMIAN. p. 39, 76. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 503. & orat. ii. p. 183.

(L) Some of his coins have since *Constantine's* time, to such reached us, on which he bears as had none of their own, especially the title of *Augustus*, and the cially foreigners (4). prænomèn of *Flavius*, common,

(4) Goltz. p. 131.

came too late; the news of *Sylvanus's* revolt being known at court having got to *Cologne* before him; which obliged him to change his measures, and pretend that he had deserted *Constantius*, and was come to share with *Sylvanus* his success or misfortunes, waiting in the mean time a favourable opportunity of dispatching him. This was a dangerous expedient, and altogether unworthy of that greatness of soul which *Ammianus* so much admires in his hero.

*SYLVANUS* received him with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness, freely opened all his thoughts to him, advised with him about the measures that were to be taken for their mutual security, and reposed in him an intire confidence; which gave *Urficinus* an opportunity of gaining over some of his guards with large promises, who early one morning forcing unexpectedly the gates of the palace, and entering sword in hand, met *Sylvanus*, while he was attempting to make his escape, and take sanctuary in a neighbouring church, and cut him in pieces, after he had enjoyed the title of emperor only twenty-eight days<sup>1</sup>. Thus fell one of the bravest and most deserving officers of the empire, whom the crafty malice of jealous courtiers, and the credulity of the emperor, had obliged in his own defence, to assume the purple. He had served under *Magnentius*; but deserting him with a numerous body of cavalry under his command before the battle of *Mursa*, had ever after distinguished himself in the wars of *Constantius*, who, in regard of his eminent services, had raised him to the post of *magister peditum*, or general of the foot. But no merit of services, however great, are a sufficient antidote against the poisonous tongues of artful and insinuating courtiers, when they have once gained the confidence, and engrossed the favour, of a jealous, weak, and timorous prince. *Constantius* expressed an extraordinary joy at the news of *Sylvanus's* death; but tho' he owned, that he had nothing more to fear, yet he proceeded with great rigour against such as had been any-ways concerned in his revolt. *Pemius*, who had defended *Treves* against *Decentius*, and many other persons of distinction, were condemned and executed. The courtiers were for putting all the friends of *Sylvanus* to death, without distinction; but were therein opposed by the emperor, alleging, that friendship ought not to be punished as a crime; nay, he ordered the effects and estate of the unhappy *Sylvanus* to be reserved for his son, who was then very young, and had been left by his father as an hostage at court, perceiving, when it was too late,

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 38---42. ZONAR. p. 17.

that the malice of his enemies, and not his ambition, had prompted, and in a manner forced him to revolt <sup>m</sup>.

The empire  
in great  
danger.

THE barbarians, whom the brave *Sylvanus* had driven out of *Gaul*, that is, the *Franks*, *Alemans*, and *Saxons*, no sooner heard the news of his death, than they broke into that province with greater fury than ever, and took and pillaged above forty cities, and among the rest *Cologne*, which they levelled with the ground <sup>n</sup>. At the same time the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians*, entering *Pannonia*, laid all waste before them <sup>o</sup>; and the *Persians* over-ran without opposition *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia* *Prosper*, who had succeeded *Urficinus*, and the prefect *Mausonianus*, being more intent upon pillaging than defending the countries committed to their care *P. Constantius*, apprised of the danger that threatened the empire, but not thinking it adviseable to stir out of *Italy* himself, after various consultations, resolved in the end to raise his cousin *Julian*, the brother of *Gallus*, to the dignity of *Cæsar*. This design was opposed by all the sycophants at court, who, extolling the emperor's prudence, conduct, and courage, told him, that he was capable of sustaining the burden of the empire alone; insinuating at the same time, that it was no-ways safe for him to raise *Julian* to that high station. But the empress *Eusebia*, interposing in favour of *Julian*, prevailed upon her husband to pursue his intentions.

THE emperor therefore, being returned to *Milan* before the thirty-first of *October* from a short progress, ordered *Julian* to quit his philosophical cloak, and gave him an apartment in the palace; and on the sixth of *November*, having assembled the army, he ascended the tribunal, and placing *Julian* on his right hand, he acquainted the soldiers with his design of dignifying his cousin with the title and authority of *Cæsar*, and asked their consent. The army with one voice

Julian created  
Cæsar.

Year of  
the flood  
2805.  
Of Christ  
355.  
Of Rome  
1153.

approved of his resolution; whereupon the emperor clothed him with a purple robe; saluted him with the title of *Cæsar*, and of *most loving brother*; appointed him governor of *Gaul*; and, in committing that province to his care, told him, that he placed him over a stout army, not doubting but upon occasion he would signalize at their head his own courage, and be witness of theirs. This ceremony and speech were followed by loud acclamations, and great encomiums, bestowed by the whole army on the emperor and the new *Cæsar*. A few days

<sup>m</sup> AMMIAN. p. 44. & JULIAN. orat. i. & ii. p. 89, 183, 184.

<sup>n</sup> AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 47.

<sup>o</sup> Zos. p. 702.

<sup>p</sup> AMMIAN.

ibid. p. 57.

after, *Constantius* gave him his sister *Helena* in marriage; and *He mar-*  
 this new favour and mark of distinction was likewise owing to *ries He-*  
*Euphia*, who, besides many other things of great value, pre- *lena, the*  
 sented the young prince on this occasion with a large and *emperor's*  
 well-chosen library. But at the same time his whole house *sister.*  
 was changed, the emperor pretending thereby to do him ho-  
 nour; but his real design was to remove all in whom he had  
 any confidence: guards were placed at his apartment, not so  
 much to defend as to watch him; all his letters were opened  
 before they came to his hands, inasmuch that he thought it ad-  
 viseable to desire his best friends to forbear visiting him, lest *His power*  
 they should expose themselves or him to danger. Before he *gives the*  
 set out for *Gaul*, the emperor gave him instructions under his *emperor*  
 own hand, regulating his whole conduct, even the expences *jealously.*  
 of his table, as if he had been a child, says *Ammianus*, sent  
 to school. At the same time he greatly restrained and cur-  
 tailed his authority, injoining the generals who served under  
 him, to watch his actions with no less care than those of the  
 enemy, and investing one *Marcellus* with the command of the  
 army, who was sent to succeed *Ursicinus*, tho' the latter was  
 ordered to continue in *Gaul*, till the war was ended, with the  
 title of general, but without any command, the emperor be-  
 ing still in some degree prejudiced against him. *Julian* was,  
 above all, strictly injoined not to give any largesses to the  
 army; and authors observe, that *Constantius* himself, contrary  
 to custom, gave none upon his promotion (M). *Julian* set *He is sent*  
 out from *Milan* on the first of *December*, the emperor him- *into Gaul.*  
 self accompanying him as far as *Pavia*, from whence he pur-  
 sued his journey to the *Alps*, attended only by three hundred  
 and sixty soldiers. On his arrival at *Turin*, he was first ac-  
 quainted with the loss of *Cologne*, which had been kept con-  
 cealed from the emperor. He arrived at *Vienne* before the end

<sup>a</sup> Idem, p. 46--49. Zos. l. iii. p. 709. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 504. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 34. <sup>r</sup> JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 509.  
<sup>s</sup> AMMIAN. l. xii. p. 168. <sup>t</sup> Idem, l. xvi. p. 60. <sup>u</sup> Idem, l. xlii. p. 206.

(M) Several writers tell us, that he treated him thus on ac-  
 count of his youth, and want of  
 that the emperor sent *Julian* into *Gaul* on purpose to destroy him  
 experience, and to deprive him  
 (5). But what others write seems of all means of revolting, and  
 to us more probable; to wit, setting up for himself.

(5) Euseb. c. 5. p. 76. SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 1. SOZOM. l. v. c. 2. p. 596.

of the year, and was received by the people of that city, and the neighbourhood, with extraordinary marks of joy \* (N).

THE following year, 356. *Constantius* took upon him his eighth consulship, and chose *Julian* for his colleague. The latter passed the winter at *Vienne*, deliberating about the operations of the ensuing campaign. During his stay there, he received intelligence, that the city of *Autun* was besieged by the barbarians, but defended with great bravery by the veterans, who had repulsed the enemy when they were already scaling the walls, which had encouraged the other troops to make a vigorous sally. However, *Julian*, having assembled what forces he could, marched to the relief of the place ; but, finding the siege raised, from *Autun* he went in pursuit of the barbarians to *Auxerre*, crossing with no small danger thick woods, and from *Auxerre* to *Troies*. On his march he found himself surrounded on all sides by the enemy, who moved about the country in great bodies ; but he put them to flight with an handful of men, killed great numbers of them, and took some prisoners. From *Troies* he hastened to *Rheims*, where the main body of the army, commanded by *Marcellus*, waited his arrival. Leaving *Rheim*, he took his route towards *Decempagi*, now *Dieuze*, on the *Seille* in *Eorrain*, with a design to fall upon the *Germans*, who were busied in ravaging that country. But the enemy, taking advantage of a dark and wet night, attacked his rear unexpectedly, and would have cut off two legions, had not the rest of the army, alarmed at the sudden noise, turned back to their assistance. The *Germans* themselves were defeated a few days after, tho' not with great loss, in the neighbourhood of *Bracromagus*, now *Brumt*, in *Alsace*, between *Strasburg* and *Haguenau* \*. This small victory opened him a way to *Cologne*, which he found abandoned by the enemy, and entered, after it had been ten months in their hands. The barbarians had neglected to fortify it ; but *Julian* ordered the antient fortifications to be with all speed repaired, and the houses rebuilt †. *Libanius* adds, that he re-established another great city in that country, perhaps *Tongres* or *Treves*, which

*Cologne*  
*retaken by*  
*Julian, and*  
*rebuilt.*

\* AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 50. LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 270. \* AMMIAN. p. 59. LIBAN. orat. ix. p. 237. & orat. xii. p. 271.  
† AMMIAN. p. 40. JULIAN. p. 512.

(N) While he was entering if *Ammianus* is to be credited, the city, an old woman, who that he would one day restore had been long blind, cried out, the temples of the gods (6).

had been often attacked by the barbarians, and was reduced to a miserable condition. During his stay at *Cologne*, one of the kings of the *Franks*, dreading his arms, sent deputies to him to sue for a peace; but *Julian* granted him only a short truce. Having repaired the city and fortifications of *Cologne*, he removed to *Basle* to support the emperor, who was making war upon the *Germans* in *Rhætia*; and to prevent their escaping from him into *Gaul*, he continued there till winter, when he retired to the city of *Sens*, and there took up his quarters <sup>z</sup> (O).

As for *Constantius*, it appears from the dates of several laws, that he did not stir from *Milan* till after the eleventh of *April* <sup>a</sup>, and then took a progress into *Illyricum* <sup>b</sup>. He was returned to *Milan* on the twenty-ninth of *October*, as appears from a law bearing that date, which confirms to the clergy of the city of *Rome* all their privileges <sup>c</sup>. He left *Milan* soon after to make war upon the *Germans*, who had for their kings the two brothers *Gondomarus* and *Vadomarus*. He passed the *Rhine*, entered their dominions on the side of *Rhætia*, and meeting with no opposition, laid waste their country far and wide. This obliged them to sue for peace, which the emperor readily granted, and then returned to *Milan*, the usual

*Constantius obliges the Germans to sue for peace.*

<sup>z</sup> AMMIAN. p. 61, 72.

<sup>b</sup> ATHAN. solit. p. 841.

13. p. 39.

<sup>a</sup> Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 55.

<sup>c</sup> Cod. Theodof. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg.

(O) This campaign proved, according to the account which *Ammianus* gives us of it, very glorious for *Julian*. But the many advantages which he is said to have gained, must either have been less considerable than they are represented by that writer, or counterbalanced by equal losses, since *Julian* himself writes, that his first campaign proved unsuccessful; and that during this summer he performed nothing worthy of notice (7). Besides, we shall see him the next winter besieged in *Sens* by the barbarians, and obliged to fly before them, which he himself

owns (8); but *Ammianus* has passed it over in silence. *Libanius* says, that the greatest victory he gained this year was over himself, in restraining his courage, and bearing with patience the evil offices of those about him, who, instead of seconding his great designs, made it their whole business to thwart them, in compliance with their private instructions, and to humour the jealous temper of *Constantius* (9). The same writer adds, speaking, we suppose, like an orator, that *Julian* was allowed not to act, but only to shew himself (1).

(7) *Julian. ad Athen.* p. 510. p. 237.

(1) *Idem, orat. xii.* p. 271.

(8) *Idem ibid.*

(9) *Liban. orat. ix.*

*Forbids,  
upon pain  
of death  
the wor-  
shipping of  
idols.*

place of his residence <sup>d</sup>. While the emperor was abroad on this expedition, the empress *Eusebia* visited the city of *Rome*, and was received there by the senate, who went out to meet her, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. During her stay in that metropolis, she gave great largesses to the people, and upon her departure made rich presents to the heads of the tribes <sup>e</sup>. The same year the emperor enacted two remarkable laws, the one dated the twentieth of *February*, condemning those to death, who should for the future sacrifice, or pay any manner of worship, to idols <sup>f</sup>; the other, dated the eighth of *March*, declaring the effects of condemned persons, except in cases of magic or treason, to belong to their children, and relations within the third degree <sup>g</sup>. But this law the emperor himself revoked two years after <sup>h</sup>.

*Julian be-  
sieged in  
Sens.*

THE next consuls were, *Constantius* the ninth time, and *Julian* the second. The latter had taken up his winter-quarters at *Sens*, as we have related above, and had kept with him but a small number of troops, the rest being dispersed about the country for the convenience of their quarters in a province so often ravaged and laid waste. The barbarians, apprised of this, came in great numbers, and laid siege to the place, hoping to take *Julian* himself prisoner. But he, with the few forces he had, made so vigorous a defence, that the enemy, despairing of ever being able to reduce the town, drew off their forces, and retired, after they had lain a whole month before it. All this while *Marcellus*, the commander in chief, never stirred to rescue *Julian*, or relieve the place, tho' he was quartered in the neighbourhood <sup>i</sup> (P). Not long after, *Constantius*

<sup>d</sup> AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 77, &c. JULIAN. orat. ii. p. 240.  
<sup>e</sup> JULIAN. ibid. p. 240, 241. <sup>f</sup> Cod. Theodof. l. xvi. tit. 10.  
leg. 6. p. 266. <sup>g</sup> Ibid. l. ix. tit. 42. leg. 2. p. 329. <sup>h</sup> Ibid.  
leg. 4. p. 331. <sup>i</sup> JULIAN. p. 510. AMMIAN. p. 61.

(P) *Ammianus* tells us, that for this neglect he was by the emperor deprived of his command, and confined to *Sardica*, the place of his nativity (2). But *Julian* says only, that *Constantius* began to suspect him, and look upon him as unequal to the command with which he was vested (3). *Libanius* writes, that he dreaded the barbarians, oppressed the subjects of the empire, treated *Julian* himself with great haughtiness, thwarted all his designs, and upon his removal repaired to *Milan* to discredit him with the emperor. But *Julian*, well acquainted with the malice of the one, and the jealousy and credulity of the other, sent the eunuch *Eutherius*, his great chamberlain, to answer such things as

(2) *Ammian.* l. xvi. p. 64, 66.

(3) *Julian.* p. 511.

might

*Constantius* declared *Julian* commander in chief of all the forces in *Gaul*, being persuaded to it either by the empress, or the eunuch *Eutherius*, or probably by both <sup>k</sup>. At the same time he appointed *Severus*, an officer of great experience, and of a quite different temper from *Marcellus*, to command under him. Upon his arrival in *Gaul*, *Julian*, who received him with great joy, raised new troops, and supplied them with arms, which he luckily found in an old arsenal <sup>l</sup>. This year *Constantius* sentenced to death a great many persons convicted of having consulted the magicians, and published a law forbidding, on pain of death, any one to have recourse to the augurs, auspices, or any other diviners whatsoever <sup>m</sup>. By another law, dated the fourth of *December*, he condemned all magicians to be devoured by the wild beasts <sup>n</sup>.

THIS year the emperor took a progress to *Rome*, which he had never yet seen, with the empress *Eusebia*, and his sister *Helena*, the wife of *Julian*. He entered the metropolis of the empire on the twenty-eighth of *April*, in a gilt chariot, adorned with an incredible number of precious stones, being attended by the senate, and the whole nobility, who came out in their robes, and richest apparel, to meet him. The reader will find a very particular account of his triumphal entry in *Ammianus*, who describes it at large <sup>o</sup>. He was wonderfully taken with the grandeur and magnificence of the place, with the multitude of the people, with the loftiness of the buildings; but chiefly admired the temple of *Jupiter Tarpeius*, the public baths, the amphitheatre, *Pompey's* theatre, and the square of *Trajan*. He is said to have complained of fame, far exceeding truth in other things, but coming short of it in what related to *Rome*. He harangued both the people and the senate, the former from the rostra, and the latter in the senate-house. He is thought to have celebrated in that great metropolis the thirty-fifth year of his reign, reckoning from 323. when he was created *Cæsar*; and it was perhaps on occasion of that solemnity that he ordered public sports to be exhibited, not only in *Rome*, but in all the other cities of

<sup>k</sup> Zos. l. iii. p. 703. AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 72. <sup>l</sup> Zos. l. iii. p. 704. <sup>m</sup> Cod. Theodof. ix. tit. 16. l. iv. p. 119. <sup>n</sup> Ibid. leg. p. 121, 122. <sup>o</sup> AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 71, &c.

might be alleged against him; fixed with the conduct of *Julian* which he did so effectually, that (4). *Ammian* bestows great encomiums upon this eunuch. the emperor remained fully satisf-

(4) *Ammian.* p. 64, 65.



*Italy* <sup>p</sup>. During his stay at *Rome*, he was presented with golden crowns of an extraordinary weight by several cities, and among the rest by the city of *Constantinople*, which had appointed *Themistius* to present it; but he falling sick, the discourse which he had composed for the occasion, was sent to the emperor, who was so well pleased with it, that he ordered a statue to be erected in honour of the orator; which prompted him to write a second discourse or panegyric <sup>q</sup>. The emperor, desiring to add something of his own to the ornaments of the city, gave orders for the conveying of an obelisk thither, which had been removed by his father *Constantine* from *Helio- polis* in *Egypt* with that design, and had been carried as far as *Alexandria*. But that prince dying in the mean time, it still remained there. *Constantius* therefore ordered it to be brought to *Rome*, where it was with much difficulty set up in the *Circus Maximus* about the beginning of the following year <sup>r</sup>. This is the obelisk which was erected in *Rome* in the pontificate of *Sixtus V* <sup>s</sup>. *Constantius* would not enter the place, where the senate assembled, till the ancient altar of *Victory* was removed from thence, lest he should defile his eyes, says *St. Ambrose* <sup>t</sup>, with the unhallowed sight of an altar consecrated to the infernal spirits.

He was greatly taken with the pleasures and diversions of *Rome*, says *Ammianus* <sup>u</sup>; but was soon obliged to abandon them, upon intelligence that the *Suevians* had entered *Rætia*, the *Quadians* *Valeria*, and the *Sarmatians* *Lower Pannonia*, and *Upper Mæsia*. He therefore left *Rome* on the twenty-ninth of *May*, after he had been there about a month; and was at *Milan*, if no mistake has crept into the code, on the third of *June*, and likewise on the thirteenth of *July* <sup>v</sup>; whence we may conclude, that the barbarians withdrew of their own accord. While *Constantius* was at *Milan*, he received letters from *Musonianus*, prefect of the East, informing him, that *Sapor* king of *Persia* was engaged, on the most remote frontiers of his kingdom, in a mighty war with the *Chionitæ*, and other people; that he had suffered great losses, and consequently would, in all likelihood, hearken to a treaty of peace and amity with the *Romans*, which *Musonianus* had taken care to propose to *Tamspapor*, the *Persian* general on the frontiers of *Mesopotamia*, who had written on that subject to his master. These negotiations came to nothing, as will appear

<sup>p</sup> AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 71, &c.<sup>q</sup> THEMIST. ORAT. iv. p. 53

---57.

<sup>r</sup> AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 92.<sup>s</sup> BARON. ANN. 357.<sup>t</sup> AMBROS. REL. SYM. p. 196.<sup>u</sup> AMMIAN. p. 72.<sup>v</sup> COD.

Theodof. chron. p. 56, 57.

hereafter.

hereafter. However, the emperor sent for *Urfcinus*, who was *Urfcinus* still in *Gaul*, in order to advise with him about the most pro- recalled per method of dealing with the *Persians*. In the mean time *from Gaul*, *Constantius*, leaving *Milan* about the middle of *July*, went to *Trent*, and from thence into *Illyricum*, visited the frontiers of the empire towards the *Danube*, and conferred with the chiefs of the *Quadians*, and other neighbouring nations, who assured him of their friendship. *Urfcinus* found him at *Sirmium*, and was, after several conferences, sent by him into the East, with the character of general, and the same power with which he had been vested before his disgrace <sup>2</sup>. The emperor was at *Milan* on the fourth and sixth of *December*; but returned to *Sirmium* before the eighteenth of *December* <sup>3</sup>; and, according to *Ammianus* <sup>2</sup>, passed the winter there.

To return to *Gaul*: The emperor, resolved by all means to put an end to the dreadful devastations committed there chiefly by the *Alemans*, wrote to *Julian*, to march with all his forces against them; and at the same time sent *Barbatio*, who *Barbatio* had been created general of the foot in the room of *Sylvanus*, sent into *Gaul*. out of *Italy*, with a body of twenty-five or thirty thousand men, in order to surprise and inclose the enemy between the two armies. *Barbatio* was generally esteemed a good officer <sup>2</sup>; but all his bravery consisted, according to *Ammianus* <sup>b</sup>, only in words. He had betrayed *Gallus*, under whom he served, and studied how to check the progress of *Julian*; who no sooner heard of his arrival at *Basle*, than he took the field, having with him only thirteen thousand men: but the *Leti*, a Ger- The Ger- man nation, passing between the two armies, advanced as far mans at- as *Lions*, with a design to surprise and pillage that wealthy tack Lions city. As they met with a warmer reception from the inha- in vain, bitants than they expected, they gave over all thoughts of and are taking the place, and contented themselves with ravaging the cut in pie- country all round it. *Julian*, upon the first notice of what ces by Ju- had happened, detached strong parties to guard the passes, lian. through which he knew they must return; by this means they were all cut off, except those who marched near the camp of *Barbatio*, who was so far from cutting off their retreat, that he complained by a letter to *Constantius* of some officers for attempting it, who thereupon ordered them to be cashiered. One of these was *Valentinian*, afterwards emperor <sup>c</sup>. The other barbarians either fortified themselves in the countries

<sup>2</sup> AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 72. JUL. ad Athen. p. 513.  
Theod. p. 57. <sup>3</sup> AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 103.  
orât. xii. p. 272. <sup>b</sup> AMMIAN. p. 73.

<sup>7</sup> Cod.  
<sup>2</sup> LIBAN.  
<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid.

which they had seized, stopping up all the avenues with huge trees, or took shelter in the islands formed by the *Rhine*.

Barbatio  
endea-  
vours to  
thwart his  
designs.

JULIAN resolved first to attack the latter, and with this view sent to demand some boats of *Barbatio*, who, instead of complying with his just request, immediately burnt all his boats, as he did on another occasion the provisions which had been sent for both armies, after he had plentifully supplied his own. It is uncertain whether he behaved thus out of pique to *Julian*, or in compliance with private instructions from the emperor to thwart all his enterprizes<sup>d</sup>. Be that as it will, *Julian*, not in the least ruffled or disheartened at the unaccountable conduct of *Barbatio*, persuaded some of the most resolute among his men to wade over to one of the islands, where they killed all the *Germans* who had taken shelter there; and seizing their boats, pursued the slaughter in several other islands, till the enemy, abandoning them all, retired with their wives, and what booty they could carry, to their respective countries<sup>e</sup>. After this, he undertook the rebuilding of the *Tres-tabernæ*, a fort near *Strasbourg*, in *Alsace*,

Julian re-  
builds Sa-  
verne.

now known by the name of *Saverne*, which the enemy had demolished. It being so situated, as to curb the nations beyond the *Rhine*, and prevent their irruptions into *Gaul*, *Julian* not only repaired the antient fortifications, but added new works to them, stored the place with provisions for a whole year, and left a numerous garison in it, to keep the neighbouring country in awe<sup>f</sup>. While *Julian* was busied in this work, *Barbatio* was employed in laying a bridge of boats over the *Rhine*: but the enemy, apprised of this, threw a great number of huge trees into the river, which, being carried by the stream against the boats, sunk several of them, and parted the rest. *Barbatio* seeing his work ruined, thought it advisable to retire; but the enemy falling unexpectedly upon him in his retreat, cut great numbers of his men in pieces, took most of his baggage, laid waste the neighbouring country, and returned in triumph, loaded with booty. Hereupon *Barbatio*, putting his troops into winter-quarters, as if the campaign had been over, tho' it was then but harvest-time, returned to court, to make war there upon *Julian* with his calumnies and ill offices<sup>g</sup>.

Barbatio  
put to  
flight by  
the barba-  
rians.

THE barbarians, elated with this success, assembled in great numbers, under the banners of *Chnodomarius*, a prince

<sup>d</sup> AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 73, 74.  
xii. p. 273.

<sup>e</sup> Idem ibid. & LIBAN. orat.  
<sup>f</sup> JULIAN. p. 512. LIBAN. p. 273. <sup>g</sup> AM-  
MIAN. p. 75.

of great renown among them, and of six other kings, and encamped in the neighbourhood of *Straßbourg*. Being informed there by a deserter, that *Julian* had only thirteen thousand men with him, *Chnodomarius* sent him a haughty and menacing message, commanding him to abandon forthwith the country which the *Germans* had conquered by their courage and valour<sup>h</sup>. *Libanius* adds, that the messenger produced to him the letters of *Constantius*, promising to relinquish to them what countries or cities they should seize in *Gaul*<sup>i</sup>. By such promises *Constantius* is supposed to have stirred them up against the tyrant *Magnentius*. But *Julian*, paying no regard to them, detained the messenger as a spy, and pursued the works he had begun at *Saverne*, till he received intelligence, that the enemy were advanced within twenty miles of his camp. Hereupon, leaving *Saverne*, he marched directly against them. When he was about half-way, he halted, with a design to rest his men, and put off the battle to the next day; but both officers and soldiers demanding to be led without delay against the enemy, he pursued his march, and found the *Germans*, who had been informed of his approach, ready to receive him. They were thirty-five thousand strong, headed by seven kings, ten princes, and many other lords of great distinction.

*Julian marches against them.*

BOTH armies engaged with great resolution and intrepidity, and the victory continued long doubtful; the *Roman* cavalry even gave way, nor could *Julian*, with all his oratory, prevail upon them to rally, and return to the charge: but the vigorous resistance made by the foot so disheartened the enemy, that, after having attempted several times in vain to break them, they began to abate much of their impetuosity; which the *Romans* perceiving, they made a last effort; and charging the barbarians, already quite spent, put them to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter. Great numbers of them threw themselves into the *Rhine*, which was in their rear, and were drowned. *Chnodomarius* himself was taken in a wood, and presented to *Julian* in the sight of the whole army, who thereupon saluted him with the title of *Augustus*; which he rejected with great indignation, telling his soldiers, That the glory of the action was chiefly owing to *Constantius*, under whose auspices they had fought<sup>k</sup>. He lost in the battle only four tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three private men. Of the *Germans* six, or, as others will have it, eight

*The battle of Argentoratum or Straßbourg. Year of the flood 2807. Of Christ 357. Of Rome 1155.*

*The Germans entirely defeated.*

<sup>h</sup> Idem, l. xvi. p. 75, 76.

<sup>i</sup> LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 269.

<sup>k</sup> AMMIAN. p. 84, 85. LIBAN. orat. x. p. 237. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 512.

thousand men were killed in the field; but a great number of dead bodies were seen floating on the river<sup>1</sup> (Q).

JULIAN ascribed the whole glory of this memorable victory to *Constantius*, and immediately sent his royal captive *Chnodomarius* to him, whom he had treated with great respect, looking upon him as an instance of the instability of all human grandeur. *Constantius* sent him to *Rome*, where he died soon after a natural death<sup>m</sup>. This victory was greatly lessened by the sycophants at court, and all the other actions of *Julian* turned into ridicule; which, however, was less prejudicial to him, than if they had extolled and magnified his exploits to a suspicious, weak, and timorous prince.

Constantius ascribes to himself the whole glory of this action.

CONSTANTIUS was not ashamed to ascribe the whole glory of this great action to himself, as appears from an edict published about this time, wherein he speaks of himself as if he had fought at the head of his army, without so much as mentioning the name of *Julian*<sup>n</sup>. *Aurelius Victor*, who wrote about the latter end of his reign, speaks in the same strain<sup>o</sup>; and *Themistius*, in magnifying his victories over the *Germans*, and the valour with which he delivered *Gaul* from their inroads, and restrained them within their antient limits, quotes the letters which the emperor himself had sent to the senate of *Constantinople*<sup>p</sup>. *Julian's* first care, after the battle, was to cause all the dead to be buried, without distinction of friend or enemy. Having performed this pious office, he returned to *Saverne*, to finish the works begun there; and then advanced with all his army to *Mayence*, where he built a bridge over

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. p. 84, 85.    <sup>m</sup> Idem, l. xvii. p. 103.    <sup>n</sup> Idem, l. xvi. p. 86.    <sup>o</sup> AUR. VICT. p. 528.    <sup>p</sup> THEMIST. orat. p. 57.

(Q) *Zosimus* writes, that sixty thousand of the enemy were killed on the spot, and an equal number drowned; but he must have been misled by bad memoirs, which makes us question the truth of what he adds; to wit, that, after the battle, *Julian* obliged six hundred of his horiemen, who had fled, to appear before the whole army in the apparel of women (5). The battle of *Strasbourg* is famous in history. *Julian* himself styles it a successful action, which restored *Gaul* to its antient liberty (6). *Mamertinus* says, that, by this single battle, the war was ended, and *Germany* ruined (7). It is at least certain, that the barbarians were intirely driven out of *Gaul*. This memorable battle was fought in the plains near *Strasbourg*, when the corn was ripe, and the moon in the last quarter (8).

(5) *Zof.* l. iii. p. 704.    (6) *Ammian.* l. xx. p. 160.    (7) *Panegy.* xi. p. 223.    (8) *Ammian.* l. xvi. p. 78.

the river, and entered *Germany*, having with difficulty prevailed upon his army to follow him. The *Germans*, alarmed at the boldness of the young general, sent deputies to sue for peace, and almost at the same time others to threaten him and his army with immediate destruction, if they did not forthwith retire; but the brave commander, despising their menaces, continued ravaging their country till after the equinox; and then the snow preventing him from advancing farther, he began to repair the fort of *Trajan*, which some take to be the castle of *Cromburgh*, about three or four leagues from *Frankfort*. This undertaking alarmed the enemy to such a degree, that they sent new deputies to sue for peace, which they could not obtain upon any terms; but a truce was granted them for ten months, upon their promising to store with provisions the fort which was building in their country, in order to curb and awe them<sup>1</sup>.

AFTER this, he returned to *Gaul* with a great number of captives; but being informed on his march, that some *Franks*, having ravaged the country about *Rheims* during his absence, had shut themselves up in two castles on the *Meuse*, he marched against them, and obliged them to surrender, after they had defended themselves with great bravery for the space of fifty-four days; that is, the greatest part of *December*, and all *February*. The prisoners were all sent to the emperor, who incorporated them among his troops. *Julian*, having thus ended this long and glorious campaign, put his troops into winter-quarters, and took up his own in *Paris*, which we find about this time first mentioned in history. It was then only a castle situated on the island formed by the *Seyne*, which is now but a very small part of that great metropolis<sup>2</sup>. This year the emperor enacted a law, dated the third of *July*, commanding the effects of those to be confiscated, who should renounce the *Christian* to embrace the *Jewish* religion; by another he obliges all senators to reside at *Rome*, or in the neighbourhood, many of them having retired from that metropolis, and settled in *Achaia*, *Macedon*, and the other provinces of *Illyricum*, on account of the great expences attending that dignity at *Rome*. By a third, addressed to *Felix* bishop of *Rome*, he exempts all merchandizing ecclesiastics, their wives, children, and domestics, from every imposition, whether ordinary or extraordinary, supposing the gains they made to be applied by them to the relief of the poor.

*Julian obliges some Franks to surrender, and sends them to the emperor.*

*Some laws of Constantius.*

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. p. 88. LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 277. p. 240. in fol.

<sup>2</sup> AMMIAN.

Embassies  
from Sapor  
to Constantius,  
and  
from Constantius  
to Sapor.

THE next consuls were *Cerealis*, uncle to *Gallus Cæsar* on the mother's side, and *Datianus*, who, though of a mean descent, bore the title of *comes* in 349. and was afterwards raised to the rank of a patrician<sup>s</sup>. We have observed above, that the *Persian* general *Tamsapor* had been persuaded by *Musonianus*, prefect of the East, to write to his master about renewing the antient treaties with the *Romans*; but as *Sapor* had not only concluded a peace with the *Chionitæ*, but entered into an alliance with them, before *Tamsapor's* letters came to his hands, in answer to the proposals transmitted to him by that general, he wrote a haughty letter to *Constantius*, which he sent by one *Narses*, with presents for the emperor. The contents of the letter were, that he might lawfully insist upon the emperor's yielding to him all the countries beyond the river *Strymon* in *Macedon*; but, lest his demands should seem unreasonable, he would be satisfied with *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia*, which, with the utmost injustice, had been taken from his grandfather *Narses*. He added, that, unless they were restored, he was determined to do himself justice, and try whether he could recover them by force of arms. In this letter *Sapor* stiled himself *king of kings, brother of the sun and moon, &c.* *Narses*, who was charged to deliver it to the emperor, arrived at *Antioch* about the end of the preceding year, where *Themistius* saw him; and, after having rested some time there, pursued his journey to *Constantinople*, which he entered with great pomp on the twenty-third of *February* of the present year 358. From *Constantinople* he repaired to *Sirmium*, where the emperor then was; and, in a public audience, presented to him *Sapor's* letter, wrapped up in a piece of white silk. *Constantius*, without entering into any negotiation with him, wrote back to *Sapor*, that as he had maintained the *Roman* dominions in their full extent while he was possessed only of the East, he could not suffer them to be curtailed now that he was master of the whole empire. He added, that he was ready and desirous to conclude a peace with the *Persian* monarch, provided it were upon honourable terms. With this letter he dismissed *Narses*; but a few days after sent a solemn embassy into *Persia*, with letters and presents for the king, being desirous, at least, to put off the war till he had secured the northern provinces against the incursions of the barbarians, that he might employ all the forces of the empire against so powerful and formidable an enemy. The *Roman* ambassadors found *Sapor* at *Ctesiphon*; but, not being able to prevail upon him to

<sup>s</sup> PHILOSTORGE. l. viii. c. 8. p. 113. Cod. Theod. tit. 4. p. 8.

abate any thing of his demands, they returned about the twenty-fourth of *August*. Count *Lucilianus*, and *Procopius*, who usurped the sovereignty in the reign of *Valens*, were sent to the *Persian* court soon after, to amuse that warlike prince with new proposals ; but he, instead of hearkening to them, kept the ambassadors some time under close confinement, threatening to treat them as spies ; but in the end dismissed them unhurt<sup>1</sup>.

WHILE the emperor resided at *Sirmium*, the *Quadi* and *The Quadi* *Sarmatians* broke into *Pannonia* and *Mœsia* ; and the *Futhunges*, and *Sarmatians* a German nation, into *Rhætia*. The latter were defeated and driven back by *Barbatio* ; but the emperor marched in person against the former soon after the vernal equinox ; and having crossed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, laid waste the territories of the *Sarmatians*, who thereupon came in great numbers, with the *Quadi*, pretending to sue for peace ; but their true design was to surprise the *Romans*, who, suspecting it, fell upon them sword in hand, and cut them all to a man in pieces. This obliged the rest to sue for peace in good earnest ; which they obtained<sup>2</sup>, upon their setting at liberty the prisoners they had taken, and delivering up hostages<sup>3</sup>. The emperor then marched against the *Limigantes*, that is, those slaves, who, in 334. had driven the *Sarmatians* out of their country, and seized it for themselves, as we have related elsewhere. They too had made frequent inroads into the *Roman* territories ; but, upon the approach of the army, came in great numbers to meet the emperor, pretending to submit ; but prepared to fall upon him unexpectedly, if an opportunity offered. The emperor, observing their surly looks, and distrusting them, ascended his tribunal, attended by the chief officers of the army, and his guards, in order to acquaint them with his pleasure. While he was speaking to them, his troops, pursuant to their private orders, insensibly surrounded them on all sides. When the emperor had done, the *Limigantes*, dissatisfied with the conditions he had offered them, laid their hands on their swords ; which being observed by the *Romans*, who watched all their motions, they fell upon them at once, and began the slaughter. The *Limigantes*, finding it impossible to make their escape, made with great fury towards the tribunal ; but were repulsed by the guards forming themselves into the shape of a wedge, and all to a man cut in pieces, not one of them deigning to ask quarter. After this, the *Ro-*

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 68. & l. xvii. p. 94. THEMIST. orat. iv. p. 57. ZONAR. p. 17. PETR. legat. p. 28. <sup>2</sup> AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 103, 104.



*The Limigantes driven out by him, and the country restored to the Sarmatians.* mans entering their country on one side, and the *Sarmatians*, their antient masters, with the *Taisfals*, on the other, and destroying all with fire and sword, they were obliged in the end to comply with the only condition the emperor offered them; which was, to quit their country, and remove to a more distant place, that they might not be tempted to infest the empire anew. *Constantius* restored the country to the *Sarmatians*, its antient owners, twenty-four years after they had been driven from it; appointed one of their nation, by name *Zizais*, to rule over them with the title of king; and declared them a free people<sup>w</sup>. For these exploits the army saluted *Constantius* with the surname of *Sarmaticus*, who soon after, that is, about the end of *October*, returned to *Sirmium*, which he entered in triumph, and put his troops into winter-quarters<sup>x</sup>.

*Julian marches against the Franks.*

In the mean time *Julian*, having spent the first months of this year at *Paris*, in regulating the taxes paid by the province, so as to find the necessary supplies, without laying any new burdens on the people, already quite drained and exhausted, took the field as soon as the season was fit for action, with a design to conquer the *Franks*, before the truce which he had granted to the *Alemans* was expired. The *Franks* were at this time divided into several tribes or clans; but the most powerful among them was that of the *Salii*, who, being driven by the *Saxons*, according to *Zosimus*<sup>y</sup>, from the lands they possessed in *Germany*, had settled in *Batavia*, that is, in the islands formed by the several branches of the *Rhine*, and in *Toxandria*, which country began, according to the best modern geographers, about a league from *Maestricht*, and extended about twenty leagues along the *Meuse*, where stand at present the cities of *Boisseduc*, *Breda*, and *Antwerp*<sup>z</sup>. Against these *Franks* *Julian* marched first, and was already arrived at *Tongres*, when he met their deputies on their journey to *Paris*, where they supposed they should find him. They had been sent to beg he would suffer them to remain as friends in the country which they possessed. *Julian*, upon some difficulties which he started, sent them back for more particular instructions. They imagined, that he designed to wait their return at *Tongres*; but they were no sooner gone, than he followed them; and having entered their country, and obliged them to submit, he allotted them lands in *Gaul*, and incorporated great numbers of them into his cavalry<sup>a</sup>. He then marched against the *Chamavi*, another nation of *Franks*, who

<sup>w</sup> AMMIAN. l. xvii. p. 106—112.

<sup>x</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>y</sup> Zos.

l. iii. p. 707.

<sup>z</sup> Notit. Gall. p. 558.

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. p. 99.

JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 514.

had settled in *Gaul*; and having overcome them in battle, and taken many of them prisoners, he obliged them to retire beyond the *Rhine*; whence they sent deputies to sue for peace, which he granted them upon such terms as he thought fit to prescribe. Having thus reduced the *Salii* and *Chamavi*, he rebuilt three forts on the *Meuse*, which the barbarians had demolished; but wanting provisions in a country so often ravaged by the enemy, to store them, to supply his army, and to maintain the many captives, whom he had obliged the enemy to set at liberty, he ordered six, or eight hundred vessels, as we read in *Zosimus*, to be built in *Britain*, for the conveying of corn from thence into *Gaul*.

*JULIAN* continued in the country of the *Chamavi*, till the truce he had granted to the *Alemans* was expired; and then laying a bridge of boats over the *Rhine*, he entered their country, putting all to fire and sword. Hereupon two of their kings, *Suomarius* and *Hortarius*, came in person to him, and obtained a peace, upon their promising to set at liberty all the captives they had taken, to supply a certain quantity of corn when required, and to furnish wood, iron, and carriages, for the repairing of the cities which they had ruined. The prisoners, whom he rescued out of the hands of the barbarians during this campaign, amounted to twenty thousand, and upwards<sup>b</sup>. The campaign being thus ended, he put his troops into winter-quarters; but we are not told where he took up his own (R). This year the emperor enacted a law, dated the

*He obliges the Alemans to sue for peace.*

<sup>b</sup> *JULIAN. ibid. AMMIAN. p. 102. LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 280. Zos. p. 70.*

(R) This year, on the twenty-fourth of *August*, about six in the morning, a most dreadful earthquake was felt in *Asia*, *Pontus*, and *Macedon*, which greatly damaged an hundred and fifty cities, and utterly ruined that of *Nicomedia*, where it was so sudden and violent, that all the houses were overturned at once, and the inhabitants to a man buried in the ruins. This calamity is described at large by *Ammianus* (9), by *Gregory of Nyssa* (1),

*Ephrem of Edessa*, who wrote an elegy on that subject (2), and *Libanius*, who bemoaned in an oration the destruction of a city, which he styles the fifth of the empire for greatness, and inferior to none in beauty (3). When *Julian* passed that way in 362, he could not refrain his tears, in comparing the condition it was in then, with that in which he had formerly seen it (4). *Aristænetus*, who resided there in quality of vicar, *Cecrops* bishop of

(9) *Ammian. p. 97.*

(1) *Greg. Nyss. p. 75,*

(2) *Marc. chron. p. 66.*

(3) *Liban. orat. viii. p. 223.*

(4) *Ammian. l. xiii. p. 219.*

*A law a-* the thirteenth of *July*, and addressed to *Taurus*, prefect of  
*gainst ma-* *Italy*, declaring all magicians, astrologers, augurs, aruspices,  
*gicians,* and pretenders to the art of divination, enemies to man-  
*augurs,* kind; and such of them as shall be found in the prince's  
*&c.* court, guilty of treason, as giving the world occasion to  
believe, that he suffers or countenances them. By the same  
law he orders the latter, whether discovered in his own palace,  
or in that of *Julian*, to be put to the rack, if they deny the  
charge; and specifies the various kinds of tortures which he  
will have them to undergo, without any regard to their rank  
or quality<sup>c</sup>. Authors think, that, by this law, the emperor  
meant to drive these impostors from the court of *Julian*, who  
was suspected of privately favouring them, and giving credit  
to their predictions<sup>d</sup>.

*Julian*  
*obliges se-*  
*veral Ger-*  
*man na-*  
*tions to sue*  
*for peace.*

THE following year 359. the two brothers *Eusebius* and  
*Hypatius* were consuls, being raised to that dignity by the em-  
press *Eusebia* their sister<sup>e</sup>. *Ammianus* begins his history of  
this year with the exploits of *Julian* in *Gaul*, where he was  
busied in erecting magazines, in visiting the cities which had  
suffered most by the inroads of the barbarians, and giving pro-  
per orders for the rebuilding of their walls, and repairing  
their fortifications. After this, he assembled all his forces at  
*Mentz*, and passing the *Rhine* on a bridge of boats, entered  
*Germany*, and advanced as far as a place or country called  
*Pallas*, where the territories of the *Alemans* and *Burgundians*  
ended, pillaging and laying waste their country far and wide.  
There he was met by two kings, *Macrianus* and *Hariobaudus*,  
who were brothers, come in person to submit to *Julian*, who  
granted them a peace, as he did soon after to three other  
kings, *Urias*, *Urfcinus*, and *Vestralpus*, upon their promising  
to deliver up all the prisoners they had taken, and to furnish  
a certain quantity of corn when required. After this, *Julian*  
left *Germany*, and, as the season was already far advanced, he  
put his troops into winter-quarters, and retired himself to  
*Paris*<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 16. leg. 6. p. 124, 125.  
BARON. ad ann. 358. <sup>e</sup> AMMIAN. l. xviii. p. 113.  
ibid. & l. xx. p. 154.

<sup>d</sup> Vide

<sup>f</sup> Idem

the place, and another bishop, church, which was a magnificent  
perished with the rest; but not structure, and had been built by  
in the church, nor with many *Constantine* about the year 330.  
bishops, as the pagans gave out, underwent the same fate with the  
to insult the Christians (5). The other edifices (6).

(5) SOZ. l. iv. c. 16. p. 559.

(6) PHILOST. l. iv. c. 10. p. 70.

To return to *Constantius*: That prince, having intercepted a letter to *Barbatio* from his wife *Affyria*, giving him some hopes of being raised one day to the sovereignty, ordered them both to be executed. Many innocent persons were involved in their ruin, and put to death, as privy to their designs. A tribune, by name *Valentine*, was several times racked in a most inhuman manner; but, as he constantly denied the charge, the emperor, convinced in the end of his innocence, to make him some amends, gave him the command of the troops in *Illyricum* \*. Before the end of the winter, the emperor received intelligence, that the *Limigantes*, quitting the country in which they had been placed by him the preceding year, were advancing towards the borders of the empire. Hereupon, leaving *Sirmium* early in the spring, he hastened to the banks of the *Danube*, to prevent them from crossing that river, and invading *Pannonia*. Upon his arrival he sent deputies to them, desiring to know what had induced them to abandon the country which had been allotted to them. The *Limigantes* answered, in appearance, with the greatest submission imaginable, that they were willing to live as true subjects of the empire, in what part soever the emperor should think fit to place them; but that the country which they had abandoned, was altogether uninhabitable, as they were ready to demonstrate, if the emperor would give them leave to cross the river, and lay their complaints before him. *Constantius*, pleased with their proposal, granted them their request, and received them in the neighbourhood of *Acumincum*, which most geographers take to be the present town of *Kamanex* on the *Danube*, near *Peterwaradin*, in the territory of *Sirmium*. But while he was ascending his tribunal, they unexpectedly fell upon his guards sword in hand, and would have killed the emperor himself, had he not with difficulty saved himself by flight. Several of his guards were slain; but in the mean time the rest of the troops, taking the alarm, flew to arms, surrounded the *Limigantes*, and cut them all to a man in pieces <sup>h</sup>. *Constantius* then returned to *Sirmium*, where he was on the twenty-second of May, this year the eve of *Pentecost*; but soon after set out from thence for *Constantinople*; for he was on the eighteenth of June at *Singidunum* in *Mæsia* <sup>i</sup>. He passed the remaining part

Year of the flood  
2809.  
Of Christ  
359.  
Of Rome  
1157.  
Barbatio  
and several others  
executed.  
The  
treachery  
of the Limigantes.

\* AMMIAN. l. xviii. p. 118.  
Theod. chronol. p. 59.

<sup>h</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>i</sup> Cód.

of this year at *Constantinople*, ready to march, upon the first advice, against the *Persians* (S).

THIS year the emperor dispatched into the East the secretary *Paulus Catena*, famous for his cruelty, to prosecute several persons accused of having consulted the oracle of an idol named *Besa* in the city of *Abydos*, on the most distant borders of *Egypt*. *Modestus*, then count of the East, and afterwards prefect, was appointed to judge the criminals, *Hermogenes*, who had succeeded *Musonianus* in the office of prefect, being thought unfit for that commission, on account of his mild and compassionate temper. *Modestus* established his tribunal at *Scythopolis* in *Palæstine*, whither persons of both sexes, and of every rank and condition, were daily dragged in crouds from all parts, and either confined to dungeons, or torn to pieces in a most cruel and barbarous manner on the rack, or publicly executed. *Ammianus* gives us a most frightful idea of this inquisition, as we may call it; but at the same time owns, that several persons were cleared, and others punished with far less severity than was expected<sup>k</sup>. *Parnasus*, who had been governor of *Egypt*, was condemned to lose his head, for having consulted an astrologer, by means of *Aristophanes*; but *Modestus* softened the rigour of the sentence, and only sent him into banishment; as he did *Simplicius* the son of *Philippus*, who had been prefect, and consul in 348. though accused of aspiring to the empire. The latter was only banished from his own country; nor would *Modestus* suffer him to be racked, though he had positive orders for it from the emperor. As for *Aristophanes*, he was, by the order of *Paulus*, whom he had provoked with his freedom of speech, beaten with balls of lead fastened to cords, till he was ready to expire; when *Modestus*, pitying him, ordered the executioner to forbear, and sent *Aristophanes* into banishment. *Demetrius*, surnamed *Cythræas*, a philosopher, advanced in years, being convicted of having sacrificed to the idols, was tortured with great cruelty

Several persons condemned for consulting an oracle.

<sup>k</sup> AMMIAN. l. xx. p. 150, 151.

(S) During his stay in that metropolis, he distinguished it with a prefect or governor; an honour, till this time, peculiar to Rome. The first prefect of *Constantinople* was *Honoratus*, vested with that dignity on the eleventh of December, according to *Idatius*, or of September, as we read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*. He had before been prefect of *Gaul* (7).

(7) Cod. Theod. chronol. p. 59. Socrat. l. ii. c. 37. p. 139. Soz. l. iv. c. 23. Chron. Alex. p. 682.

for many hours; but afterwards suffered by *Modestus* to return to *Alexandria* his native city. *Parnasus*, and the rest, excepting *Aristophanes*, who had been banished on this occasion, were recalled three years after, and pardoned<sup>1</sup>.

IN the mean while *Sapor* king of *Persia* was encouraged *The Persians begin hostilities.* and pressed to begin hostilities by an officer of *Constantius*, named *Antoninus*, who, finding his affairs ruined at home, had fled to the court of *Persia*, hoping to make his fortune there, and brought with him an exact account of the state of the empire, and all its forces. At the same time *Eusebius* the eunuch, who had been long contriving the ruin of *Ursicinus*, as the only person who was independent of him, and scorned his support, persuaded the emperor to remove him, as a person not to be trusted, from the command of the troops in the East, and to appoint in his room *Sabinianus*, a decrepit old man, possessed of immense wealth, but every way unfit for that employment. This change was no sooner known at the *Persian* court, than *Antoninus*, who was well acquainted with the character of *Sabinianus*, pressed *Sapor* anew to begin the war without delay, advising him to march strait to the *Euphrates*, without losing time in besieging towns, to cross that river, and enter *Syria*, which he might easily reduce, while defended by so unfit a commander. The *Persian*, approving the scheme, began to assemble his troops from all quarters, in order to put it in execution. This alarmed *Constantius*, who immediately ordered *Ursicinus* to hasten back into *Syria*, with the character of general of the foot, in the room of *Barbatio* lately beheaded; but without any authority, or even troops under his command. This too was a malicious contrivance of *Eusebius*, and the other eunuchs, that, if the mighty designs of the *Persians* were defeated, *Sabinianus* might have the honour of it; but, if they were attended with success, *Ursicinus* might bear the whole blame.

THAT brave commander had no sooner reached *Syria*, than he was informed, that the enemy's vanguard had already passed the *Tigris*. Upon this intelligence he hastened into *Mesopotamia*, to give the necessary orders there, in case the enemy should attack the city of *Nisibis*. From *Nisibis* he flew to *Amida*, another city in the same country; and, though he traveled in the night-time, he narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands, whose parties were spread all over the country. From *Amida* he sent *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the historian, to reconnoitre the enemy, who, upon his return, informed him, *Ursicinus enters Mesopotamia.*

<sup>1</sup> Idem. p. 154.

Wise pre-  
cautions  
taken by  
Urfcinus.

that to him they seemed at least an hundred thousand strong ; that they had already passed *Nineve* in the province of *Adiabene*, and were arrived at the bridge of the *Anxabas*, a river in *Assyria*. Hereupon *Urfcinus* dispatched orders to *Cassianus*, duke of *Mesopotamia*, and to *Euphronius*, governor of the province, to warn the inhabitants to withdraw with their effects into places of safety; to abandon *Charrhæ*, which was an open city; and to set fire to the forage, and likewise to the corn, though already ripe, that the enemy might find no subsistence, either for themselves or their horses, between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*. At the same time he took care to fortify the banks of the *Euphrates* with forts and palisades, supplying the former with warlike engines of all kinds. These wise precautions having obliged *Sapor* to lay aside his design of marching strait to the *Euphrates*, he turned to the left, and took his route, pursuant to the advice of *Antoninus*, by the foot of the mountains which part *Mesopotamia* from *Armenia*, not doubting but he should find there plenty of forage, and the *Euphrates* fordable nearer its head. *Urfcinus*, apprised of his design, immediately left *Amida*, to give the necessary orders on that side likewise; but, being surrounded by one of the enemy's parties, he narrowly escaped falling into their hands. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the historian, was pursued as far as *Amida*; which place was invested a few days after by *Sapor's* whole army, in which served several princes of different nations, and among the rest the king of *Albania*, and *Grumbates*, king of the *Chionitæ*, a prince renowned for his valour and conquests. The *Persian* took on his march to *Amida* two *Roman* forts, *Reman* and *Busan*, the soldiers who garisoned them, opening the gates to him upon the first summons, tho' they were both places of great strength, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring country had retired to them with all their effects. In both the forts *Sapor* found some virgins, consecrated, to use the expression of *Ammianus*, to the worship of God, according to the discipline of the Christians; and was so far from offering them any injury, that, on the contrary, he enjoined his soldiers not to interrupt or disturb them in their usual exercises of piety, hoping, by that gentle treatment, to remove the prejudice, which his former cruelties had begotten in the minds of the neighbouring people<sup>m</sup>.

Sapor  
takes two  
Roman  
forts.

He appeared before *Amida*, not with a design to besiege the place, but only to sound the disposition of the garison, and, in case they refused to submit, to pursue his march

<sup>m</sup> AMMIAN. l. xviii. p. 124—132.

into *Syria*, agreeable to the plan suggested by *Antoninus*. But the *Romans* having discharged against him, as he approached the walls to shew himself in all his pomp and majesty, a shower of darts, arrows, and javelins, one of which pierced his royal robes, and another laid the son of *Grumbates*, a youth of great expectation, dead at his father's feet, he was so transported with rage, that, laying aside his former scheme, he resolved; at all adventures, to revenge the affront offered to himself, and the death of the young prince, with the utter destruction of *He lays* the city, and a general massacre of all its inhabitants (T). *He lays* *Armida,* Never was place assaulted with more fury, nor defended with more vigour, resolution, and intrepidity; but in the end most of the garison being killed, and those who survived quite spent with labour and watching, the walls being in several places levelled with the ground, and the ditches filled up with dead bodies, the *Persians* made a last effort, and entered the town which, after a long sword in hand, after having lain seventy-five days before it, and lost, during that time, thirty thousand men, and upwards. *and vigorous resistance, is taken and raised.* The city was rased, the chief officers crucified, and the rest, with the soldiers and inhabitants, either put to the sword, or carried into captivity, except our historian, and two or three more, who, in the dead of the night, escaped through a postern not observed by the enemy. As for *Sapor*, the summer being already far spent, and his army greatly fatigued, he thought it adviseable to return to his dominions, having but little to boast of this expedition, which cost him the lives of so many men, and prevented him from pursuing the advantageous designs suggested to him by *Antoninus*. *Sabinianus* was busied, during the whole time of the siege, in exercising his men near *Edeffa*. *Ursicinus* was continually pressing him to take the field, and harass, at least the enemy, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their convoys; which he might have easily done, and by that means diverted them from pursuing the siege with so much vigour, and perhaps obliged them to raise it. But *Sabinianus* returned no other answer, than that his instructions were not to expose the army to any danger. He is supposed to have had likewise private instructions from *Eusebius*, the favourite eunuch, his patron, to give *Ursicinus*

<sup>a</sup> Idem, p. 144—146.

<sup>o</sup> Idem, p. 127.

(T) The reader will find a very particular and distinct account of this memorable siege in *Ammianus*, who was shut up in the town, and an eye-witness of all that passed both within and without the walls.



no opportunity of performing any thing that might redound to his honour <sup>p</sup>. Thus was that great officer obliged to continue inactive, and see, with the utmost regret, one of the strongest cities in the East reduced, and so many brave men fall unre-  
vehged. *Ammianus*, after his escape from *Amida*, found him at *Miletene*, in the *Lesser Armenia*, on his way to *Antioch*, whither he followed him soon after.

*Urficinus*  
*accused at*  
*court; but*  
*found inno-*  
*cent.*

FROM *Antioch* *Urficinus* repaired to court, where he was, to his great surprize, charged with the loss of *Amida*, and all the wrong steps taken during that unhappy campaign. *Arbetio* and *Florentius*, two of *Eusebius*'s creatures, were appointed by the emperor to inquire into his conduct, and examine by whose fault *Amida* was lost. These two judges, however partial and corrupt, could not lay the blame on *Urficinus*; but, on the other hand, not caring, through fear of offending *Eusebius*, to expose *Sabinianus*, ended their inquiries, without clearing, as they were in justice bound to do, the former, or condemning the latter. *Urficinus*, highly provoked at such proceedings, appealed to the emperor, who, he said, would not fail to punish, with due severity, the authors, whoever they were, of the late miscarriages. In the transport of his passion, he let drop the following unguarded expression, viz. *That the emperor himself, though he marched into Mesopotamia the next spring at the head of his army, would not be able to protect that country, so long as he was thus governed by eunuchs*. This being carried immediately to the emperor, as it generally happens in courts, with malicious aggravations, *Constantius*, without any further inquiry, ordered that brave and loyal officer to retire to his native country, after having divested him of his employment, and given it to one *Agilo* a German, who, in 354. had been *tribunus stabuli*, which answers our master of the horse <sup>q</sup>. Thus was this weak and deluded prince induced to deprive himself, and the empire, which lay at stake, at so critical a conjuncture, of the skill, counsels, and experience of the best officer of the age, to gratify the avarice, ambition, and revenge of a wicked courtier, sacrificing to his private ends the public interest, and the welfare and glory both of his prince and country.

*He is dis-*  
*graced.*

*The Persians make*  
*themselves*  
*masters of*  
*several* THE following year, *Constantius* being consul the tenth time, and *Julian* the third, *Sapor* entering *Mesopotamia* early in the spring, took by assault *Singara*, a town of considerable strength, and carried both the garison and inhabitants into captivity. Then leaving *Nisibis*, where great part of the Ro-

<sup>p</sup> AMMIAN. l. xviii. p. 127. & l. xix. p. 136.  
p. 144. 145. & l. xiv. p. 24.

<sup>q</sup> Idem,

man army lay encamped, on the left, he took his route towards *places in Bezabde*, called also *Phœnicia*, a strong town on the *Tigris*. *Mesopotamia*. After several attacks, in which great numbers fell on both sides, the bishop of the place went out to exhort the king to withdraw, and put an end to so destructive a war; but *Sapor*, without returning him any answer, pursued the siege, made himself master of the place, put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and reduced the rest, with the bishop, and all his clergy, to slavery. Some suspected the bishop, named, as we are told, *Heliodorus*, of secretly favouring the *Persians*; but *Ammianus* clears him of this charge. *Sapor* did not demolish *Bezabde*, as he had done *Singara*; but repaired the fortifications, and leaving a garison in it, led his army against *Virta*, or *Birtha*, on the most distant borders of *Mesopotamia*; but not being able to reduce it, after several unsuccessful attacks, he raised the siege, and retired to his own dominions, without engaging in any other enterprize this campaign. While *Sapor* was thus, by degrees, reducing *Mesopotamia*, *Constantius* was still at *Constantinople*, raising new troops, and soliciting the *Goths* and other barbarians to join him. At length he left that metropolis, when the spring was already far advanced, and set out for *Syria*. Upon his arrival at *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, he was met by deputies sent to him by *Julian*, who had been declared emperor at *Paris*, as we shall relate presently. He was thunderstruck with these news, and long in suspense, whether he should march against *Julian* or *Sapor*; but was in the end persuaded to pursue his march into the East. Leaving therefore *Cappadocia*, he advanced to *Miletene* in the *Lesser Armenia*, passed the *Euphrates* at *Samosata* in *Syria*, and arrived at *Edeßa* in *Mesopotamia*, where he was obliged to wait the coming of his troops, and the warlike engines, till after the autumnal equinox, when he pursued his march to *Amida*, which he could not behold, buried, as it was, in its ruins, without shedding many tears. From *Amida* he continued his route to *Bezabde*, with a design to retake that place; but, being in several assaults repulsed by the *Persian* garison, he resolved to reduce it by famine, which he might have done, the *Persian* army being long before dispersed, and, according to custom, returned to their respective homes, had not the heavy rains, and severe weather, obliged him to drop the enterprize, and retire to *Antioch*, which he did not reach before the end of the year; for, on the seventeenth of *December*, he was at *Hierapolis* in *Euphratesiana*.

Constantius  
marches  
into Meso-  
potamia.

Menæa, 9 Apr. p. 76. AMMIAN. l. xx. p. 165. Cod. Theod. p. 60. AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 185. & l. xx. p. 170---177.

*The Scots  
and Picts  
break into  
the Roman  
territories.*

WE shall now return to *Julian*, whom we left the preceding year in his quarters at *Paris*, where he was informed in the beginning of the winter, that the *Picts* and *Caledonians*, about this time first distinguished in history by the name of *Scoti* or *Scots*, had broken into the *Roman* province, and committed dreadful ravages there. Upon this intelligence, he sent his lieutenant *Lupicinus*, who had succeeded *Severus* in that post, with some troops into *Britain*. *Lupicinus* set sail from *Boulogne* in the depth of winter, and in a few days reached *London*, where he landed his forces <sup>u</sup>. But of this expedition we find no farther account in history : and indeed *Lupicinus*, tho' he was an officer of great bravery and experience in war, had not time to perform any remarkable exploits, being recalled soon after, as we shall relate presently. In the mean while

*The emperor  
sends  
for part of  
Julian's  
army.*

*Constantius*, wholly intent upon assembling a mighty army for his intended expedition against the *Persians*, sent *Decentius*, one of his secretaries, into *Gaul*, to bring from thence all the *Batauvians*, and other auxiliaries, with three hundred men chosen out of each corps serving under *Julian*, that is, the flower of that prince's army. The emperor's orders were not addressed to *Julian*, to whom he only wrote, warning him not to oppose them ; but to his lieutenant *Lupicinus*, and to *Gentius*, or, as others call him, *Sintula*, his *tribunus stabuli*, or master of the horse (U). *Julian* found himself reduced, by the above-mentioned order, to the unhappy dilemma, either of falling a sacrifice to the resentment of the emperor, if he refused to comply with it ; or perishing by the arms of the barbarians, if he obeyed it ; being well apprised, that they, unmindful of their promises and treaties, would be tempted to break into *Gaul*, as soon as they saw that province destitute of troops to defend it.

In this dangerous situation, he resolved, without hesitating a single moment, to obey, but at the same time to abdicate the dignity of *Cæsar*, that he might not be charged with the loss of *Gaul*. He thought himself however bound to acquaint

<sup>u</sup> AMMIAN. l. xx. p. 154.

(U) Most writers are of opinion, that the emperor took this resolution, rather with a design to weaken *Julian*, than to strengthen himself ; for he began to be jealous of that prince's glory, and apprehensive of his power. The common report was, that the emperor was induced to take this step by private letters from *Florentius*, at that time prefect of *Gaul*, and in his heart a great enemy to *Julian* (8).

(8) *Amman. l. xx. p. 157, 158.*

*Decentius,*

*Decentius*, that the auxiliaries raised in *Gaul* and *Germany* had entered into the service, upon condition of their not being obliged to pass the *Alps*; and that the violation of this article, always insisted upon by the people beyond the *Rhine*, might prevent their lifting themselves for the future. But *Decentius* giving no ear to his just remonstrances, he submitted to the emperor's will without reply. As *Lupicinus*, to whom the emperor's orders were addressed, was absent in *Britain*, *Decentius* himself chose all the best men of each corps, not excepting *Julian's* own guards; which was no sooner done, than *Julian* wrote to their respective commanders, injoining them to quit their winter-quarters, and begin their march without delay. This order threw all *Gaul* into the utmost confusion; nothing was heard but complaints, outcries, and lamentations, as if the barbarians had already entered the province: several libels against *Constantius*, and in commendation of *Julian*, were privately handed about, and dispersed among the soldiery. *Ammianus* mentions one, in which the soldiers complained of their being banished to the most remote parts of the earth, while their wives, children, and relations, were carried into captivity by the barbarians. To obviate this complaint, *Julian* ordered them to carry their families with them, supplying them with public carriages for that purpose. When the troops were ready to depart, *Julian* advised *Decentius* not to suffer them to approach *Paris*, where he still was in his winter-quarters; but *Decentius*, fearing they might mutiny, if they left *Gaul* without seeing their general, led them thither to take their leave of him, which proved a very injudicious step. *Julian* received them in a most obliging manner, and encouraged them cheerfully to submit to the emperor's commands, who would not fail to reward their valour. But on the other hand, the people conjured them not to abandon a country, which they had defended with so much glory; and the soldiers shewed a strong inclination to comply with their request.

HEREUPON *Julian*, ascending the tribunal, told them, that it was not by any means lawful for them to deliberate about a thing already decided by the emperor; and upon that subject made a long discourse, which the soldiers heard with attention, and withdrew in silence. After this, *Julian* invited the chief officers to dinner, entertaining them with no less tenderness than magnificence, and desiring them, when they took leave of him, to let him know in what he could be serviceable to them. The officers, greatly concerned to part with so obliging a commander, and to quit their country, returned in

*Julian complies with the emperor's orders.*

*The soldiers unwilling to leave him.*

the

the utmost affliction to their quarters <sup>w</sup>. However, they continued all quiet till about sun-set, when the soldiers, stirred up, according to *Zosimus* <sup>x</sup>, by libels dispersed underhand among them by their officers, flew all at once to arms, and hastening to the palace, surrounded it, and with a tumultuous noise proclaimed *Julian* emperor <sup>y</sup>. *Julian* calls all the gods to witness, that he had not the least knowledge of this design, nor the least suspicion of its being on foot; but was withdrawn with his wife, when he first heard himself saluted with the title of *Augustus* <sup>z</sup>. *Libanius* too assures us, that the design was not premeditated, but sudden <sup>a</sup>. *Julian*, shewing himself highly dissatisfied with the conduct of the soldiery, ordered all the gates of the palace to be kept shut; insomuch that the soldiers, eager to see him, were obliged to wait till the next morning. In the mean time, he invoked his gods, intreating them to reveal to him their will by some prodigy; and they commanded him, as we are told, to comply with the desires of the soldiery (W). As soon as day appeared, the soldiery, breaking down the gates of the palace, obliged *Julian* to shew himself, and saluted him anew with the title of *Augustus*, which he continued to reject, reminding them of their duty, and promising to prevail upon the emperor to countermand the orders which had given occasion to their complaints, mutiny, and revolt. But all was to no purpose; nay, the soldiers, well apprised that *Constantius*, notwithstanding all his promises, would, in the end, treat them as rebels, threatened *Julian* with immediate death, if he persisted any longer in declining the honour they intended to confer upon him. To these menaces he yielded, and was thereupon lifted up by the soldiers

They proclaim him emperor.

Julian rejects the title;

but is forced to accept of it.

<sup>w</sup> AMMIAN. l. xx. p. 169. LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 283. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 518, 519. <sup>x</sup> ZOS. l. iii. p. 710. <sup>y</sup> AMMIAN. l. xix. p. 159. LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 284. <sup>z</sup> JULIAN. orat. xii. p. 284. <sup>a</sup> LIBAN. orat. x. p. 241.

(W) *Ammianus* writes, that *Julian* told his friends in confidence, that a spectre appeared to him that very night, representing the genius of the empire, as it was painted in those days, and disappeared, after having uttered these words, *I am come to stay with you, but only for a short*

time (9). *Eunapius* assures us, that before he accepted the sovereignty, he performed certain ceremonies in private with a pagan pontif, whom he had some time before secretly sent for out of *Greece* (1); which, in the language of that writer, imports, that he had recourse to magic.

(9) *Ammian.* p. 162.

(1) *Eunap.* c. 5. p. 76.

on shields, and shewn to the multitude, who, with loud acclamations, proclaimed him emperor, while an officer, by name *Maurus*, placed upon his head his golden collar, enriched with precious stones, instead of a diadem. When this ceremony was over, *Julian*, to animate his soldiers, promised them five pieces of gold and a pound weight of silver a man<sup>b</sup>. After this, he shut himself up in the palace, displeased and uneasy at what had happened; which gave occasion to the report of his having been murdered. This alarmed the soldiery, who immediately flew to the palace, where, to their great satisfaction, they found him, not only safe, but clad in the imperial robes<sup>c</sup>. *Libanius* writes, that the eunuch, his chamberlain, had, in reality, been bribed to murder him<sup>d</sup>; and *Julian* himself, that money had been distributed among the soldiery to corrupt them<sup>e</sup>. However that be, the soldiers, imagining he had been in danger, pressed him to put all the friends of *Constantius* to death, who had opposed his promotion; but he resolutely declared, that he would not by any means suffer the least injury to be offered to them; nay, he generously forgave the eunuch, who had attempted to take away his life<sup>f</sup>.

Year of  
the flood  
2810.  
Of Christ  
360.  
Of Rome  
1158.

*His gene-  
alogy.*

SOME troops had already begun their march towards the East; but they were no sooner informed of what had passed at *Paris*, than they returned with their leader *Sintula*, and joined the rest. *Julian*, having assembled them all in a neighbouring plain, appeared at their head with all the ensigns of majesty; and ascending the tribunal, in a very elegant and lively speech commended their valour, put them in mind of the many victories they had gained under his conduct, encouraged them to defend and protect a prince, whom they themselves had raised, and ended with assuring them, that he determined to rule with justice and moderation, and to prefer such only as were men of merit, without suffering himself to be biased by the recommendations of any person whatsoever<sup>g</sup> (X).

*His speech  
to the sol-  
diery.*

HE

<sup>b</sup> AMMIAN. p. 160. LIBAN. orat. v. p. 179. ZOS. p. 711. ZONAR. p. 18.

<sup>c</sup> JULIAN. p. 522. AMMIAN. p. 160.

<sup>d</sup> LIBAN. orat. iii. p. 285.

<sup>e</sup> JULIAN. ibid.

<sup>f</sup> Idem,

p. 522. & LIBAN. p. 285.

<sup>g</sup> AMMIAN. l. xx. p. 161, 162.

JULIAN. LIBAN. ZOS. ibid.

(X) Such is the account which *Julian* himself, and after him *Libanius*, *Ammianus*, and *Zosimus*, his admirers, or rather ad-

vers, give us of his promotion to the imperial dignity. But on the other hand, the Christian writers, namely *Gregory of Nazianzus*,

**Decentius and Florentius** H<sup>e</sup> had no sooner accepted the imperial title, than *Decentius* hastened back into the East, whither he was soon followed by the prefect *Florentius*, who, conscious to himself of his conduct towards *Julian*, and dreading his resentment, was in such haste to get out of *Gaul*, that he left his whole family behind him; but *Julian* not only gave them leave to follow him, but ordered them to be supplied for that purpose with public carriages. *Lupicinus*, *Julian's* lieutenant, an officer of great experience, courage and address, was capable of imbroiling matters; but as he was still in *Britain*, *Julian*, by ordering all the vessels on the coast to be stopped, prevented his receiving intelligence of what had passed; so that, upon his landing at *Boulogne* to execute the emperor's orders, addressed to him,

*Lupicinus* as we have related above, he was arrested by an officer sent thither for that purpose, but treated by *Julian* with the utmost humanity and good-nature<sup>b</sup>. And now *Julian*, well apprised that the emperor would be alarmed, and highly provoked, at what had happened, in order to appease his wrath, and allay his fears, wrote an obliging letter to him, which he sent by two of his chief officers, *Pentadius* and *Eutherius*. In the letter he acquainted him with what had happened, begged he would suffer him to enjoy the title which he had been forced to accept, promised to obey him, even in that station, with the same readiness and alacrity as if he were a private person, offered to send him some troops, and even to leave to him the

<sup>b</sup> AMMIAN. p. 171. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 515.

*xianxus* (2), *Philostorgius* (3), *Theodoret* (4), and *Sozomen* (5), seem to have thought him privy to the design of the soldiery; nay, *Zonaras* tells us in plain terms, that, either prompted by ambition, or apprehending in the end the doom of his brother *Galus*, he gained underhand the officers, who, by his private directions, stirred up the soldiers to threaten him as they did, that, to the eyes of the world, he might seem to have accepted the sovereignty to save his life (6). The former writers betray, no doubt, a great partiality for *Julian*, and the latter an equal prejudice against him. We shall therefore, in describing his reign and actions, impartially relate, unbiassed as we are by any favour or prejudice, what we find in writers of both parties, leaving the reader to judge, which of them deserves most credit. All authors agree, that *Julian* was raised to the imperial dignity in the year 360. tho', as to the day, we are quite at a loss: but as the troops were, at the time of his promotion, still in their winter-quarters, it must have happened in the month of *May* or *April*.

(2) *Greg. Naz.* p. 58, 67.  
*ader.* l. ii. c. 28. p. 636.

(3) *Philostorg.* l. vi. c. 5, p. 84.  
(5) *Sozomen.* p. 18.

(4) *Theodoret.* l. ii. c. 28. p. 636.  
(6) *Zonar.* p. 18.

nomination of the prefect; but at the same time he reserved to himself the creating of the other officers, and remonstrated with the greatest submission, that *Gaul* was so far from being able to spare any of its natives, that, on the contrary, it stood in need of assistance from other provinces. *Julian* not only wrote himself, but persuaded the whole army to write to the emperor, earnestly intreating him to confirm what they had done, and to agree with *Julian*, who had obliged them to take an oath not to raise any disturbances, if *Constantius* suffered him to continue in *Gaul* with the title of *Augustus*<sup>1</sup>. *Julian*, in his letter, contented himself with the title of *Cæsar*<sup>k</sup>; and he himself assures us, that, in writing to the emperor, he never assumed any other<sup>l</sup>. But to this public letter, as we may stile it, he added a private one, highly injurious and abusive, as we read in *Ammianus*; who tells us, that tho' it had been communicated to him, yet he should have thought it indecent and unbecoming to insert it in his history<sup>m</sup>.

THE deputies from *Julian* met the emperor at *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, who, upon his first reading the letter, was so transported with rage, that he drove them from his presence; and was some time in suspense, as we have said, whether he should proceed in his expedition against the *Persians*, or turn his arms against his new rival; but, upon mature deliberation, cooler counsels prevailed; and *Constantius*, dismissing the deputies without any answer, dispatched *Leonas*, his quæstor, into *Gaul*, with a letter to *Julian*, acquainting him, that he *Constantius* could not by any means approve of his usurpation, and exhorting him, as he tendered his own safety, and that of his friends, to acknowledge him to be satisfied with the title of *Cæsar*, which he still allowed *lege him* him to enjoy, but disapproved and annulled whatever else had *emperor* been done. *Leonas* soon reached *Paris*, where he was kindly received by *Julian*, to whom he delivered the emperor's letter the day after his arrival. *Julian* received it sitting on his tribunal, in the presence of the soldiery and people, whom he had assembled for that purpose, and caused it to be read aloud. When he understood, that the emperor would not by any means allow him the title of *Augustus*, addressing himself to *Leonas*, he told him, that he was willing to lay down that title, provided the soldiery consented to it; but otherwise could not, without betraying them, and exposing them to the resentment of *Constantius*. He had scarce uttered these words, when the whole assembly confirmed to him with repeated ac-

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. l. xx. p. 167. JULIAN. p. 518. ZONAR. p. 18.

\* ZONAR. *ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> JULIAN. *ibid.* p. 523.

<sup>m</sup> AMMIAN.

*ibid.* p. 169.



clamations the title they had given him, declaring, that they were determined to stand by him to the last drop of their blood. *Julian* wrote to the emperor by *Leonas*, acquainting him with the disposition of the people and soldiery, and telling him, that he could not prevail upon himself to abandon them to his resentment. Several messages and embassies passed between *Constantius* and *Julian*; the former insisting upon his abdicating the sovereignty, and the latter declining, under various pretences, to relinquish the authority with which he had been vested by the soldiery and people, but, at the same time, assuring the emperor of his good intentions and zeal for his service <sup>n</sup>.

IN the mean time, the emperor being wholly taken up with the *Persian* war in the East, *Julian*, to keep his army in action, and maintain the reputation he had acquired, passed the *Rhine* at *Tricesima*, which some take to be *Cleves*, others *Kellen*, in that neighbourhood; and falling suddenly upon the *Atthuarii*, the inhabitants of the present countries of *Cleves* and *Munster*, who had made frequent inroads into *Gaul*, laid waste their territory, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to submit to such laws as he thought fit to impose upon them. In this expedition he spent three months, and then repassing the *Rhine*, he visited all the forts on that river as far as *Basle*, recovered some places that were still held by the enemy, fortified them, and, as the year was already far spent, retired by the way of *Besangon*, which he describes in a letter <sup>o</sup>, to *Vienne*, where he took up his winter-quarters (Y).

Julian  
overcomes  
the Atthu-  
arii.

THE next consuls were, *Flavius Taurus*, prefect of *Italy*, who had presided the year before at the famous council of *Rimini*, and *Florentius*, prefect of *Gaul*, who had fled

<sup>n</sup> AMMIAN. l. xx. p. 170. LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 286. ZONAR. p. 19. <sup>o</sup> JULIAN. epist. xxxviii. p. 180.

(Y) About this time died his wife *Helena*, the sister of *Constantius*; and her body was sent to *Rome*, to be there interred near that of her sister *Constantina* (7). She is styled on most of her medals *Flavia Julia Helena*; and on some bears the title of *Augusta* (8), which we suppose her to have taken after the promotion of her husband. This year, on *Monday* the twentieth of *August*, happened a great eclipse of the sun, which began at half an hour past four in the morning, and lasted above two hours (9). *Ammianus* takes notice of it in his history (1).

(7) *Ammian.* l. xx. p. 172. & l. xxi. p. 178.  
(9) *Petavi. doctr. temp.* l. xi. c. 45. p. 373.

(8) *Byzan. famil.* p. 41.  
(4) *Ammian.* li. xx. p. 155.

from

from that province upon the promotion of *Julian*. This year *Julian*, finding *Constantius* would not hearken to any terms, began to prepare for war, being incited to it also by his magicians, who assured him of success, and encouraged by several dreams, in one of which he is said to have known, that *Constantius* was near his end, nay, that he was to die about the month of *November* <sup>p</sup> (Z). When he had made the necessary preparations for war, and was ready to march into *Italy*, and thence into the East, against *Constantius*, if he persisted in refusing him the title of emperor, advice was brought him, that the *Alemans*, and, among the rest, the subjects of *Vadomarius*, whose country lay near *Basle*, had broken into *Gaul*, on the side of *Rhætia*, and committed dreadful ravages there. *Vadomarius* pretended to have the greatest respect imaginable for *Julian*, and to be much concerned for the hostilities committed by his countrymen; but, in the mean time, *Julian* having intercepted a letter from him to *Constantius*, filled with bitter invectives against himself, found means to have him arrested at a banquet, and banished him into *Spain* <sup>q</sup>. He had already sent *Libano*, one of his commanders, with a strong detachment against the *Alemans*; but he being killed, and his men put to the rout near *Sanctio*, now *Sackingen*, in the neighbourhood of *Basle*, *Julian* advanced in person against them, passed the *Rhine*, and coming upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to restore the booty they had taken, and sue for peace; which he granted them upon his own terms <sup>r</sup> (A).  
 He reduces the Alemans; and grants them a peace.  
 IN

<sup>p</sup> *LIBAN.* orat. xii. p. 286. *AMMIAN.* l. xx. p. 179.  
<sup>q</sup> *AMMIAN.* l. xxi. p. 181. <sup>r</sup> *Idem* *ibid.*

(Z) He still made an outward profession of the Christian religion, says *Ammianus* (2), to gain the Christians to his party; tho' he had long since renounced that in his heart, and embraced the religion of the antient *Romans*; nay, the better to impose upon them, on the feast of the *Epiphany*, which was celebrated with extraordinary solemnity in the church, he publicly assisted at divine service, and offered up with the rest his solemn prayers

(3); which expression of *Ammianus* some understand of his receiving the eucharist. *Zonaras* writes, that this happened on the feast of our Saviour's nativity, which was then celebrated by the *Greeks* on the sixth of *January*; and adds, that *Julian* by this hypocrisy hoped to secure the soldiers to his party, who were for the most part Christians (4).

(A) *Libanius* assures us, that *Constantius*, had, by letters, and

(2) *Ammian.* l. xxi. p. 181.

(3) *Idem.* p. 181.

(4) *Zonar.* p. 19.

He obliges  
his soldiers  
to take an  
oath of al-  
legiance to  
himself.

He writes  
to several  
cities.

IN the mean time, *Constantius* having ordered magazines to be formed at *Briançon* in *Dauphiny*, at *Bregentz* on the lake of *Constance*, and at several other places on the *Alps*, *Julian* concluded from thence, that he was bent upon war; and resolving to be beforehand with him, he threw off the mask, and obliged his soldiers to take an oath of allegiance to him; which they did all very readily, except *Nebridius*, who had succeeded *Florentius* in the prefecture of *Gaul*. That officer frankly declared, that he would not, upon any consideration whatsoever, take an oath, which obliged him to draw his sword against his lawful sovereign. Upon this, *Julian* suffered him to retire unmolested into *Hetruria*<sup>a</sup>. The loyal, generous, and disinterested conduct of this officer deserved a better name than that of effeminacy, with which *Libanius* has been pleased to stigmatize it<sup>b</sup>. In his room, *Julian* appointed one *Germanicus* to discharge the functions of the prefect. As his thus obliging the soldiers to take an oath of allegiance to himself was openly revolting from *Constantius*, he wrote to several cities, and among the rest to *Athens*, *Lacedæmon*, and *Corinth*, acquainting them with the motives that had prompted him to take that step, being well apprised, says *Libanius*, that good princes are willing to submit their actions to the judgment of the whole world, whereas tyrants dread the least scrutiny<sup>c</sup> (B). And now *Julian*, finding he could depend upon the fidelity of his

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 181.

<sup>b</sup> Idem, p. 288.

<sup>c</sup> LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 287.

large sums, transmitted to the heads of the *German* nations, stirred them up, and encouraged them to invade *Gaul*, in order to divert *Julian* from forming other schemes (5). This, says *Ammian*, was the common report (6), and *Julian* pretended to have in his custody the very letters, and to shew both them, and others, which the emperor was supposed to have written to the barbarians in the time of *Magnentius*, animating them to invade *Gaul* (7); which greatly estranged from him the minds of

the people. However, *Ammianus* does not take upon him to affirm it; but only says, that it was a flying report (8).

(B) Of all these letters, or rather apologies, only that has reached our times, which he wrote to the *Athenians*, and a few lines of a letter which he wrote to the inhabitants of *Corinth*, when he was already master of great part of the empire. In these he pretends to have been animated by his gods to make war upon *Constantius*, and by them assured of success (9).

(5) *Liban. orat. v. p. 180.*  
*ad Athen. p. 524.*  
*Næz. orat. ix. p. 68.*

(6) *Ammian. l. xxi. p. 181.*  
*ibid.*

(7) *Jul. epit. xiii. p. 129.*

army, and resolved to pursue his designs with vigour, sent part of his forces into *Pannonia* under the conduct of *Nevita*, *Jovinus*, and *Jovius*, ordering them to take different routes, that they might seem the more numerous, and strike the greater terror into the enemy, while he, leaving *Basse*, marched through woods and by-ways into *Illyricum*. *Nevita*, *Jovinus*, and *Jovius*, had with them about twenty thousand men, but *Julian* himself only three thousand. They were all to meet at *Sirmium*, the place of the general rendezvous. Upon the first news of *Julian's* march, *Taurus*, prefect of *Italy*, and *Florentius*, whom *Constantius* had lately appointed prefect of *Illyricum*, abandoning their provinces, betook themselves to flight, and hastened to the emperor to acquaint him with the motions of *Julian*. As they were both consuls this year, *Julian* ordered them, if *Zosimus* is to be credited <sup>w</sup>, to be stigmatized in all the public acts with the name of the runaway consuls. By their flight, *Julian* became master of *Italy* without striking a blow, and likewise of *Sicily*, whither he sent some troops, with orders to keep themselves in readiness to pass over into *Africa*. The different parties, led by *Julian* and the three above-mentioned commanders, pursued their march with such expedition, that in ten or eleven days time they all arrived in the neighbourhood of *Sirmium*, which *Julian* entered in triumph; *Lucilianus*, who commanded there for *Constantius*, having been surprised the night before, and taken prisoner, by one of *Julian's* parties.

He staid but two days at *Sirmium*, being eager to make himself master of the important pass of *Sucidava*, dividing *Illyricum* from *Thrace*, which he did without meeting with the least opposition; and having left a strong garison there under the command of *Nevita*, he turned back to *Naißus*, where he seems to have continued, till news were brought him of the death of *Constantius*, assembling troops from all quarters, in order to reinforce his army before he entered *Thrace*. During his stay there, he raised *Aurelius Victor*, the historian, to the government of *Pannonia Secunda*, and wrote to the Roman senate a letter filled with bitter invectives against *Constantius*, which was ill received by the people, and is highly disapproved of by *Ammianus* himself <sup>z</sup>. While *Julian* lay at *Naißus*, without the least apprehension of an enemy at his back, two of *Constantius's* legions, and a cohort of archers, who had been ordered into *Gaul*, surprised on their march the city of *Aqui-*

<sup>w</sup> Zos. p. 712.  
254. Zos. *ibid*.

<sup>z</sup> AMMIAN. p. 190. LIBAN. orat. xi. p.

but cannot *leia*, and defended it with such vigour and resolution, that *Julian* could not by any means reduce it : they were commanded by one *Nigrinus*, who held out till two months after the emperor's death, and was even then with difficulty prevailed upon to submit to *Julian* <sup>1</sup>.

*The emperor* In the mean time, *Constantius*, being returned from *Mesopotamia* to *Antioch* in the latter end of the preceding year, as *Faustina* we have related above, married in that city, with great solemnity, *Maxima Faustina*, *Eusebia* being dead some time before. Of the parentage and qualities of this new empress, no mention is made by the antients. All we know of her is, that some time after the death of *Constantius* she was delivered of a daughter, named *Flavia Maxima Constantia*, who was afterwards married to the emperor *Gratian* <sup>2</sup>. When the public rejoicings were over, the emperor spent the remaining part of the winter in preparing for his intended expedition against the *Persians*, being resolved to end that war, or at least to secure the empire on that side, before he marched into the West against *Julian*. In the mean time *Sapor*, having assembled a mighty army, took the field, and advanced to the banks of the *Tigris*, with a design to cross that river, and pursue his march strait to the *Euphrates*. This *Constantius* no sooner understood, than he left *Antioch*; and crossing the *Euphrates*, advanced as far as *Edessa*; whence he sent part of his army, under the command of *Arbetio* and *Agilo*, to the banks of the *Tigris*, with express orders to spare the troops, and not expose them wantonly to dangers. About this time the emperor received certain intelligence, that *Julian* had already made himself master of *Illyricum*, and the important pass separating that country from *Thrace*. He was thunderstruck with these news; but the very next day, an express arrived from his generals on the banks of the *Tigris*, assuring him, that *Sapor*, frightened by unlucky omens, was marched back to his own dominions with his whole army. *Constantius*, overjoyed at these tidings, immediately left *Mesopotamia*, and returned to *Antioch*, with a design to march without delay against *Julian*, being encouraged thereunto by his army, who declared with one voice, that they were ready to sacrifice their lives in so good and honourable a cause.

*The Persians retire.*

In the mean time, he dispatched *Arbetio* with a strong detachment to the streights of *Sucidava*, where *Julian* was assembling his forces in order to invade *Thrace*, and followed him in person with the rest of his army about the latter end of

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. p. 191-195.  
Byz. fam. p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, l. xxi. p. 185. CANGE

the autumn. Upon his arrival at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, he was seized with a feverish distemper, occasioned chiefly by the uneasiness and perplexity of his mind; but believing he might get the better of it by motion and exercise, he pursued his march to *Mopsucrene*, on the borders of *Cilicia*, at the foot of mount *Taurus*; where, by the violence of his distemper, which increased daily, he was obliged to stop. In that place, all remedies proving ineffectual, he died on the third of *November*, being then in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign, reckoning from the time he had been created *Cæsar*, but only the twenty-fifth since the death of his father<sup>a</sup> (C). *Julian* no sooner received the news of his death, than he left *Illyricum*, and on the eleventh of *December* arrived at *Constantinople*, whither he caused the corpse of the deceased prince to be brought by *Jovian*, afterwards emperor, and ordered it to be interred with the usual solemnity in the church of the *Apostles*<sup>b</sup>. *Julian* himself assisted at the ceremony in his purple robes, but without the other ensigns of his dignity<sup>c</sup>.

*The emperor marches against Julian; but dies at Mopsucrene.*  
 Year of the flood 2811.  
 Of Christ 361.  
 Of Rome 1159.

As for his character, all the antients, whether Christians or pagans, paint him as a weak and vain prince: he was intirely governed by the eunuchs of the court, especially by his chamberlain *Eusebius*, over whom, however, he had, says *Ammianus*, pleasantly, some small authority<sup>d</sup>. He admitted none to his confidence, but such as were well skilled in the art of flattery; whence he had no true friends about him, but such only as, by approving and commending all his measures, studied to gain his favour, and raise themselves. He used to ascribe to himself the whole glory of victories gained by his officers, and speak of them as if he had fought in person at the head of the victorious army. The Christian writers, both *Arian* and orthodox, complain of his assuming to himself too much in ecclesiastic matters. Under him employments were not given to the most deserving men, but to such only as were

*His character.*  
*His bad qualities.*

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. p. 196. ZONAR. p. 19. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 47.

<sup>b</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 205. SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 1. p. 168. Paneg. xi. p. 213.

<sup>c</sup> LEBAN. orat. xii. p. 289. <sup>d</sup> AMMIAN. l. xviii. p. 119.

(C) It was commonly said, and believed, at least, by the Christians, that *Julian* had, with the promise of a great reward, seduced one of his courtiers, whom they do not name, to administer him poison, of which he died (1).

(1) *Greg. Naz. orat. iii. p. 68.*

best able to purchase them of the eunuchs, and other favourites; whence the unhappy people in the provinces were miserably oppressed by their governors, who made it their chief business to repay themselves, at their expence, the sums which they had disbursed, and to heap up money wherewithal to purchase other more profitable employments. He was so jealous of his authority, and of such a timorous and suspicious temper, that, upon the least appearance of a plot, he put numbers of persons to death, frequently confounding the innocent with the guilty, tho' accused by persons altogether unworthy of credit. By this means the infamous tribe of informers increased under him to such a degree, that no man of fortune, however innocent, was safe <sup>c</sup>. As he had no great genius or capacity himself, he hated all men of letters, and discountenanced every liberal art and science; whence only freedmen applied themselves to the study of the law, and that of eloquence was intirely neglected: to be a great philosopher was reckoned a crime, *Constantius* looking upon the philosophers as magicians, against whom he enacted, as we have observed, most rigorous laws <sup>f</sup>. However, he founded and endowed a library at *Constantinople*, enriched it with a large collection of choice books, and appointed a person with an handsome salary to take care of it <sup>g</sup>.

*His good  
qualities.*

BUT among so many bad qualities he had some good ones. In crimes of treason, real or only suspected, he behaved like a tyrant, says *Ammianus*; but in other respects was not a bad prince <sup>h</sup>. He was of a very low stature, says the same writer, but enured to all manner of fatigues; and performed the military exercises, especially those of the infantry, with wonderful address <sup>i</sup>. He was satisfied with a frugal diet, slept little, was an utter stranger to luxury, and of such chastity and temperance, as not to be even suspected of those vices which usually reign in courts <sup>k</sup>. He is generally thought to have been the author of the law condemning those to death who were found guilty of crimes against nature <sup>l</sup>. He sometimes performed the meanest duties of a soldier, but at the same time knew how to maintain the grandeur and majesty of his station <sup>m</sup>. He despised all manner of popularity, which *Ammianus* ascribes to a greatness of mind worthy of a prince, but perhaps ironi-

<sup>c</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 203. LIBAN. orat. xxviii. p. 591.

<sup>f</sup> LIBAN. *ibid.* EUTROP. l. xv. p. 44. <sup>g</sup> THEMIST. orat. iii. p. 25.

<sup>h</sup> AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 21, 22.

<sup>i</sup> Idem *ibid.* p. 203.

<sup>k</sup> Idem *ibid.* p. 201. & l. xvi. p. 70. THEMIST. orat. i. p. 39. VICT. epit. <sup>l</sup> Cod. Theod. ix. tit. 7. leg. 3. p. 59. <sup>m</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 200.

cally; for elsewhere he derides his affected gravity, telling us, that he appeared in public like a statue, without moving his head or hands, without spitting, or blowing his nose (to these particulars that writer descends), lest he should by such vulgar actions degrade the majesty and grandeur of an emperor<sup>n</sup>. 'Tho' he had no genius either for poetry or eloquence, yet he was not quite unacquainted with polite literature<sup>o</sup>; but of this his speeches, which we read in *Ammianus*, are no proof, since they, as we may well imagine, were composed by that historian. *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius* commend him for the great respect he always shewed to his father, for his extraordinary modesty, and for rewarding, with uncommon generosity, every service done him<sup>p</sup>. *Themistius* extols his magnificence, and observes, that he enriched all his friends<sup>q</sup>. He finished the walls of *Constantinople*, begun by his father; repaired, at a great expence, many of the buildings there; and embellished the city with fountains, baths, and other stately edifices<sup>r</sup> (D).

He was a most zealous promoter of the Christian religion, and enacted several laws, of which we have taken notice in the history of his reign, for the utter suppression of idolatry. He built a great number of churches, and among the rest the famous cathedral of *Emesa* in *Syria*, and the great church of *Alexandria*, called *Cæsarea*. As for that of *St. Sophia* at *Constantinople*, it was the work of *Constantine*, tho' commonly ascribed to his son *Constantius*<sup>s</sup>. He not only built, but en-

<sup>n</sup> Idem, l. xvi. p. 70.      <sup>o</sup> AUR. VICT. p. 87.      <sup>p</sup> Idem  
ibid. & EUTROP. p. 183.      <sup>q</sup> THEMIST. orat. iv. p. 62.  
<sup>r</sup> Idem ibid. p. 58.      <sup>s</sup> SOCRAT. p. 94. CANGE urb. Con-  
stantin. descrip. p. 144, 145.

(D) His panegyrist's speak of him as a prince of great moderation, and inclined to mercy; but *Julian* tells us, that he was an utter stranger to all mercy and compassion, though he was commonly thought to be possessed of both these virtues (2). Crimes of treason he punished with the utmost severity, says *Libanius* (3); but bore with great patience, and was ready to forgive, upon the least submission, all other affronts and injuries offered him.

To confirm this, he tells us, that the inhabitants of *Edeffa* having pulled down one of his statues, and publicly whipt it, adding, that he who deserved to be thus treated, was not fit to govern, the emperor, when informed of the insult, did not betray the least resentment, nor ever shewed the least ill-will to that city, or the authors of such an outrage, which few princes would have suffered to go unpunished (4).

(2) *Julian. epist. xxiii. p. 141.*      (3) *Liban. orat. xiv. p. 399.*      (4) *Idem*  
*ibid. p. 400.*



dowed and enriched, many churches with great revenues; and shewed, on all occasions, an extraordinary respect and esteem for the clergy, especially the bishops, receiving their blessing in an humble posture, entertaining them at his table, exempting them from all manner of imposts and taxes, &c. (E). Of the authors who flourished under *Constantius*, we shall speak in our note (F).

## BEFORE

<sup>1</sup> HILAR. contra Constant. orat. p. 113, 114.

(E) But these favours he bestowed on those alone, who professed the doctrine of *Arius*. As for the orthodox bishops, they were driven from their sees, and either banished, or imprisoned; nay, some of them were, by the authority or connivance of the emperor, put to death. But to give an account of this persecution is not our province, but that of the ecclesiastic writers.

(F) Among the men of learning who flourished under *Constantius*, St. *Jerom* mentions *Gennadius*, *Petrus*, *Victorinus*, *Minervius*, *Alcimus*, *Delphidius*, and *Donatus* (5). All we know of the two first, is, that they were both celebrated lawyers; that the former lived at *Rome*, and the latter at *Saragosa* in *Spain* (6). Of *Victorinus* we shall speak hereafter. *Tiberius Victor Minervius* taught eloquence at *Constantinople*, at *Rome* about the year 353. and at *Bordeaux*, the place of his nativity (7). He is highly commended by *Ausonius*, who is proud of having studied under him (8). *Alethius Minervius*, his son, was likewise professor of eloquence in the same city; but died when he was yet very young

(9). *Latinus Alethius Alcimus* was a native of the *Ageneis*, or territory of *Agen*, and is by *Ausonius* counted among the professors of *Bordeaux* (1); but he was likewise a pleader, and is commended by *Apollinaris Sidonius* for his knowledge of the law, and his extraordinary skill in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues (2). He published some works, in which he commended the emperor *Julian*, and *Sallust*, who was prefect of *Gaul* under that prince (3); but none of them have reached our times. *Ausonius*, who had a great value for him, commends his modesty, the mildness of his temper, his gravity, and the regularity of his life (4). *Atticus Tyro Delphidius*, the son of the orator *Patera*, or *Paterius*, of whom we have spoken in a former note, p. 147. acquired great reputation by his poems (5). As he was by profession a pleader, he accused of extortion before *Julian* in 358. *Numerius* governor of *Narbonne Gaul*; but could not make good the charge (6). He embraced the party of a tyrant, hoping by that means to make his fortune; but, without the tears of his father, he had

(5) Hier. chron.

(6) Idem ibid.

(7) Idem ibid. Et *Auson. de profess.*

*Burdigal. carm. i. p. 137.*

(8) *Auson. ibid. carm. vi. p. 150.*

(9) Hier.

chron. p. 254.

(1) *Auson. ibid. carm. ii. p. 141.*

(2) *Sidon. l. viii.*

epist. 11 p. 232.

(3) Idem ibid.

(4) *Auson. ibid.*

(5) Idem

ibid. carm. v. p. 147.

(6) *Ammian. l. xviii. p. 114.*

BEFORE we proceed to the history of *Julian's* reign, it will not be foreign to our purpose, to give the reader a succinct

been utterly undone (7). This tyrant can be no other than *Procopius*, who revolted from the emperor *Valens* in 365. Afterwards he taught rhetoric at *Bourdeaux* with great reputation (8), but in the reign of *Valentinian*, and not of *Constantius*, if what *Sulpitius Severus* writes be true; to wit, that dying about the age of forty, he had not the displeasure to see his daughter *Procula* seduced by the *Priscillianists* in 380. and his wife *Eucrotia*, who had embraced the same heresy, beheaded about the year 384 (9). *St. Jerom* writes, that while he was yet very young, he was famous all over *Gaul* for his compositions both in verse and prose (1). *Ammianus Marcellinus* (2) and *Apollinaris Sidonius* (3) commend his lively and flowing eloquence. Though we might infer from what we have quoted above out of *Sulpitius Severus*, that he was a Christian; yet *St. Jerom*, in writing to *Hedibia* descended from him, speaks of him as a pagan (4). *Donatus*, under whom *St. Jerom* studied, taught grammar at *Rome* with great reputation in 354. wrote comments on *Terence* and *Virgil*, and published several grammatical pieces, often quoted by *Cassiodorus*, who judged them more proper for children, than any thing written by other grammarians (5). *Gre-*

*gory the Great* speaks of the rules of *Donatus*, as generally taught at the end of the sixth century (6). Some grammatical pieces, explaining with great clearness the first principles, have reached us, under the name of *Ælius Donatus* (7). There are still extant comments on *Virgil* and *Terence*, which some pretend to be those that *St. Jerom* ascribes to his master *Donatus*; but critics of more penetration are of opinion, that tho' some observations in the comments on *Virgil* seem worthy of *Donatus*, yet the whole is altogether unworthy of a man of his parts (8). As for the comments on *Terence*, they are thought to have been written by one *Euanthius*, called by some *Eugraphus*, who died in the first year of *Gratian's* reign, or in 359. under *Constantius*, as we read in the chronicle of *St. Jerom*, who calls him the most learned among the grammarians (9). He taught the *Latin* tongue at *Constantinople*; and, upon his death, *Chrestus* was sent for out of *Africa* to succeed him (1). The life of *Virgil*, ascribed by some to *Donatus*, is, in the opinion of *Vossius*, a very mean performance, done not by *Ælius Donatus*, which he takes to be the name of the grammarian, under whom *St. Jerom* studied, but by one *Tiberius Claudius Do-*

(7) *Auson. car. v. p. 148.* (8) *Idem ibid. p. 149.* (9) *Sulp. Sever. l. ii. p. 173, 177.* (1) *Hier. epist. cl. p. 140.* (2) *Ammian. ibid.* (3) *Apoll. Sid. l. v. ep. 10. p. 140.* (4) *Hier. epist. cl. p. 140.* (5) *Hier. in Ruf. l. i. c. 4. p. 202.* *Cassiod. de orthogr. p. 255, 256.* (6) *Greg. moral. p. 62.* (7) *Vide Baillet. gram. c. 622. p. 37, 38.* (8) *Idem, p. 29, 30.* (9) *Hier. chron.* (1) *Idem ibid. & Voss. bist. Lat. p. 743.*

cinet account of the birth, parentage, education, and studies of a prince so much spoken of by the ecclesiastic writers. *Ju-  
lius*

*natus* (2). As for the life of *Terentius*, he takes it to have been written by *Suetonius*, and not *Donatus* (3). *Nonius Marcellus*, another celebrated grammarian, lived, as is supposed, about the time of *Constantius*, and was, as we gather from the title of his work on the propriety of Latin words, a native of *Tivoli*, and a *Peripatetic* philosopher (4). He is quoted and commended by *Priscian*; which seems very strange to *Vossius*, who speaks of him with great contempt, and thinks him commendable for no other reason, but because he has conveyed to us several passages out of the antients, which are to be found no-where else (5). The works of *Sextus Pompeius Festus* bear a much better character than those of *Marcellus*. He wrote on the signification of words; but his work, which was only an abridgement of what *Verrius Flaccus* had written on that subject in the time of *Augustus*, was abridged in the time of *Charlemagne* by *Paulus Diaconus*; and to this abridgement is owing the loss of the far greater part of that which was done by *Festus* (6). At what time *Festus* lived, we are nowhere told. Some manuscripts have reached our times on the art of surveying or measuring land, done by one *Innocentius*, probably the surveyor of that name,

who, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, was at the court of *Constantius* in 359 (7). To him are likewise ascribed some remarks on the Roman laws, which, in our opinion, were rather the work of *Innocentius* the quaestor, who drew up most of the laws of *Constantius*, as *Eunapius* informs us (8), and published several works both in Greek and Latin. The latter was grandfather to *Chrysanthus*, under whom *Eunapius* studied; and consequently was more antient than the surveyor, and superior to him in rank (9). One of *Constantius's* officers, by name *Innocentius*, took holy orders, and, retiring from the court, led a solitary life on the Mount of Olives (1). *Vindanius Anatolius*, a native of *Berytus*, wrote ten books on agriculture, containing many useful rules, blended with some superstitious and heathenish observations (2). Part of that work has reached our times; but the author is there stiled *Vindaminius*, and not *Vindanius*. One *Anatolius*, a pagan, and a native of *Berytus*, was prefect of *Illyricum* in 349, and 359 (3). and died in 360 (4). He was, perhaps, the author of the above-mentioned work. One *Andronicus* was concerned in the affair of *Parnasus*, governor of *Egypt*, accused in 359, of having consulted the astrologers, as we re-

(2) *Voss. hist. Lat. p. 743. & orat. l. vi. c. 2. p. 432.* (3) *Idem ibid.*  
(4) *Vide Baillet. c. 620. p. 34. & Salmas. in not. in Spart. p. 241.* (5) *Voss.*  
*ibid.* (6) *Vide Baillet. p. 30, 31.* (7) *Ammian. l. xix. p. 149.* (8) *Eunap.*  
*c. 21. p. 144, 145.* (9) *Idem ibid.* (1) *Pallad. hist. Lausiat. c. 103.*  
*p. 1022.* (2) *Pbot. c. 163. p. 349.* (3) *Eunap. c. 1. p. 117.* (4) *Am-*  
*man. l. xix. p. 166. & l. xxi. p. 185.*

*lius Constantius*, the brother of *Constantine the Great*, had two Birth, education, and parentage of *Julian*.  
 wives; to wit, *Galla*, by whom he had *Gallus Cæsar*, and other children, whose names are not known; and *Basilina*, descended

lated among the other transactions of that year; but *Andronicus* was absolved, and afterwards became famous, especially on account of his poetical compositions (5). *Libanius* speaks of a poet, by name *Andronicus*, who, he says, charmed all *Egypt*, and was still alive in 378 (6). *The-mistius*, who was cotemporary with *Libanius*, mentions a young *Egyptian*, who had a particular talent for writing tragedies (7); and *Photius* takes notice of several theatrical pieces written by one *Andronicus*, senator of the city of *Hermopolis* in *Egypt*, some of which were inscribed to count *Phœbammon* of *Cynopolis* in the same country (8). Whether all these writers speak of one and the same person, we will not take upon us to determine. \**Sextus Aurelius Victor* may be ranked among the writers who flourished under *Constantius*, tho' he died long after him, since, in his reign, he wrote his history of the *Roman* emperors. He is commonly thought to have been a native of *Africa*, and to have been born of poor parents in some village of that country (9). He was, at least when he wrote his history, a pagan, as must evidently appear to all who peruse it. It begins with *Augustus*, and extends to the twenty-third year of *Constantius*; that is, to the end of the year 359. or the beginning of the year 360 (1); for he

speaks of the victories gained by *Julian* in *Gaul*; but takes no notice of his assuming the title of *Augustus*, which he would not have omitted, had his history reached so far. He ascribes all the conquests of that prince to *Constantius*, at that time the object of his flattery (2). In the title, the work is said to extend to the tenth consulship of *Constantius*, and the third of *Julian*, which happened in the year 360. This history is but a very concise abridgment. Another abridgment, done by the same writer, has reached our times, comprehending the lives of illustrious men, mostly *Romans*, from *Procas* to *Julius Cæsar*. This work is, by different writers, ascribed to *Cornelius Nepos*, to *Pliny* the younger, to *Æmilius Probus*, to *Tacitus*, and to *Suetonius*; but *Vossius*, and other able critics, adjudge it to *Aurelius Victor* (3). To these two histories is prefixed a third, on the origin of the *Romans*; which likewise passes under the name of *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, and is thought by *Andreas Scotus* to have really been done by him; but *Vossius* takes it to be the work of some writer, who flourished after his time (4). Another history of the emperors, extending to the reign of *Theodosius*, goes under the name of one *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, whom we must distinguish from the author we are now speaking of. *Ammi-*

(5) *Idem*, l. xix. p. 152.(6) *Liban. vit.* p. 158.(7) *Vide Am-**minim. ibid.* p. 230. (8) *Phot. c.* 279. p. 1596. (9) *Voss. hist. Lat.* p. 196.(1) *Aur. Vict.* p. 528. & 527. *Cisaubon. not. in Spart.* p. 119. *Voss. ibid.*(2) *Aur. Vict.* p. 486.(3) *Voss. ibid.*(4) *Idem ibid.* p. 196

scended of an illustrious family, being the daughter of one *Julian*, who was prefect, and the sister of another, who was count

*anus* writes, that *Julian*, while he was at *Sirmium* in 361. saw there *Victor* the historiographer, and soon after created him governor of the *Second Pannonia*, and honoured him with a statue of brass (5). The same writer adds, that he was generally esteemed on account of his wisdom, and was afterwards raised to the government of *Rome*. *Vossius* and others take this to be the historian of whom we are now speaking; for he had ended his history the year before, as we have observed above (6). One *Victor* was consul in 369. whom *Onuphrius* supposes to have been the historian mentioned by *Ammianus* (7); but, had it been the same person, *Ammianus* would, in our opinion, have taken notice of his consulship, as well as his government. In an inscription of the time of *Theodosius*, that is, long after the year 369. he is stiled governor of *Rome*, but not consul; which title would not have been omitted, had he ever discharged that office. Besides, it appears from *Themistius* (8), that *Victor*, who was consul in 369. was a commander of great prowess and renown. *Gothofredus* published in 1628. an ancient description of the world, as he stiles it, done in the time of *Constantius*, and not of *Constantine*, as we read in the text, after that prince had finished the port of *Seleucia*, and after the earthquake which overturned the

city of *Duras* (9). The port of *Seleucia* was perfected, according to *St. Jerom.* in 346. and the earthquake happened in 345. The author takes no notice of the earthquake that ruined *Nicomedia* in 358. nor of that which overturned *Berytus* in 348. or rather 349. whence *Gothofredus* concludes that work to have been done about the year 347. He thinks the author insinuates, that there were then two emperors and infers from thence, that he wrote after the death of young *Constantine* in 340. and before that of *Constans* in 350 (1). *Gothofredus*, in publishing this work, not only reformed the barbarous and uncouth language of the *Latin* text, and corrected the many faults he found in it; but added to it a *Greek* translation, supposing it to have been written originally in that language (2) which supposition is rejected by *Petavius*, as false and groundless. However that be, the author seems to have been better acquainted with the eastern than the western provinces. He was greatly mistaken in supposing *Rome* and *Hebruria* to have been comprised in what was at the time called *Italy* (3). *Gothofredus* is inclined to believe one *Alypius* of *Antioch*, famous in *Julian's* time, to have been the true author of this work; because that prince commends the geography, which had been sent to him by *Alypius*, the brother of

(5) *Ammian. l. xxi. p. 190.*

*p. 298.*

*p. 13. & 33.*

*p. 33.*

(6) *Voss. bist. Lat. p. 196.*

(8) *Themist. orat. ix. p. 121.*

(1) *Idem, p. 13, 14.*

(9) *Gothofred. vetus orb. descrip.*

(2) *Idem, p. 7.*

(7) *Onuph.*

(3) *Idem,*

count of the East. The surname of *Anicius* was common to both, and the *Anician* family was one of the most illustrious in Rome.

*Cæsarius* (4). But this geography seems only to have been a map, accompanied with some verses. The author gives us a tolerable account of several cities, though, for the most part, blended with many fables; which evidently shew him to have been a pagan, though he acknowledged a God the author of mankind (5). The beginning of the work bespeaks it imperfect (6); and besides, it is plain, that he had written several things relating to the *Persians*, which have not reached us (7); whence *Gothofredus* concludes this to be only a small part of a much larger work (8). *Vossius* was altogether unacquainted with this writer. None of the authors we have hitherto mentioned were Christians; but *Julius Firmicus Maternus*, who flourished at the same time, was not only a Christian, but a zealous defender of the religion he professed; for he addressed a work to the two emperors, *Constantius* and *Constans*, animating them to complete the destruction of idolatry. This work is intitled, *the errors and falsehoods of profane religions* (9). The author not only exposes the absurd notions of the pagans, but explains, with great elegance and erudition, several articles of the Christian faith. He wrote before the year 350. in which *Constans* died, and in or after the year

343. for he speaks of his journey to *Britain*, which happened that year (1). Though the antients seem to have been quite unacquainted with this work, yet no writer, we know of, has ever questioned its being genuine. The author is distinguished, in the title of the work, with the epithet of *clarissimus*, which was peculiar to the senators of *Rome*, and sufficiently confutes the opinion of *Baronius*, who will have him to have been bishop of *Milan* (2). Eight books on judicial astrology were published about the same time by one *Julius Firmicus Maternus*, who was likewise a Roman senator, and is therefore by some writers confounded with the above-mentioned author (3); but *Posssevinus* maintains them to be two different writers (4): and truly the astrologer is styled, in the title of his work, *Julius Firmicus Maternus junior*; and the work itself is altogether unworthy of a Christian. It is addressed to *Maximianus Lollianus*, and was begun in the reign of *Constantine the Great*, but finished in that of his son *Constantius*, about the year 355 (5). With the year 354. the seventeenth of *Constantius's* reign, end two small works, published by *Bucherius* in 1633. with the *pascual cycle* of *Victorius*. *Bucherius* is of opinion, that they were composed that very year, and by the same author, to whom

(4) *Julian. epist. xxx. p. 163.* *Gothofred. p. 10, 11.* (5) *Idem, p. 9.*  
 (6) *Idem, p. 3.* (7) *Idem, p. 9.* (8) *Idem, p. 3. & 8.* (9) *Firm. Matern. c. 21. Bibl. patr. tom. iv. p. 99.* (1) *Du Pin, tom. i. p. 578, 579.*  
*Posssevin. apar. tom. i. p. 989. Matern. c. 29. p. 107.* (2) *Baron. ad ann. 337.* (3) *Vide Du Pin, p. 577.* (4) *Posssevin. p. 988.* (5) *Du Pin, ibid.*

he ascribes three others contained in the same manuscript (6). The first of these works is a list of the consuls from 205. to 354. with the epacts, bissextile years, and the day of the week with which each year began. There are some mistakes in the epacts; but the rest is done with great exactness (7). The manuscript which *Bucherius* made use of, was imperfect; but cardinal *Noris* having discovered an intire copy in the emperor's library, containing a list of the consuls, from the two first, *Brutus* and *Collatinus*, to those of the year 354. he published it in 1689. with a learned dissertation on that work, by him greatly esteemed (8). He is of opinion, that it was composed in 354. the year with which it ends (9). The second work published by *Bucherius*, is another list of the consuls and governors of *Rome*, from 254. to 354. From the year 288. to the end, the author not only names the governors, but the day on which each of them entered upon his office (1). The third begins with a short necrology of the bishops of *Rome*, in which are marked, according to the order of the months, the day on which each of them died, and the place where he was buried. It begins with *Lucius*, and ends with *Julius*. In this list, *Sixtus II.* and *Marcellus*, are omitted; the latter probably by a mistake of the transcriber, confounding him with his predecessor *Marcellinus*; and the former perhaps, because he is set down in the calendar of martyrs an-

nexed to the necrology, and containing the names of several martyrs according to the order of the months, and the time of their martyrdom; but they are all of *Rome*, except *St. Cyprian*, and the famous martyrs of *Africa*, *Perpetua* and *Felicitas* (2). The fourth work for which we are indebted to *Bucherius*, is another catalogue of the bishops of *Rome*, which ends with *Liberius*, who succeeded *Julius*, the last in the former list. As the election of *Liberius* is marked, and not his death, we may suppose this catalogue to have been written in his time. It is exceeding exact from *Pontianus* to the end; but full of mistakes till his time. *Amicetus*, *Elcutherius*, and *Zephyrinus*, are omitted (3). The fourth work begins with the birth-days of the emperors, or the days of their accession to the empire, according to the order of the months. The last emperor mentioned there is *Constantius*, who is not styled, as the others, *divus*, but *dominus*; a convincing proof, that he was still living (4). This work contains likewise some verses, and a calendar of the sports, and other profane, and even idolatrous solemnities; but from the author's marking the dominical letters, we may conclude him to have been a Christian. The work is inscribed to one *Valentine*, and is said in the title to have been done by *Furius Dionysius Filocalus* (5). The months of *March*, *April*, *May*, and *June*, are wanting in the edition of *Bucherius*; but are to be found in *Petavius's*

(6) *Buch. cycl.* p. 245, 247.*fast. consular.*

p. 268, 269.

p. 275.

(9) *Idem*, p. 23.(3) *Idem*, p. 269 -- 273.(7) *Idem*, p. 247--251.(1) *Buch.* p. 236, 241, 244.(4) *Idem*, p. 276, &c.(8) *Noris.*(2) *Idem*,(5) *Idem*,

Rome<sup>u</sup> (G). He was born in 331. after the month of June ; for, writing against *Athanasius* at the end of 362. he says, that he was then in the thirty-second year of his age, which was not ended on the twenty-sixth of June 363. when he died<sup>w</sup>. He was named *Julian* from his grandfather on the mother's side, and is stiled in all antient inscriptions *Julianus Flavius Claudius*. He was of low stature, and a disagreeable aspect, which was, besides, disfigured with a long beard, as he is represented in most of his medals ; but at the same time well-shaped, very nimble, active, and of great address at all sorts of exercises<sup>x</sup>.

As for his mind, he was endowed by nature with an extraordinary capacity, learned with surprising quickness, and never forgot what he had once known<sup>y</sup> ; insomuch that those, whose province it was to instruct him, tho' persons eminent in every branch of learning, used to complain, that he too soon exhausted their stock of knowledge<sup>z</sup> : hence he is by some writers equaled, and by others preferred, to the greatest men Greece ever produced<sup>a</sup>. However, he was far better ac-

Endowed  
with  
great ca-  
pacity.

<sup>u</sup> AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 31. l. xxv. p. 291. LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 262.

<sup>w</sup> LIBAN. *ibid.* JULIAN. misop. p. 80, 81. & epist. lviii. p. 214.

<sup>x</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 226.

<sup>y</sup> Idem *ibid.*

<sup>z</sup> EUNAP. c. 5. p. 68.

<sup>a</sup> Idem, p. 589. & VICT. epit. p. 545.

*uranology*, copied by him from *Hervart* (6). *Du Cange* will have the first author of the *pascchal chronicle*, or the *chronicle of Alexandria*, to have ended his work in the year 354. for it is manifest, that this work was done by different writers, the same thing being often repeated, and sometimes related in a quite different manner. In some places the tenets of *Arius* are preached up, and in others condemned (7). As therefore *Halstenius* found a manuscript of this chronicle ending in the year 354. *Du Cange* ascribes it to the first author, and what was afterwards added, to another, who not only continued the work to the time of *Hera-*

*clius*, but inserted several things into the part which had been done by the other (8). But the talk of examining this point, we are willing to leave to others.

(G) Perhaps *Basilina* was the daughter of *Anicius Julianus*, who was consul in 322. and afterwards governor of *Rome*. She professed the Christian religion (9) ; but seems to have been tainted with the doctrine of *Arius* ; for she bore great hatred to *Eutropius*, the famous orthodox bishop of *Adrianople* (1). She was married at *Constantinople*, and died a few months after she was delivered there of *Julian*, her only child (2).

(6) *Petav. uranol.* p. 114.

*ibid.*  
312.

(7) *Chron. pasc. prim.* p. 289--291.

(9) *Pallad. bist. Laus. & vit. Chrys.* p. 126.

(2) *Julian. ad Athen.* p. 502. *Ammian. l. xxii.* p. 219.

(8) *Idem Athen. solit.* p.



His eloquence.

His temper.

His education.

quainted with the *Greek* than the *Latin* tongue: in the former he came not short of the best writers; but did not excel, according to *Eunapius* <sup>b</sup>, in the latter. His eloquence was easy and flowing, and accompanied by a graceful delivery <sup>c</sup>. In his answers off-hand he displayed an uncommon penetration, vivacity, and presence of mind, and, in the greatest dangers, an undaunted courage and intrepidity <sup>d</sup>. But whether the solidity of his judgment was equal to the brightness of his genius, we shall leave the reader to judge from his actions. He was naturally of a mild and sweet temper, had a violent thirst after glory, was greatly attached to his own opinion, which he frequently preferred to the advice of his ablest counsellors, and strangely addicted to satire and raillery <sup>e</sup>. He was brought up at *Constantinople* till the death of his uncle *Constantine*, which was followed by the massacre of all his relations, in which were involved, among the rest, the father and elder brother of *Julian*; but *Julian* himself was spared on account of his infancy, being then but six or seven years old, as was his brother *Gallus*, because he happened to be at that time ill of a fever, and thought past recovery <sup>f</sup> (H).

*JULIAN*, at seven years old, was put under the tuition of an eunuch formerly belonging to his mother, named *Mardonius*, who discharged his trust with great care, inspiring him with an utter aversion from all manner of sports and diversions, and teaching him how to conquer his passions, and get the better of his evil inclinations <sup>g</sup>. The emperor afterwards committed the care of his education to *Eusebius* bishop of *Nicomedia*, a leading man among the *Arians* <sup>h</sup>, by whom he was brought up, partly at *Nicomedia*, and partly at an estate in *Bithynia* left

<sup>b</sup> EUNAP. c. 5. p. 68.<sup>c</sup> Idem *ibid*.<sup>d</sup> AMMIAN. l.

xviii. p. 114.

<sup>e</sup> Idem, l. xiv. p. 31. EUNAP. *ibid*. SOCR.

l. iii. c. 1. p. 169.

<sup>f</sup> JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 497. SOCRAT.

l. iii. c. 1. LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 262.

<sup>g</sup> JULIAN. misopog.

p. 80, 81.

<sup>h</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 219.

(H) Some authors write, that *Julian* was conveyed away privately by *Marcus* bishop of *Arshusa* in *Syria*, and concealed in a church (3); others, that *Constantius* ordered both him and his brother to be spared (4). *Julian* himself tells us, that the emperor at first ordered him to be mur-

dered with the rest of his relations; but afterwards contented himself with sending him into banishment (5). *Constantius* suffered *Gallus* to enjoy part of his father's estate, and restored to *Julian* the estates both of his mother and grandmother, which had been confiscated (6).

(3) GREG. NAZ. orat. iii. p. 9. ARSEN. p. 498.

(4) Idem *ibid*. p. 58.

(5) JULIAN. ad

(6) Idem *ibid*. p. 502, 532.

him by his grandmother, where he planted with his own hands a vineyard. He took great delight in this place; but nevertheless gave it afterwards to one of his friends<sup>1</sup>. At the age of fourteen or fifteen, he was, by the emperor's orders, sent with his brother *Gallus*, who had been all this time confined to his estate in *Ionia*, to a castle called *Macella*, in the neighbourhood of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*. There they had a royal palace for their habitation, an handsome allowance, a noble court, and the best masters to instruct them in all the sciences; but at the same time were surrounded by the eunuchs of the court, and kept in a manner prisoners, no one being allowed, as *Julian* complains<sup>2</sup>, to visit them. In this exile or retreat they continued six years; that is, till the fifteenth of *March* 351. when *Gallus* was created *Cæsar*. The emperor's chief care was to appoint them such masters as were capable of inspiring them with sentiments of piety, and instructing them in the duties of the Christian religion, which they were taught to practise, by conversing only with persons of religious and exemplary lives (I). From this retreat *Gallus* was called to court, and

<sup>1</sup> *JULIAN*. epist. xlv. p. 199. 200. p. 499.

<sup>2</sup> *JULIAN*. ad Athen.

(I) They spent their time, says *Sozomen*, not in profane diversions, but in reading, meditating, visiting the churches, and the tombs of the holy martyrs (7). They were even admitted to the office of readers, and read the holy Scriptures in public, appearing no less satisfied with that function, than if they had been discharging the highest office in the state (8): and truly *Gallus* acted therein with sincerity, he being not only a true, but a most pious Christian; but *Julian* only studied, if *Gregory Nazianzen* is to be credited, to deceive the world with the mask of piety, and conceal his wicked inclinations (9). Both that writer and *Ammianus Marcellinus* as-

sure us, that he was, from his infancy, inclined to the religion of the antient <sup>int</sup> *idolaters*, that is, to idolatry (1); but he himself tells us, that he was a Christian till he was twenty (2); and *Libanius*, that when he came first to *Nicomedia*, which was in 351. or 352. he had an extreme aversion from the *Roman* gods (3). Be that as it will, the different disposition of the heart, with which the two brothers performed the same actions, was laid open to the eyes of the world, as we are told, by the following miracle; which we cannot omit, but indirectly refer to the judgment of the reader. They both undertook to build a church over the tomb of St. *Mamas*, a celebrated

(7) *Sozom.* l. v. c. 2. p. 593.

*Naz.* p. 58.

(8) *Ammian.* l. xxii. p. 208.

(9) *Liban. orat.* v. p. 173.

(8) *Theodoret.* l. iii. c. 1. p. 637.

(9) *Greg.*

(2) *Julian. epist.* h. p. 210.

and created *Cæsar*, in the beginning of the year 351. and soon after the emperor was, with difficulty, prevailed upon to give *Julian* leave to quit *Macella*, and pursue his studies at *Constantinople*, where he saw his brother, as he passed through that city on his journey into the East, with the title of *Cæsar* <sup>1</sup>. At *Constantinople* *Julian* studied oratory under a sophist of no great eloquence, but chosen by *Constantius* for his preceptor, because he used, in all his declamations, to inveigh against the idolatrous worship of the pagan gods <sup>m</sup>.

*Is ordered  
to quit  
Constantinople.*

*JULIAN*'S conduct at *Constantinople*, his application, and obliging behaviour, soon gained him the affections of the inhabitants of that city, though he appeared in the schools like a private person; and, following the directions of the eunuch *Mardonius*, carefully avoided the least mark of distinction. This no sooner came to the ears of the jealous emperor, than he ordered him to quit *Constantinople*, and retire to *Nicomedia*, or what other place in *Asia* he pleased; but strictly injoining him not to frequent the school of *Libanius*, a pagan sophist of great reputation; who, being driven out of *Constantinople*, had opened a school at *Nicomedia*; which city he was likewise obliged to quit soon after, and retire to *Antioch*, the place of his nativity <sup>n</sup>. The sophist too, under whom *Julian* studied at *Constantinople*, prevailed upon him to promise, and solemnly swear, that he would never hear the lectures of *Libanius*. *Julian* observed his oath; but, as he had a great esteem for that orator, he privately read his works, and imitated his style with better success than those who had studied under him • (K).

UPON

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 34.      <sup>m</sup> Idem ibid.      <sup>n</sup> EUNAP. c. 14. p. 132. LIBAN. vit. p. 18.      SOCRAT. p. 165.      • LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 263.      SOCRAT. ibid.      EUNAP. c. 14. p. 134.

martyr of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*; but the fide that was to be erected by *Julian*, could never be finished; whereas that which *Gallus* had undertaken, was speedily completed. This miraculous event is not only related by *Theodoret* (4), but by *Gregory Nazianzen*, who assures us, that he learnt it of those who had been eye-witnesses of it (5); and *So-*

*zomen*, who, in relating it, says the same thing, and adds, that many persons were still living, ready to confirm, as eye-witnesses, the truth of what he relates (6).

(K) During his stay at *Nicomedia*, he became acquainted with one *Maximus* of *Ephesus*, a pagan philosopher of great reputation, and much addicted to

(4) *Theodoret.* p. 637. p. 594.

(5) *Greg. Naz.* p. 59. & 61.

(6) *Sozom.*

UPON the ruin of his brother *Gallus*, he was very near undergoing the same fate, being unjustly charged with several crimes, and suspected by the emperor of aspiring to the sovereignty; who thereupon ordered him to be arrested, and kept him for seven months surrounded by guards, sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another<sup>p</sup>, but mostly at *Milan*, where the emperor himself resided; for he tells us, that he was kept six months in the great city, which was the emperor's abode; and that, during the whole time he was detained there, he was but once admitted to see the emperor, and then by the mediation of the empress *Eusebia*, who prevailed upon her husband to hear him, and encouraged him to defend himself with liberty of speech; which he did, without either justifying, through fear or complaisance, the emperor's proceedings against his brother, or provoking his vengeance, by complaining of the hard usage he himself had met with. *Constantius* promised him a second audience; which was put off from day to day, under various pretences, by the eunuch *Eusebius*, the emperor's great chamberlain, who began to apprehend, that *Julian* might, by degrees, gain not only the prince's favour, but con-

<sup>p</sup> LIBAN. *ibid*: p. 267. <sup>q</sup> JULIAN. *ad Athen.* p. 501.

the study of magic; who, flattering him with the hopes of being one day emperor, inspired him with an aversion from the Christian religion, which condemns all magical practices (7). *Libanius* writes, that the precepts and instructions of a philosopher in *Ionia*, meaning, no doubt, *Maximus*, made such a deep impression on the mind of *Julian*, that he immediately renounced the Christian religion, and embraced that of the *Romans* (8). However, he was so far from owning his real sentiments, that, on the contrary, he put on the appearance of a sincere and zealous Christian, causing his head to be shaved, says *Sozomen*, affecting the dress and manners of

a monk, and performing the office of a reader in the principal church of *Nicomede*, while he at the same time privately adored the heathen deities, and caused himself to be instructed in the abominable mysteries of magic (9). *Gallus*, who resided at *Antioch*, hearing somewhat of his brother's inclination to idolatry, endeavoured, by several warm and pious epistles, to confirm him in the true religion, and divert him from the idolatrous worship of the pagan gods (1). But the sacrilegious curiosity of knowing future events, says *Gregory Nazianzen*, and the desire of reigning, prevailed over all other considerations (2).

(7) *Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. p. 165. Socr. l. v. c. 2. p. 594. Liban. orat. v. p. 175.*  
 (8) *Liban. ibid.* (9) *Socrat. ibid. p. 166.* (1) *Phil. A. l. iii. c. 27. p. 59. Liban. orat. x. p. 234.* (2) *Greg. Naz. orat. iii. p. 36.*

Goes into  
Greece.

confidence<sup>q</sup>. However, *Constantius* being in the end convinced of his innocence, by means of the empress, he was allowed to return to his own country; that is, to his mother's estate in *Ionia* or *Bithynia*<sup>r</sup>. But a report being spread, before he set out, that *Africanus* had revolted in *Illyricum*, *Constantius* would not suffer him to return to *Asia*; but, at the request of *Eusebia*, gave him leave to go into *Greece*, which he preferred to all other places, being desirous, as he pretended, to perfect himself in the sciences; but his true design was to confer with the magicians at *Athens*, whom he believed more skilled in that art, than those in *Asia*<sup>s</sup> (L). During his stay at *Athens*, he became familiar with the most zealous advocates for paganism, and the persons best versed in magic, expressing to them, in confidence, his concern for the downfall of paganism, and his desire and intention of restoring it to its former lustre, as soon as it was in his power so to do<sup>t</sup>.

Is sent for  
by the em-  
peror.

HE had been but a very short time at *Athens*, when he was recalled to attend the emperor at *Milan*; who, it seems, had already determined with himself to raise him to the dignity of *Cæsar*<sup>u</sup>. *Julian* left *Greece* with great regret, resolving not to accept the dignity with which he imagined the emperor designed to invest him, either because he loved a retired life, as *Libanius* would make us believe<sup>w</sup>, or rather dreading the fate of his brother, as he himself informs us<sup>x</sup>. On his arrival at *Milan*, he lodged in an house without the city, where he was splendidly entertained by the eunuchs of the empress<sup>y</sup>. *Constantius* was not then at *Milan*; but he returned soon after to that city, and immediately communicated to his friends his

<sup>q</sup> JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 501. LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 267. <sup>r</sup> JUL. ibid. AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 34. <sup>s</sup> JUL. ibid. EUSEB. c. 5. p. 74.

<sup>t</sup> THEMIST. p. 479. <sup>u</sup> LIBAN. p. 268. <sup>v</sup> JULIAN. p. 503. AMMIAN. p. 47. LIBAN. orat. x. p. 235. <sup>w</sup> LIBAN. ibid.

<sup>x</sup> JULIAN. p. 505. <sup>y</sup> LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 268. & JULIAN. ibid.

(L) He arrived at *Athens* about the middle of the year 355. and there became acquainted with the two great luminaries of the church, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and St. *Basil*, who were at that time both improving themselves at *Athens* in the study of eloquence, of which they afterwards made so good an use. With the latter *Julian* read and studied, not only the profane au-

thors, but the books of the holy Scripture, carefully concealing, through fear of *Constantius*, his real sentiments (3); but he could not, with all his disguises, deceive the former; who, from his wild motions and gestures, which he minutely describes, foresaw, and foretold among his intimate friends, what afterwards happened (4).

(3) *Basil. ep. c. vii. p. 122.*

(4) *Greg. Naz. p. 121, 122*

design

design of raising *Julian*, who did all that lay in their power to divert him from it; but *Eusebia*, who favoured *Julian*, prevailed; and the emperor ordered *Julian* to shave his long beard, to quit his philosophical cloak, and appear in the attire of a military man, and the garb of a courtier <sup>a</sup>. As he had hitherto led the life of a philosopher, or rather of a monk, his awkwardness in acting a part he had never been accustomed to, afforded for some time no small diversion to the other courtiers <sup>a</sup>. The emperor assigned him an apartment in the palace, which he entered with dread and terror, reflecting, that he was to live among those, who had shed the blood of his father and brothers, and massacred his whole family. When he found the emperor, in spite of his warm remonstrances, resolved upon his promotion, he earnestly intreated him to appoint such ministers and officers to serve under him, as might supply his want of experience, and to give him in writing directions relating to his whole conduct, that his only business might be to be obey <sup>b</sup>. *Constantius* encouraged him, and having calmed his fears, gave him leave to wait on the empress, who removed all his apprehensions <sup>c</sup>. At length, on the sixth of *November* *Julian* is 355. he was declared *Cæsar* with the usual solemnity, appointed governor of *Gaul*, and a few days after, by the interest of *Eusebia*, married to *Helena*, the empress's sister <sup>d</sup>. *declared Cæsar.* We have related above <sup>e</sup> in what manner he was treated, and how narrowly watched, after his promotion. His household was changed, and of his former domestics only four were left with him; to wit, two youths, his physician, and his librarian <sup>f</sup>. The latter alone was privy to his sentiments touching religion, as he himself informs us <sup>g</sup>. He left *Milan* on the first of *December*, as we have observed above <sup>h</sup>, and arrived at *Vienne* in *Gaul* about the end of the year. His warlike exploits, already described by us in the reign of *Constantius*, seem to us altogether surprising, when we reflect, that they were performed by one who was yet very young; who had been brought up in the country, and among books, and consequently was obliged to learn the first rudiments of war, while he was leading the army to battle <sup>i</sup>.

DURING his stay in *Gaul*, as soon as he had quitted the field, he betook himself to his studies, especially to that of *His con-* *duct in* *Gaul.*

<sup>a</sup> JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 505, 506. <sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. l. xv. p. 47.

<sup>b</sup> JULIAN. ibid. p. 516. <sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. p. 517. & orat. iii. p. 228.

<sup>d</sup> AMMIAN. p. 49. Chron. Alex. p. 680. SOCRAT. l. ii. c. 34. JULIAN. orat. iii. p. 230. <sup>e</sup> Vide p. 193.

<sup>f</sup> JULIAN. ibid. p. 526. LIBAN. orat. ix. p. 236. <sup>g</sup> JULIAN. ibid. p. 509. <sup>h</sup> See before, p. 193. <sup>i</sup> JULIAN. ibid. p. 180.

philosophy, but without neglecting the other sciences ; in which he made a wonderful progress, being, according to *Ammianus*, not only an excellent philosopher, but an eloquent orator, a good poet, well versed in the *Roman* and other histories, thoroughly acquainted with the *Greek* tongue, and pretty well with the *Latin*, in which he expressed himself with great ease <sup>k</sup> (M). As *Julian* took great delight in learning, men of letters flocked to him, while he was in *Gaul*, from all parts, especially from *Greece* ; and among the rest the pontif of *Eleusina*, with whom he practised in private the abominable mysteries of magic, and consulted the aruspices and augurs ; for, though he outwardly professed the Christian religion, he was an heathen in his heart, and sacrificed every morning to *Minerva* in his closet <sup>l</sup>.

*His frugality.*

HE observed great temperance and sobriety in his diet, remembering, says *Ammianus* <sup>m</sup>, the saying of *Cato* the elder, to wit, *That whoever thinks too much of his table, thinks little of virtue*. Having this maxim constantly before his eyes, he would not even suffer his table to be served after the manner prescribed by *Constantius*, who had given him instructions under his own hand, as we have observed above, which were to be the rules of his conduct, and descended even to his diet ; but contented himself with the food of the common soldiers <sup>n</sup>. As he fed sparingly, he was satisfied with little sleep, reposing on a skin spread on the ground, and awaking when he pleased, which was constantly about midnight : the rest of the night he spent in writing, reading, and visiting before break of day the centries and guards in their different stations : from this no

<sup>k</sup> AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 62.

<sup>l</sup> JULIAN. ep. xxxviii. p. 180.

LIBAN. orat. x. p. 140. & xii. p. 279. EUNAP. c. 5. p. 76, 77.

AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 180, 181. <sup>m</sup> AMMIAN. l. xvi. & xxv. p.

61. & 292. <sup>n</sup> Idem ibid. p. 62. JULIAN. p. 60. LIBAN.

orat. xii. p. 304.

(M) His two elogies on *Constantius*, his panegyric on the empress *Eusebia*, and his discourse in commendation of *Salust*, which have all reached our times, were the fruit of his studies in *Gaul* ; for in the first of these compositions he speaks of his promotion to the dignity of *Cæsar*, and tells us in the se-

cond, that he had seen the barbarians on the banks of the *Rhine*, and the coasts of the ocean, which must have happened in the campaign of the year 358 (5). The panegyric on *Eusebia* was written after that princess had been at *Rome*, in the latter end of the year 356 (6).

(5) *Julian. orat. i. p. 82. & orat. ii. p. 103.*

(6) *Idem, orat. iii. p. 241.*

inclemency of weather ever diverted him °. He never suffered plays to be exhibited but on the first day of the year, and then not for his own diversion (for he hated all sorts of sports, even those of the circus), but to comply with an antient custom, and to humour the populace P. No dancers, comedians, players upon instruments, buffoons, &c. were suffered to appear at his court; nay, when he was emperor, he would not permit the pagan pontiffs to assist at the infamous sports, as he stiles them, of the theatre, nor to contract friendship with stage-players, dancers, drivers of chariots, &c. or even enter their houses: however, he allowed them to be present at certain combats, which he names sacred, and at which no women appeared; but as for the combats, in which men entered the lists with wild beasts, he excluded from them both the priests, and their children q.

*He hates all sports.*

THE grave and severe life he led in *Gaul* gained him the esteem and affections of the people there, who looked upon him as a prince sent down to them by heaven, the more because he made it his chief study to ease them of the heavy and insupportable burdens with which they were loaded by the emperor's officers, especially by *Florentius*, prefect of *Gaul*, who, on that account, conceived an implacable hatred against him, and did him all the evil offices at court that lay in his power. But *Julian*, preferring the welfare of the people to his own safety, in spite of *Florentius*, lessened the taxes, and reduced them from twenty-five pieces of gold an head to seven, which he found sufficient to defray all the expences of the war r; whence he was by all the people in *Gaul* looked upon as the restorer of their country, and their common father s. In what he undertook in favour of the people, he was greatly assisted by one *Sallust*, a native of *Gaul*, in whom he reposed an intire confidence; which raised such jealousy in the other courtiers, that they took great pains to discredit him with the emperor, who was in the end persuaded to remove him, and appoint one *Lucianus* in his room t. *Julian*, sensibly affected in seeing himself deprived of the counsels of so trusty a friend, gave vent to his grief in the discourse which he wrote to bid

*Studies to ease the people.*

° AMMIAN. JULIAN. LIBAN. *ibid.*

P AMMIAN. I. XXV.

p. 292. JULIAN. *misopog.* p. 59, 60.

q LIBAN. *orat.* x.

p. 240. JULIAN. *or. fragm.* p. 555.

r Panegy. xi p. 223.

AMMIAN. I. xvi. p. 58. JULIAN. *ep.* xvii. p. 133.

s LIBAN.

*orat.* xii. p. 281. JULIAN. *ep. ad Athen.* p. 518.

t LIBAN.

*ibid.* JULIAN. *ep.* xvii. p. 135.



him farewell <sup>u</sup> (N). The emperor, who was then in *Illyricum*, sent him into *Thrace*; whence he was soon after remanded into *Gaul*, where *Julian* left him in 361. with the character of prefect <sup>w</sup>. As *Julian* was universally esteemed and beloved by the people in *Gaul*, no wonder that they readily concurred with the soldiery in bestowing upon him the title of emperor in 360. as we have related above. After his promotion, he continued for some time to profess outwardly the Christian religion, and publicly assisted at the holy ceremonies of the church on the feast of the *Epiphany* in 361 <sup>x</sup>. but threw off the mask soon after; for we are told by *Libanius*, that he no sooner saw himself master of *Illyricum*, than he opened the temples of the gods, offered sacrifices according to the antient rites, and exhorted all persons to follow his example, and restore to its former lustre the religion of their ancestors <sup>y</sup> (O). We have mentioned above, what passed in *Gaul* and *Illyricum*, from the time *Julian* was declared emperor to the death of *Constantius*; and shall therefore, without repeating the same events, resume the thread of our history from that period, generally reckoned the beginning of *Julian's* reign. *Constantius* being dead, the eunuch *Eusebius*, and some others, who dreaded the resentment of *Julian*, and the punishment due to their enormous crimes, were for electing another emperor; but no one falling in with them, *Theolaiphus* and *Aliguldus*,

*He causes  
the temples  
of the gods  
to be open-  
ed.*

<sup>u</sup> JULIAN. orat. viii. p. 444.

<sup>w</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 187.

<sup>x</sup> Zos. l. iii. p. 711. Soz. l. v. c. i. p. 590. JULIAN. ad Athen. p. 509.

<sup>y</sup> LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 288.

(N) From that discourse, which is a kind of panegyric on *Sallust*, it appears, that *Julian* had communicated to him his most secret thoughts; whence some conclude him to have been a pagan, though a man of great integrity, and unblemished character (7).

(O) This happened before the death of *Constantius*, who died on the third of *November* 351. since *Gregory Nazianzen* supposes him to have known, that *Julian* had renounced the true religion

(8); and *Libanius* assures us, that before the emperor's death, the *Greeks*, especially the *Athenians*, declaring for *Julian*, had begun to offer sacrifices as formerly, and practise the ceremonies that had been long neglected; which gave occasion to a sedition raised at *Athens* among the sacred families, as *Libanius* styles them, meaning, no doubt, the families of the pontiffs. The same writer adds, that *Julian* wrote several letters, exhorting them to peace and concord (9).

(7) *Julian. orat. viii. p. 449.*

(9) *Liban. orat. xii. p. 288.*

(8) *Greg. Naz. orat. iii. p. 68, 69.*

both stiled counts, were dispatched to *Julian* with the news of the emperor's death, and to assure him, that all the eastern provinces were ready to obey his commands. The two messengers found him at *Naissus* in *Illyricum*, employed chiefly in superstitious inquiries into the entrails of victims, and sometimes promising himself the best, at other times apprehending the worst events. But the death of *Constantius* delivered him from all his doubts and apprehensions, and put him in possession of the empire without striking a blow <sup>a</sup>. We are told, that when he received the news of the emperor's death, he burst into tears, appeared the same day in deep mourning, and betrayed an extraordinary grief and concern amidst the repeated acclamations of the soldiery, saluting him with the title of *Augustus* <sup>b</sup>. He immediately issued orders for a general mourning, and commanded all possible honours to be paid to the body of the deceased emperor <sup>c</sup>. Soon after the messengers, several horsemen arrived from *Constantinople*, assuring him, that the troops in those parts had unanimously acknowledged him emperor <sup>d</sup>. He therefore set out without delay for *Constantinople*; and being met by almost all the inhabitants of that metropolis at *Heraclea*, he made his public entry on the eleventh of *December* of this year 361. being attended by the senate in a body, by all the magistrates, and by the nobility in their best apparel, every one testifying with loud shouts of joy the satisfaction they felt in seeing such a promising prince, a prince, who had been born, and some time educated, in their city, who had already performed such wonderful exploits, raised to the empire without the least expence of blood or trea-  
 sure to the republic <sup>e</sup>. He was anew declared emperor by the senate of *Constantinople*; and as soon as that ceremony was over, he caused the obsequies of *Constantius* to be performed with the greatest pomp and solemnity imaginable <sup>f</sup>.

*Julian acknowledged emperor on the death of Constantius.*

*He is received with great joy at Constantinople.*

His next care was, to form at *Chalcedon* a court of justice, to inquire into the conduct of the ministers of the deceased emperor, and to hear the complaints of such as had been injured by them. In this court presided *Sallustius Secundus*, whom *Julian* had created prefect of the East, in the room of *Elpidius*, and we must take care not to confound with *Sallust*, prefect of *Gaul*, of whom we have spoken above: to distinguish them, we shall call the former *Secundus*, following therein

*He erects a court of justice to inquire into the conduct of the ministers of Constantius.*

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 200. & l. xxii. p. 204. Zos. l. iii. p. 713. LIBAN. ORAT. xii. p. 289. <sup>b</sup> ZONAR. p. 21. <sup>c</sup> Zos. l. iii. p. 713. <sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>e</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 205.

<sup>f</sup> SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 1. p. 164. LIBAN. ibid. Zos. p. 713.

*Ammianus*, and other writers. *Julian* reposed in both an intimate confidence; and the prefect of the East, though a pagan, is highly commended, even by the ecclesiastic writers, for his prudence, discretion, and compassion towards the Christians persecuted by *Julian*, whose conduct towards them he loudly condemned. With him were joined in commission the two consuls elect, *Mamertinus* and *Nevita*, the former prefect of *Illyricum*, and the latter an officer in the army, with *Arbetio*, *Agilo*, and *Jovinus*, of whom the latter had been lately created general of the horse in *Illyricum*, and the two others had served under *Constantius* in quality of generals. *Arbetio* was universally abhorred on account of his haughty and imperious behaviour, and was said to have occasioned the death of several innocent persons under the late reign: whence the conduct of *Julian* seemed to all very strange, in appointing one to judge others, who ought himself to have been arraigned as a criminal; nay, we are told, that the whole authority was lodged in his hands, and that the others were named only for form-sake<sup>f</sup>; which betrayed in *Julian*, says *Ammianus*, no small want either of judgment or vigour<sup>g</sup>. Be that as it will, by this court were condemned to be burnt alive the famous *Paulus Catena*, and the noted informer *Apodemus*, as the chief authors of all the cruelties committed in the late reign. The eunuch *Eusebius* was likewise condemned and executed.

Several of  
them con-  
demned and  
executed.

Ursula,  
and others,  
condemned  
unjustly.

THESE executions were by all the world applauded as just and equitable; but the death of *Ursula*, a man of great merit, and known integrity, was a stain upon the reputation of *Julian*, whom he had supplied with money unknown to the emperor, when he was sent into *Gaul* with the title of *Cæsar*, but without the necessary appointments to support that dignity. What prompted *Julian* to put him to death, we are nowhere told; but all authors agree, that he deserved no such treatment, especially at his hands; and therefore charge him with the blackest ingratitude, in procuring the death of a person to whom he owed the greatest obligations<sup>h</sup>. *Julian*, to palliate his ingratitude, cruelty, and injustice, pretended, that *Ursula* had been condemned and executed without his knowledge; but *Ammianus* himself owns this to be but a lame excuse<sup>i</sup>. To atone in some degree for this crying injustice, he ordered great part of the estate of *Ursula*, which had been confiscated, to be restored to his daughter, his only child<sup>k</sup>. *Florentius*, who was this year consul, and had, while prefect of *Gaul*, highly

<sup>f</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 206, 207.  
orat. xii. p. 298. AMMIAN. ibid.  
ibid.

<sup>g</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>h</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>i</sup> LIB.

<sup>k</sup> LIB.

disobliged *Julian*, as we related above, was likewise sentenced to death; but he found means to make his escape, and appeared no more<sup>1</sup>: whence we must distinguish him from another of the same name, who was taken and beheaded with *Procopius* in 369. Two officers, whom *Julian* had discharged, offered to discover *Florentius*, provided they were restored to their rank; but *Julian* dismissed them, branding them with the name of informers, and adding, that to persecute an unhappy man, who had been obliged to conceal himself, was an action unworthy of a prince<sup>m</sup>. *Taurus*, *Florentius*'s colleague in the consulship, and prefect of *Italy*, was banished to *Vercellæ*, now *Vercelli*, in *Piedmont*, for no other reason but because he had fled when *Julian* entered *Illyricum*<sup>n</sup>. With the same injustice were banished another *Florentius*, who had been *magister officiorum* under *Constantius*, *Palladius*, who had discharged the same office in the court of *Gallus*, and many others<sup>o</sup>. *Julian*, not satisfied with having punished some of *Constantius*'s ministers, deprived the rest of their employments, without distinction, tho' there were among them several persons of unblemished characters, who had disapproved, and even opposed, most of the late measures.

As the vast number of officers was become an intolerable *He reforms* burden to the public, he thought himself bound to lessen it; *the court.*

and accordingly discharged all useless persons about court, preferring the frugality and modesty of a philosopher, says *Ammianus*, to the vain magnificence of a prince<sup>p</sup>. He reduced, among the rest, the officers called *agentes in rebus*, from ten thousand to seventeen<sup>q</sup>; and discharged thousands of cooks, barbers, and such-like vermin, who devoured the substance of the people, and with their large salaries drained the exchequer<sup>r</sup> (P). The *curiosi*, whose office it was to inform the emperor of what had passed in the different provinces, were all discharged, and that employment intirely suppressed<sup>s</sup>. This great reform of officers and offices enabled him to ease the people of the heavy burdens they groaned under; which he

*He eases  
the people  
by lessening  
the taxes.*

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 206.

<sup>m</sup> Idem, l. xxvi. p. 328 & l.

xxii. p. 210.

<sup>n</sup> Idem, p. 206.

<sup>o</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>p</sup> Idem,

p. 213.

<sup>q</sup> LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 279.

<sup>r</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxii.

p. 206, 207.

<sup>s</sup> Idem, p. 207, 208. LIBAN. p. 293.

(P) Historians relate of him, ing upon him, and betraying that having called for a barber, great surprize, *I called for a barber*, said he, *and not for a govern-* above his condition, *Julian look-* *nor cr senator* (1).

(1) *Ammian. l. xxii. p. 213. Zon. p. 21.*

did,

did, abating throughout the whole empire the fifth part of all taxes and imposts<sup>1</sup>. He recalled from banishment all the orthodox bishops, but with a design, as is observed both by the pagan and Christian writers, to raise disturbances, and sow dissensions, in the church.

Deputies  
sent from  
several ci-  
ties and  
nations to  
congratu-  
late Ju-  
lian.

He invites  
to court  
philoso-  
phers, ma-  
gicians,  
&c. from  
all parts.

THE death of *Constantius* was no sooner known, than deputies were sent from the chief cities of the empire, to present the new prince with crowns of gold; and to congratulate him on his accession to the empire. Their example was followed by several foreign nations, among which, however, we find no mention made of the *Persians*. The deputies of the *Goths* cavilling about the oaths they were to take, *Julian* ordered them to return home, and prepare for war; but contented himself with placing strong garisons in the cities of *Thrace*, and on the banks of the *Danube*<sup>2</sup>. Before he left *Constantinople*, he wrote to the philosopher *Maximus*, who had first inspired him, as we have observed above, with an aversion from the Christian religion, inviting to court both him, and another pagan philosopher and magician, named *Chrysanthus*. The latter, deterred by some bad omens, could not prevail upon himself to comply with the invitation; but the former readily obeyed, and was received by the emperor at *Constantinople* with such tokens of friendship and esteem, as to *Ammianus* seemed below the dignity of a prince<sup>3</sup>, tho' highly commended by *Libanius*<sup>4</sup> (Q).

THE

<sup>1</sup> JULIAN. misop. p. 102.      <sup>2</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 210. LIB.  
orat. x. p. 245.      <sup>3</sup> AMMIAN. ibid.      <sup>4</sup> LIB. crat. xii. p.  
299.

(Q) The philosopher, elated with the reception he met with from *Julian*, and the respect paid him by others out of complaisance to the prince, grew so proud and haughty, that it was less difficult to have access to the emperor than to him (2). By him *Julian* was persuaded to write a second letter to *Chrysanthus*; nay, he condescended to write privately with his own hand to the philosopher's wife, hoping, by her means, to draw him to court. But, finding him unalterably fixed

in his former resolution, he created him high pontif of *Lydia* (3); which office he discharged with great moderation: foreseeing, without the assistance of magic, what might happen, he did not take upon him, as others did, to rebuild the temples of the gods; but carefully avoided disobliging the Christians, or doing them the least injury: hence the re-establishment of idolatry in that province was scarce perceptible (4). The encouragement *Maximus* met with from *Julian*,

(2) *Euseb.* .. c. p. 79.  
145, 149.

(3) *Idem*, p. 80, 81.

(4) *Idem*, c. 21. p.

THE next consuls were, *Claudius Mamertinus*, and *Nevita* or *Nevitta*, who, on the first day of *January*, when they entered, according to custom, upon their office, went, before it was light, to wait on the emperor, fearing, says *Mamertinus* in the panegyric he pronounced on this occasion, he should be beforehand with them<sup>1</sup>. *Julian* no sooner heard they were coming, than he hastened to meet them in the utmost confusion, as if he had been wanting in respect to them, kissed them, received them with the greatest regard imaginable, and would by all means attend them in their chariots, walking before them to the senate mixed with the croud<sup>2</sup>. His conduct on this occasion is greatly commended by some, and no less blamed by others, among the rest by *Ammianus*, who looked upon it as too mean, and below the majesty of a prince<sup>3</sup>. It was an usual thing for emperors to accompany the new consuls on that day, but not on foot, it seems, nor blended with the croud. On the third of *January*, *Mamertinus* exhibited the *Circensian* sports, when a troop of slaves being brought into the circus, in order to be declared free by the consul, according to custom, *Julian*, unacquainted with the prerogatives of the several magistrates, declared them free himself; but, being told that he entrenched upon the jurisdiction of the consuls, he

*Julian pays great respect to the consuls.*

<sup>1</sup> Panegy. xi. p. 222.  
l. xxii. p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> AMMIAN.

drew to court from all parts swarms of philosophers, magicians, aruspices, and diviners of all denominations, who were kindly received by the emperor, entertained at a great expence, and raised to honourable employments, tho' many of them had in the late reign been branded with infamy for their notorious impostures, and condemned either to languish in prison, or to work in the mines. These were *Julian's* chief favourites; these the persons in whom he most confided (5). But, among them, *Maximus* and *Priscus* bore the chief sway, assuming a port and authority ill suiting their

profession (6). *Iamblichus* of *Apamea* was likewise importuned by *Julian* to come to court; but he chose rather to lead a retired life, as did the great *Basil*, rejecting with contempt the tender which *Julian*, who had known him at *Athens*, made him of his friendship (7). The Christian writers add, that *Julian's* court was not only crouded with philosophers and magicians, but with infamous women (8); a charge not denied by *Ammianus* himself, who owns, that he was not undeservedly traduced and ridiculed for carrying about with him troops of women (9).

(5) Idem, c. 5. p. 80, 81. *Ammian.* l. xxii. p. 225. (6) *Eunap. ibid.*  
(7) *Rhisl. ep. ccvi. ccvii. p. 225, 226.* (8) *Cbryf. in gent. p. 676. Greg.*  
*Naz. orat. iv. p. 221.* (9) *Ammian. p. 227.*

*Heenrichus  
the city of  
Constantinople  
with many  
privileges.  
He sets out  
for Antioch.*

begged pardon, and condemned himself to pay a fine of ten pounds weight of gold <sup>b</sup> (R). This year *Julian* appointed one *Prætextatus* governor of *Achaia*, who is mightily commended both by *Ammianus* <sup>c</sup> and *Zosimus* <sup>d</sup>; and *Photius* quotes a discourse of the sophist *Himera* on his proconsulship, which office he still held in 364. and 365. under the emperor *Valentinian* <sup>e</sup>. Before he left *Constantinople*, he enriched that metropolis, the place of his nativity, with many privileges, formed a large harbour to shelter the ships from the south wind, built a magnificent porch leading to it, and in another porch a stately library, in which he lodged all his books <sup>f</sup>.

At length he left *Constantinople* in the month of *May*, and set out for *Antioch*: he passed through *Chalcedon*, and from thence went to *Nicomedia*, the ruins of which city, overturned by an earthquake, he could not behold without shedding many tears: he ordered considerable sums for the rebuilding of it; and then pursuing his journey by *Nice*, he turned out of his way, on the borders of *Galatia*, to visit the famous temple of *Cybele* at *Pessinus*, which he enriched with offerings of a great value. He pronounced a discourse on that pretended deity, which he composed in one night, appointed *Calixenes* priests of the temple, and then continued his route to *Ancyra*, where he was met by the pagan priests carrying with them their idols. As soon as he arrived at the palace, he ordered considerable sums to be distributed among them, and the next day exhibited public sports <sup>g</sup>. As he pursued his march, he was met in most places by crowds of people come to lay their complaints before him: he heard them with patience, and decided their differences with equity, not suffering himself to be prejudiced in favour of those who complained, or against such as had given them occasion to complain <sup>h</sup>. As he entered *Cilicia* he was met by the inhabitants of a small village, one of whom accused another of aspiring to the empire, alleging, that he had ordered himself a purple habit, which was actually

<sup>b</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxi. p. 209.

<sup>c</sup> Idem, p. 210.

<sup>d</sup> Zos.

l. iv. p. 735.

<sup>e</sup> PHOT. c. 165. p. 353.

<sup>f</sup> AMMIAN. p.

224. ZOS. p. 713. THEOPH. orat. iv. p. 60.

<sup>g</sup> LIBAN.

orat. x. p. 258. AMMIAN. p. 220.

<sup>h</sup> AMMIAN. ibid.

(R) *Ammianus* observes, that *Julian* went frequently to the senate, and spoke in all debates; whereas *Constantius* used to command the senators to attend him

in the palace, and to signify to them his will and pleasure, without allowing them to sit down in his presence (1).

making. *Julian* heard the informer with great patience, and then told him, that when the purple habit was done, he might supply, if he pleased, the new prince with purple shoes<sup>l</sup>. The emperor, passing through *Cilicia*, arrived at length at *Antioch*, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable. Soon after his arrival, he went up to the top of mount *Cassus* in the neighbourhood of that city, and there offered a solemn sacrifice to *Jupiter*. On his return, *Theodotus*, one of the chief citizens of *Hierapolis*, who, it seems, had formerly done something to disoblige him, threw himself at his feet, intreating him to forgive him. *Julian* did not know him; but, without inquiring who he was, or what he had done, embraced him with great tenderness, saying, *In what you have disoblighed me, I know not, nor do I care to know; but, be it what it will, you have nothing to fear under a prince, whose greatest ambition is to lessen the number of his enemies, and increase that of his friends*<sup>k</sup>.

DURING his stay at *Antioch*, he employed himself chiefly in *He administering and deciding causes; in protecting the innocent, nisters justice without distinction of Christian or pagan, says Ammianus*<sup>l</sup>; *since with impartiality* and punishing the guilty, without forgetting his usual lenity and moderation. In the administration of justice, he readily hearkened to those who seemed better acquainted with the laws than himself, advising constantly with them before he gave sentence<sup>m</sup>. But notwithstanding his so much boasted equity and moderation, he sentenced to death *Gaudentius*, one of the late emperor's secretaries, and *Julian*, formerly vicar, for no other reason but because they had adhered to *Constantius* with great steadiness and zeal<sup>n</sup>; which a generous prince would have rather thought worthy of reward than punishment. He treated in the same manner the son of *Marcellus*, accused of aspiring to the empire; but contented himself with only banishing *Romanus* and *Vincentius*, two officers of distinction who were convicted of the same crime<sup>o</sup>. *Marcellus* had been disoblighed *Julian*, while he commanded under him in *Antioch*, as we have observed elsewhere (S). Both pagan and Christian authors

<sup>l</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>k</sup> Idem, p. 227.    <sup>l</sup> Idem, p. 222.    <sup>m</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>n</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>o</sup> Idem, p. 222, 223.

(S) The ecclesiastic writers *lian*, during his stay at *Antioch* make long descants on the unheard-of cruelties, and innumerable murders, committed by *Julian*, during his stay at *Antioch* (2). *Gregory Nazianzen* represents the *Orentes*, on which stood *Antioch*, choaked up with the

(2) *Greg. Naz. orat. iii. p. 91. Chrys. in gent. p. 677.*



*The empire* authors observe, that during the short time *Julian* reigned, *afflicted* the empire was constantly afflicted by some grievous calamity or other: dreadful earthquakes were felt in every province; *with many* most of the cities of *Palæstine*, *Libya*, *Sicily*, and *Greece*, were *calamities* overturned<sup>p</sup>. *Libanius* writes, that not one city was left standing in all *Libya*, and but one in *Greece*; that *Nice* was utterly ruined, and *Constantinople* greatly damaged<sup>q</sup>. The temples of *Apollo* at *Rome* and *Daphne*, were about the same time consumed by fire. The sea in several places broke in upon the land, and destroyed whole cities with their inhabitants. At *Alexandria*, the sea retiring during an earthquake, returned afterwards with such violence, that it laid under water several towns and villages, and drowned an incredible number of people<sup>r</sup>. To these calamities was added a general drought, which lasted till the winter was far spent, and produced an universal famine: the famine was followed by a dreadful plague, and both continued till the death of *Julian*, carrying off great numbers of men and cattle<sup>s</sup> (T). *Julian*, to remedy this evil, fixed the prices of corn, and all other provisions; which increased it beyond measure, the merchants conveying privately their corn to other places. By this means that great and populous metropolis was reduced to such miseries as can hardly be expressed<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 226. SOZ. l. vi. c. 2. p. 639. CHRYS. in gent. p. 677. GREG. NAZ. orat. iii. p. 91. <sup>q</sup> LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 314. <sup>r</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 240. GREG. NAZ. p. 112. SOZ. p. 639. <sup>s</sup> AMMIAN. ibid. <sup>t</sup> LIBAN. orat. iv. p. 152. AMMIAN. p. 233.

bodies of such as had by his orders been privately murdered, or thrown into that river in the night-time; and adds, that all the ditches, caves, wells, ponds, &c. in the neighbourhood of that city, were filled with the bodies of the young virgins and children, whom he had inhumanly sacrificed, hoping to discover future events in their entrails (3). These abominable practices, and barbarous murders, were kept secret, and carefully concealed, during his life-time, says *Theodor-*

*et* (4); but after his death many chests were found in the palace, filled with the bones of those he had thus inhumanly sacrificed. It is surprising, that such cruelties should have been known only to the Christian writers.

(T) The ecclesiastic writers observe, that the famine followed *Julian* from place to place; and that, as he continued longer at *Antioch*, than in any other city, it raged there with most violence.

(3) *Greg. Naz. ibid.*

(4) *Theodor. l. iii. c. 22. p. 659.*

THE following year, 363. *Julian* entered upon his fourth consulship, having *Sallust*, the prefect of *Gaul*, for his colleague; and on that occasion *Libanius* pronounced the panegyric, which is still extant<sup>a</sup>. *Julian*, on the first of *January*, *Julian* visited the temple of *Jupiter*, and there performed the heathenish sacrifices, which had been long omitted, for the safety of the empire (U). *sacrifices in the temple of Jupiter at Antioch.*

JULIAN

<sup>a</sup> *Lib. vit. p. 43, 44. & orat. x. p. 227.*

(U) As the inhabitants of *Antioch* were mostly Christians, and, besides, highly provoked against *Julian*, to whose impiety in worshipping the idols they ascribed the famine, and the other calamities, with which the whole empire was afflicted, they published several lampoons, reflecting on the defects of his person, and exposing him to ridicule on account of his small stature, his forbidding aspect, his long and rough beard, his port and gestures, which were, it seems, somewhat odd and ridiculous. They stiled him butcher, by reason of the many victims he was daily immolating; and rallied him, not without reason, says *Ammianus* (5), for taking pride in carrying himself the utensils for the sacrifices, and acting rather the part of a priest than an emperor. The strange and fantastical figures which he caused to be engraved on his coins, were, and not undeservedly, one of the topics of ridicule (6). *Julian*, highly provoked with the raileries of the people of *Antioch*, and severe satires that were daily published against him, and sung publicly in the streets, wrote an ironical invective against the

*Antiochians*, stiled *The Antiochian* or *Misopogon*, that is, the beard-bater; in which he represents them intirely addicted to their interest, abandoned to luxury, pomp, and lewdness, great admirers of plays, farces, and all sorts of diversions. And truly, that his reproaches were not groundless, is manifest from the homilies which the famous *Cyril* preached a few years after in that city. However, *Ammianus* assures us, that, blinded with passion, he mixed with the truth many things that were quite foreign to it (7). *Elias* of *Crete*, as quoted by *Gregory Nazianzen*, tells us, that, in composing this piece, *Julian* was assisted by *Libanius* (8). *Maximus* too had, in all likelihood, a hand in it; for to his censure *Julian* used to submit all his compositions (9). The *Misopogon* was received by some better, by others, especially the Christians, worse than it deserved: it is a continued satire, not without humour; but in many places flat, low, and insipid. He wrote it seven months after his arrival at *Antioch*; that is, about the latter end of *January* of the present year 363 (1). Though he

(5) *Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 227.*

(6) *Greg. Naz. orat. iii. p. 82. Julian.*

*p. 87. Socrat. p. 390. Cange, Byz. fam. p. 39.*

(7) *Ammian. p. 226.*

(8) *Greg. Naz. p. 133.*

(9) *Julian. ep. xvi. p. 131.*

(1) *Julian. misop.*

*p. 66.*

He pre-  
pares for  
the Per-  
sian war.

JULIAN had, ever since his accession to the empire, showed a strong inclination to make war upon the *Persians*; and try whether he could humble that haughty enemy, who had for many years harassed the eastern provinces in a most miserable manner, and defeated all the attempts of his predecessor. Being advised, soon after his arrival at *Constantinople*, to fall upon the *Goths*, he answered, that he designed to enter the lists with a more formidable enemy \*. Before he left that metropolis, he had appointed his generals, and named the officers and soldiers who were to serve under them. *Victor* was created general of the foot, and *Hormisdas* of the horse. The latter was the elder brother of *Sapor* king of *Persia*; but, having been excluded from the crown, and kept some time under confinement, he found means to make his escape, and took sanctuary in the court of *Constantine* in 323 \*. *Julian*, during his stay at *Antioch*, pursued his preparations for the *Persian* war, drawing together his troops from all quarters, erecting magazines, making new levies, and, above all, consulting the oracles, the auspices, magicians, &c. The oracles of *Delphi*, *Delos*, and *Dodona*, assured him of victory †. But the auspices, and most of his courtiers and officers, did all that

\* AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 224.      † Zos. l. iii. p. 713. ABUL-  
FARAG p. 90.      † THEODORET. l. iii. c. 16. GREG. NAZ.  
orat. p. 114. PHILOSTORG. l. vii. c. 15. LIBAN. p. 252.

had been highly provoked by the severe reflections, and biting raileries, of the *Antiochians*, yet in his *Misopogon* he solemnly declares, that none of them shall on that score lose their lives, be beaten with rods, arrested, or imprisoned: but threatens to withdraw from a city, which thus requited, with the utmost ingratitude, the innumerable favours he had heaped upon it, and the extraordinary care he had taken in relieving the citizens, when in the utmost distress (2). His design was to reside at *Tarsus*; and with this view he wrote to *Memor*, governor of *Cilicia*, one of his intimate friends, in-

joining him to get every thing ready for his reception against his return from the *Persian* war, which he was then bent upon (3). *Libanius* tells us, that, about the time *Julian* wrote his *Misopogon*, ten soldiers, incensed against him on account of his attempting to re-establish the worship of the gods, conspired to murder him, while he was exercising his troops. But the plot being discovered by the conspirators themselves, when they were intoxicated with wine, they were all arrested, and brought before *Julian*, who generously forgave them, tho' convicted of the crime laid to their charge (4).

(2) *Julian. misop.* p. 101.      (3) *Idem.* p. 102----106. *Soz.* l. v. c. 19.  
*Ammian.* l. xxii. p. 229.      (4) *Liban. orat.* xii. p. 307. & *orat.* iv. p. 161.

lay in their power to divert him from his intended expedition<sup>a</sup>. But the deceitful answers of the oracles, the confidence he reposed in the magicians, and the desire of adding the *Persian* monarch to the many kings he had already seen humbled at his feet, prevailed over all other considerations<sup>a</sup>. The *Persians*, according to *Theodoret*, began hostilities<sup>b</sup>, by making inroads into *Mesopotamia*. But *Libanius* tells us, that the king of *Persia* wrote to *Julian*, offering to conclude a peace with him upon such terms as he should think just and reasonable; but that *Julian*, desirous to revenge the many affronts offered to the *Romans* by that haughty prince, tore the letter, and would hearken to no terms<sup>c</sup>. *Socrates* speaks of ambassadors sent by *Sapor* with advantageous proposals, but dismissed by *Julian* with this answer; that, ere it was long, he hoped to treat with their master in person<sup>d</sup>. Will hearken to no terms.

SEVERAL nations sent deputies to *Julian*, offering him their assistance, which he refused, saying, *The Romans are to assist their allies, but stand in no need of their assistance*<sup>e</sup>. He likewise rejected, and in a very disobliging manner, the offers of the *Saracens*, answering them, when they complained of his stopping the pension, which was paid to their nation by other emperors, that *a warlike prince had steel, but no gold*; which they, resenting, joined the *Persians*, and continued faithful to them to the last<sup>f</sup>. However, he wrote to *Arfaces* king of *Armenia*, injoining him to keep his troops in readiness to execute the orders he should soon transmit to him. Having made the necessary preparations for so important a war, as soon as the season was fit for action, he dispatched orders to his troops to pass the *Euphrates*, with a design to enter the enemy's country before they had the least notice of his march, placing guards for that purpose on all the roads<sup>g</sup>. Before he left *Antioch*, he appointed one *Alexander*, a cruel and passionate man, governor of that city, saying, *The citizens deserve no better*<sup>h</sup>. He set out from *Antioch* on the fifth of *March*, and reached the same day *Litarba*; a village in the territory of *Chalcis*, and about fifteen leagues from *Antioch*. The magistrates of that great city, who had attended him thither, wishing him an happy journey, and a triumphant return, he told them in a great passion, that he would never visit them again, He sets out from Antioch.

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 245. <sup>b</sup> Idem, l. xxii. p. 224.  
<sup>c</sup> THEODORET. l. iii. c. 16. p. 654. <sup>d</sup> LIBAN. orat. x. p. 243.  
<sup>e</sup> —245. <sup>f</sup> SOCR. l. iii. p. 192. <sup>g</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 238.  
<sup>h</sup> Idem, l. xxix. p. 238. & l. xxv. p. 298. <sup>i</sup> JULIAN. ep. xxvii. p. 160. <sup>j</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 156.

being resolved to winter at *Tarsus*<sup>1</sup>. He had told them before the same thing in the presence of *Libanius*, who thereupon wrote two speeches, the one, addressed to *Julian*, in favour of the inhabitants of *Antioch*, and the other to the inhabitants themselves<sup>2</sup>. Of these, the first only has reached our times. From *Litarba*, *Julian* proceeded to *Beræa*, where he halted a day, and pronounced a speech before the council of the place, exhorting them to adore the gods of their ancestors. He writes himself, that they all heard him with attention, and commended him; but few followed his advice<sup>1</sup> (W). He was better pleased with the inhabitants of *Batne*, the next city he came to; for they had, before his arrival, restored the public worship of the gods. There he offered sacrifices, and, having immolated a great number of victims, he pursued the next day his journey to *Hierapolis*, the capital city of the province of *Euphratesiana*, which he reached on the ninth of *March*. He was met at a great distance by crowds of people; but, as he entered the city, fifty soldiers were killed, and a great

*The route  
of Julian's  
army.*

<sup>1</sup> EVAGR. l. vi. c. 11. p. 452. JULIAN. p. 156. AMMIAN. p. 239. <sup>2</sup> LIB. vit. p. 44. JULIAN. ibid. SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 17. p. 190. <sup>1</sup> JULIAN. ep. xxvii. p. 157.

(W) At the head of the council was a zealous Christian, who had not only disinherited, but turned out of doors, his son, for renouncing the Christian religion. As *Julian* drew near *Beræa*, the son, accosting him, acquainted him with the treatment he had met with from his father, and the motive of his indignation. The emperor, pitying his condition, bid him take courage, and be under no concern: *For I will take upon me* added he, *to appease your father, and reinstate you in his favour*. Mindful of his promise, the same day he invited the chief citizens of *Beræa*, and, among the rest, both the father and the son, to sup with him. The two latter he placed by him; and in the midst of the banquet, turning to the father,

*I do not think it reasonable, said he, to use any violence in point of religion. Allow your son to profess a religion different from yours, as I allow you to profess one different from mine, tho' I might easily oblige you to renounce it. What!* replied the father, *are you speaking in favour of an impious wretch abhorred by Heaven, who has preferred falsehood to truth, and renounced the worship of the true GOD, to fall down before idols?* Injuries and invectives, replied *Julian*, interrupting him, *are foreign to our purpose; and therefore I beg you would forbear them*. Then turning to the son, *It is incumbent upon me, said he, to take care of you, since your father is deaf to my prayers and intreaties in your behalf* (5).

(5) *Theod. l. iii. c. 17. p. 655, 656.*

many more hurt; by the fall of a porch <sup>m</sup>. At *Hierapolis* he lodged in the house of one for whom he had a particular esteem and veneration, because he was the son-in-law of *Sopater*, the disciple of *Iamblichus*, and because neither *Constantius* nor *Gallus*, who had both lodged in his house, had ever been able to prevail upon him to renounce the worship of his idols <sup>n</sup>. From *Hierapolis*, *Julian* wrote to *Libanius*, giving him an account of his journey, and of several things he had done at *Hierapolis* <sup>o</sup>; but takes no notice of the death of the fifty soldiers. He left *Hierapolis* on the thirteenth of *March*; and, having passed the *Euphrates* on a bridge of boats with his army, he came to *Batnæ*, a small city of *Osrhoene*, about ten leagues from *Hierapolis*, and different from the city of the same name in *Syria*. There fifty soldiers more were killed by the fall of a stack of straw <sup>p</sup>. From *Batnæ* he proceeded to *Charrhæ*, where, in the famous temple of the *Moon*, he performed some ceremonies with his magicians, says *Theodoret*, *He sacrificed to the Moon at Charrhæ.* which were not known then, but were discovered after his death (X). While he was at *Charrhæ*, news being brought him, that a party of the enemy's horse had broken into the *Roman* territories, he resolved to leave an army in *Mesopotamia*

<sup>m</sup> JULIAN. ep. xxvii. p. 159. LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 311. <sup>n</sup> JULIAN. ibid. <sup>o</sup> Idem, p. 160. <sup>p</sup> LIBAN. p. 111. AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 239, 240.

(X) That writer tells us, that he ordered the gates of the temple to be shut, sealed them with his own signet, and placed guards round the temple, with orders to let no one enter it till his return. But, when the news of his death were brought to *Charrhæ*, the gates were opened, continues the same writer, when, to the great surprize of the whole city, a woman was seen hanging by her hair, with her arms stretched out, and her belly open (6). What *Theodoret* writes, is not vouched by any other author; but they all agree, that *Julian* privately sacrificed in the temple of the *Moon* at *Charrhæ*; which cere-

mony being over, he delivered, as we read in *Ammianus*, a purple robe to his kinsman *Procopius*, the only person whom he had admitted to the sacrifice, in-joining him to seize on the empire, if news should be brought him of his death (7). This looks as if the omens had not proved favourable. But, on the other hand, *Libanius* writes, that the gods revealed to him, that he was not to die, till he had subdued the *Persians*; and bestows great encomiums upon him for having chosen to hasten his death, rather than to deprive himself of the glory he was to acquire in this war (8).

(6) *Idem*, c. 21. p. 658, 659. *pro templ. p. 24.*

(7) *Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 240.*

(8) *Lib.*

His conduct towards the king of Armenia.

to guard the frontiers of the empire on that side, while he advanced on the other into the heart of the *Persian* dominions<sup>1</sup>. This army consisted, according to some<sup>2</sup>, of twenty thousand, according to others, of thirty thousand, chosen troops<sup>3</sup>; and was commanded by *Procopius*, and *Sebastian*, a famous *Manichean*, who had been governor of *Egypt*, and had persecuted there, with the utmost cruelty, the orthodox Christians. These two were to join, if possible, *Arfaces* king of *Armenia*, to lay waste the fruitful plains of *Media*, and meet the emperor in *Assyria*. *Julian* wrote to *Arfaces*, acquainting him with his design, but in the most disobliging terms imaginable, treating him as if he had been the meanest of his slaves, reviling the memory of *Constantius*, to whom that prince had been ever greatly attached, and extolling his own abilities and skill in war. As *Arfaces* professed the Christian religion, *Julian*, after having threatened to treat him as a rebel, if he did not, with the utmost punctuality, execute the orders laid upon him, added, *And the GOD you adore will not be able to screen you from my indignation*. Thus *Sozomen*<sup>4</sup>.

THERE were two roads leading from *Charrhæ* to *Persia*, the one to the left by *Nisibis*, and through the province of *Aliabene*; the other to the right<sup>5</sup>, through *Assyria*, along the banks of the *Euphrates*. On both these roads *Julian* had caused magazines to be erected, but chose the latter; and after having, from an eminence, viewed his army, consisting of sixty-three thousand men, he set out on the twenty-fifth of *March* for *Davana* or *Dabana* in *Mesopotamia*, and arrived the next day at *Callinifus* or *Callinicum*, where he stopt the twenty-seventh to celebrate the feast of the *Mother of the gods*. The day following he proceeded on his march, and encamped the night in the fields near the *Euphrates*; where he was met by his fleet, consisting of seven hundred gallies, and four hundred ships of burden, commanded by count *Lucillianus*, and the tribune *Constantianus*<sup>6</sup>. From *Callinicum* he proceeded to *Cercusum*, called also *Circesum*, situated at the conflux of the *Abora* and the *Euphrates*, and reckoned one of the strongest places in *Mesopotamia*, having been fortified by *Dioclesian*, to prevent sudden irruptions of the *Persians*, who, in his reign, had even surprised *Antioch*. At this place *Julian* passed the *Abora* with his whole army, and then ordered the bridge to be broken down, that his soldiers might not be tempted to desert, seeing they could not return home. From *Cercusum*

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 240.

l. vi. c. i. p. 634.

<sup>2</sup> AMMIAN. *ibid.* *Zos.* p. 314.

<sup>3</sup> *Zos.* l. iii. p. 714. *Soz.*

<sup>4</sup> AMMIAN. *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Soz.* *ibid.*

he advanced to *Zaitba*, where the tomb of the emperor *Gerdian* was still to be seen. On the seventh of *April*, a soldier, and two horses, were struck dead by a flash of lightning; and a lion of an extraordinary size, presenting himself to the army, was dispatched in a moment by the soldiers with a shower of darts. These omens occasioned great disputes between the philosophers and the aruspices, the latter looking upon them as inauspicious, and advising the emperor not to proceed on his intended expedition, and the former refuting their arguments with others more agreeable to *Julian's* temper \*.

THE emperor, after having passed the *Abora*, which parted *He enters the Persian dominions.* the *Roman* and *Persian* dominions, encouraged his men with a proper speech to revenge the many injuries and affronts, which of late years had been offered by the haughty enemy to the *Roman* emperors. When he had ended his speech, he ordered large sums to be distributed among them, an hundred and thirty pieces of silver a man, says *Ammianus*. He then proceeded on his march with the greatest order and precaution imaginable. *Nevitta* led the right wing along the *Euphrates*; *Arintheus* and *Hormisdas* were in the left, with some troops of horse; *Julian* himself commanded in the centre; and the rear was brought up by *Dagalaiphus*, *Victor*, and *Secundinus*: a body of fifteen hundred horse was appointed to scour the country for intelligence, and to prevent any surprize. To strike the greater terror into the enemy, he ordered his ranks to be widened; by which means the army took up about ten miles, and appeared at a distance far more numerous than it really was \*. Having passed the *Abora*, he entered *Affyria*, says *Ammianus*; but, according to *Libanius*, he crossed vast deserts before he reached that province, which he found very populous, and abounding with all necessaries of life; but he laid *He lays waste Af-* it waste far and near, setting fire to the magazines, and destroying the provisions which he could not carry with him \*. *By that means he put it out of his power, which was judged very impolitic, to take the same route on his return. Six or seven days after he had passed the Abora, he came to a fort called Annathian, which capitulated upon the first summons; whereupon Julian preferred the officer who commanded there, by name Pusius, to the rank of a tribune. He ever after served the Romans with great fidelity, and was in the end created duke of Egypt* \* (Y).

\* AMMIAN. p. 244---246.

\* Idem ibid. Zos. p. 715.

LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 312.

\* Idem, p. 313. Soz. ibid.

\* AMMIAN. l. xxiv. p. 263. LIBAN. p. 312.

(Y) Here was found a *Roman* *Galerius* invaded *Persia* sixty-six  
 soldier, who, falling sick when years before, had been left in the  
 S 3 enemy's



*He reduces several towns and strong-holds.* JULIAN burnt all the places he found abandoned by the inhabitants; but left several strong-holds behind him, without attempting to reduce them, upon their promising to submit when he had made himself master of the rest of the country<sup>a</sup>. After the army had repassed the *Euphrates*, at a place called *Baraxmalcha*, *Hormisda* would have fallen into an ambuscade laid for him by the enemy, had he not been luckily prevented by a canal, which he could not pass, from advancing to the place, where a body of *Persians* lay in wait for him, under the conduct of *Surena*<sup>b</sup>. After this, *Julian* passed with great difficulty an arm of the *Euphrates*, which was swelled to an unusual height by the melting of the snow; and laid siege to *Bersabora*, or *Pyrifabora*, next to *Ctesiphon*, the strongest place in *Affyria*, being fortified with a double wall, and a citadel, and defended by a numerous garison. But *Julian*, surmounting all difficulties, reduced it in two days time, in spite of the most vigorous resistance he met with, both from the garison and the inhabitants, who fought to the last like men in despair. He found in the place great store of provisions, and distributed among his soldiers, who began to mutiny, an hundred pieces of silver a head, having with difficulty prevailed upon them to be satisfied with that sum<sup>c</sup>. Having thus pacified the army, and set fire to the town, he pursued his march, and entered a country, which the enemy, foreseeing he would pass that way, had laid under water; but the soldiers, animated by the example of their leader, waded through it with great resolution, and, arriving at *Maiozamalcha*, a place of great strength, which refused to submit, they drew a double line round it, battering the walls night and day, without intermission; but the besieged obstinately held out, till the *Romans*, by means of a mine, got into the city, while the *Persians* were busied in defending the walls (Z). *Julian*, incensed against the governor for not

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxiv. p. 265.

<sup>c</sup> AMMIAN. p. 269, 270.

by command. Zos. p. 715.  
from Callir

enemy's country. *And Circesium* covery, he lifted his *thrates*, and the *Persian* troops, being men in the flower of his age, and had served with great reputation. When he was brought to *Julian*, he assured him, that he had been often foretold, he should live till he was near an hundred years old, and be buried at last in the *Roman* territories. *Ammianus* sup-

poses the place to have been by him betrayed to the *Romans* (9).

(Z) *Ammianus*, who was at this siege, calls *Maiozamalcha* a great and populous city; and his authority is of more weight with us than that of *Libanius* or *Zosimus*, who suppose it to have been only a castle near a large and populous city named *Besuchis* (1).

(9) *Ammian.* l. xxiv. p. 264.

(1) *Idem*, p. 271. *Liban.* p. 316. *Zos.* p. 721.

sur-

surrendering the place at the time agreed on, and for calling *Hormisdas* a traitor, ordered him to be burnt alive, and gave up the city to be plundered by the soldiers.

As the army was now within seven miles of *Ctesiphon*, and *Victor*, who had visited all the roads, assured them they had nothing to apprehend, they advanced to a city, which had been formerly ruined, says *Ammianus*, by a Roman emperor, meaning, according to some, *Seleucia*, ruined by *Lucius Verus*, and, according to others, *Sabata*, about three miles from *Ctesiphon* the great metropolis of the Persian empire <sup>d</sup>. From this place they advanced to a fort, which was taken by assault, after a short, but vigorous resistance, *Julian* himself having narrowly escaped being killed by a shower of arrows discharged against him, as he was viewing the walls too near <sup>e</sup>. Having raised the fort, he allowed his army some time to refresh themselves; and then, causing the canal to be cleansed, which had been formerly dug by *Trajan* between the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, he conveyed by that means his fleet from the former to the latter river. After this, he led his army to *Coche*, a place of great strength, standing on the *Tigris* over-against *Ctesiphon*; but we are not told, that he attacked it. All we know is, that he passed the river with no less rashness than courage, in spite of the utmost efforts of the enemy, encamped on the opposite bank, whom he obliged to retire, and shelter themselves within the walls of *Ctesiphon*. Some of the Romans pursued them to the very gates of the city, which they would have entered with the enemy, had not *Victor* prudently restrained them. The Persians lost on this occasion, according to some, two thousand five hundred, according to others, six thousand men, and the Romans but seventy or seventy-five. Only part of the Roman army passed the *Tigris* that day, and made themselves masters of the Persian camp. The rest followed the next day, and *Julian* himself, with his guards, three days after <sup>f</sup>. *Julian* consulted which way to pass the river, and being repulsed with shame, as it was very strong, and defended by a very numerous garrison, he contented himself with sending *Arintheus* to lay waste the neighbouring country <sup>g</sup>.

*He advances to Ctesiphon.*

*Puts the Persians to flight, and passes the Tigris.*

In the mean time the king of *Persia* was assembling, on the most distant confines of his kingdom, a formidable army, with a design to fall upon *Julian* in his retreat. However, he sent

<sup>d</sup> AMMIAN. p. 271. ZOS. p. 721.

<sup>e</sup> AMMIAN. p. 275.

<sup>f</sup> Idem, p. 278. LIBAN. p. 319. ZOS. p. 726.

<sup>g</sup> AMMIAN.

p. 281.

deputies to propose terms for an accommodation, being desirous to put an end to so destructive a war. These applied to *Hormisdas*, as their countryman, and their king's brother, who immediately flew to the emperor with the agreeable tidings, as he imagined; but *Julian*, instead of hearkening to the proposals, ordered *Hormisdas* privately to dismiss the ambassadors, and give out, that they were only some of his old friends come to see him; for he apprehended, that both the soldiers and officers would have disapproved of his pursuing so dangerous and troublesome a war, when a peace might have been concluded upon honourable and advantageous terms. The ambassadors being dismissed, *Julian*, contrary to the advice of his officers, resolved to advance farther into *Persia*; but the army had no sooner set out on their march, than, changing his mind, he began to think it more advisable to turn back, not by the way he came, the country on that side being laid waste, but to take his route along the banks of the *Tigris*; which he did accordingly, without so much as attempting to reduce *Ctesiphon*, tho' he had lain several days before it.

He turns  
back,  
without  
making any  
attempt  
upon Ctesiphon.

Deceived  
by treacherous  
guides  
he burns  
his fleet.

HE marched some time along the *Tigris*, which he had on his left, being conducted by guides well acquainted with the country; but who in the end betrayed him: for, as they were natives of *Persia*, they persuaded him to quit the river, and take a quite different route, notwithstanding the remonstrances of *Hormisdas*, and all the officers of the army; who, looking upon the guides as persons sent by the enemy on purpose to lead them into some snare, did all that lay in their power to divert *Julian* from following their advice; but he, reposing in them an intire confidence, resolved not only to leave the *Tigris*, but to burn his fleet, lest the enemy should become masters of it. This resolution alarmed the whole army, but was nevertheless put immediately in execution, only twelve small vessels being spared, which were to be conveyed over land in waggons, to make use of them should be occasion. When the fleet was burnt, the army began to mutiny, and cry out, *Circesius* proposes that the emperor was betrayed; that the guides were real traitors, sent by the enemy on purpose to lead them to destruction. *Julian*, to appease the soldiery, ordered the guides to be put to the rack, when they owned themselves to be what they really were, confessing, that, in advising him to burn the fleet, they had no other design but to ruin him and the army. Hereupon great care was taken to extinguish the fire, and save the ships; but the flames could by no means be overcome, till the whole fleet, except the above-mentioned twelve vessels, was reduced to ashes.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxiv. p. 281. LIBAN. p. 301. ZONAR. p. 23.

After

After this, *Julian* pursued his march through a country, says *Ammianus*, very fruitful in itself, but ravaged and laid waste by the enemy; insomuch that the *Romans* were reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions, and at the same time harassed without intermission by strong parties, who, in a manner surrounded them, attacked them sometimes in the front, and sometimes in the rear.

*JULIAN*, not knowing what route to take in a strange *Is reduced* country, and finding his army quite dispirited, summoned a *to great* council of all the chief officers of the army, when, after many *streights*. consultations, they resolved to march towards *Corduene*, which lay south of *Armenia*, and belonged to the *Romans*. Pursuant to this resolution, they set forward on the 16th of *June*; but had not marched far, when they discovered at some distance a very numerous army advancing in full march against them. This was the *Persian* army, commanded by the king in person, attended by two of his sons, and all the nobility of the kingdom. The *Romans* thought it adviseable to return to their camp, where they were, in a manner, besieged the next day by the numerous troops of the enemy. Several skirmishes happened on that and the ten following days, in which the *Persians* were constantly put to flight. In a sharp encounter on the twenty-second of *June*, almost the whole *Persian* army engaged; but were, after a very vigorous resistance, put to *Puts the* the rout with great slaughter. The *Romans* remained masters *Persians* of the field; but found little satisfaction in a victory which *to flight;* could not relieve their wants in a strange country, where no provisions were to be had, the corn, grass, and every thing *but distressed for* else, being burnt up by the enemy. *Julian* himself laboured *want of* under the greatest perplexity and uneasiness imaginable, finding *provisions,* the *Persians* were resolved to oppose his march, and attempt all means to distress him, without ever coming to a general engagement. At length, the night preceding the twenty-sixth of *June*, as he rose, according to his custom, about midnight, and was busied in his tent in reading or writing, he beheld all on a sudden before him, with a countenance full of sorrow, the spectre representing the genius of the empire, which had appeared to him, as we have related elsewhere, upon his being declared emperor. He was somewhat terrified at this unexpected sight, and at other omens which happened at the same time, and were looked upon by the aruspices as portending some great misfortune, if he should undertake any thing that day. But *Julian*, despising, contrary to his custom, the predictions of his soothsayers, as soon as it was day, ordered his army to decamp, being probably no longer able to subsist in the same place.

*harassed on  
his march  
by the Per-  
sian army,  
and mor-  
tally  
wounded.*

ON his march he was attacked on all sides by the enemy, who, after they had discharged their arrows, which never failed doing great execution, retired, without giving him an opportunity of revenging the death of those who fell. In one of these sudden onsets, the emperor hastening, without his armour, to repulse the enemy, was mortally wounded by a dart, which, through his arm and side, pierced his very liver. Those who were about him, concluding, from his sinking down upon the neck of his horse, that he was wounded, conveyed him with all speed upon a large shield to his tent, where *Oribasius*, a celebrated physician, and his intimate friend, attempted in vain to save him, applying the best remedies his art and skill could suggest. However, as the pain began to abate, he called for his arms and horse, being desirous to animate his men with his presence ; but his strength not answering his courage, as he was greatly weakened by the loss of blood, he was forced to continue in his tent, while his men, filled with rage, and breathing revenge, made a dreadful havock of the enemy, till night put an end to the slaughter. Fifty *Persian* lords of great distinction were killed, and an incredible number of other officers and common soldiers. The *Romans* lost *Anatolius*, who was *magister officiorum*, and generally esteemed an officer of great skill and experience. The prefect *Sallust* was with difficulty saved by his apparitors ; but *Phosphorius*, his vicar, was slain, with many others in the right wing, where the emperor commanded.

*His speech  
before his  
death.*

WHILE the fight continued, *Julian* lay languishing in his tent ; and, being apprised that his end approached, he addressed those about him, who seemed greatly dejected and concerned, in the following terms : “ I am now, my fellow-soldiers, called upon to pay the last debt of nature, which I do with a willing and chearful mind, being taught by philosophy, that the state of the soul is infinitely more happy than that of the body. Upon this consideration, I embrace death as the greatest blessing : it exempts me from the many dangers to which my virtue and reputation were daily exposed. I have lived, first in a private, and afterwards in an exalted state ; and have so behaved in both, as not to be conscious to myself of any action, that gives me at present the least remorse. I have studied to govern with moderation, and, being well apprised, that the end of all government is the happiness of the people, I have, both in peace and war, endeavoured, as far as in me lay, to render them happy. I have great reason to thank Divine Providence, for not having suffered me to fall by the hand of conspirators ; to languish under a long and troublesome disease ; or

“ to

“ to die like a criminal, as many innocent and deserving persons have done. I submit with joy to the eternal and immutable decrees of the gods, tho’ in the bloom of my age, being sensible, that he who is fond of life when he ought to die, is as great a coward, as he who desires to die when he ought to live. As for my successor, I decline naming any, lest, through ignorance, I should pass by a worthy person, or, by naming one equal to so great a trust, expose him to those dangers, which would inevitably attend his promotion, if it were not universally approved of. I therefore leave the choice to the commonwealth, and, like a dutiful son, with her a worthy governor to succeed me.”

HAVING thus spoken, he disposed of his private estate, dividing it amongst his relations and friends; and not seeing *Anatolius*, inquired after him. *Sallust* the prefect told him he was happy, meaning he was dead, according to the expression then in use; which seemed greatly to affect him; but turning immediately to the philosophers *Maximus* and *Priscus*, he began to discourse with them concerning the nature of the soul; then, calling for a glass of cold water, he drank it, and having expressed his desire of being interred at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, he expired on the twenty-sixth of *June*, a little before midnight. He died in the thirty-second year of his age, after having reigned seven years, and six months, from the time he had been created *Cæsar*, about three years since he had taken the title of *Augustus*, and only twenty months, not quite complete, since, by the death of *Constantius*, he became peaceable possessor of the whole empire (A).

Julian dies.  
Year of the flood  
2813.  
Of Christ  
363.  
Of Rome  
1161.

As

(A) Thus is his death related by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who served under him in this very expedition, and was an eye-witness of what he wrote (2). *Theodoret* tells us, that *Julian*, when he was first wounded, filled his hand with blood issuing from the wound, and threw it up into the air, crying out, *Thou hast conquered, O Galilean* (3). The same thing is related by *Sozomen*, who is of opinion, that our Saviour, whom he intended to insult and blaspheme with the name of *Galilean*,

appeared to him, when he received his wound (4). But these, as well as other Christian writers, have been led, by their aversion to an apostate from the faith, and a persecutor of the church, to believe and relate many things concerning him, which were unknown to the pagans, and have all the appearance of fables. *Libanius* writes, that, at the time of his death, a dreadful earthquake happened in *Palæstine*, which intirely ruined several cities (5).

(2) *Ammian.* l. xxv. p. 287. — 295.  
(4) *Son.* l. vi. c. 2. p. 638.

(3) *Theodoret.* l. iii. c. 20. p. 658.  
(5) *Liban.* vit. p. 45, & *orat.* xi. p. 258.

His character.

As for the character of *Julian*, he was, without all doubt, endowed with extraordinary parts, a great lover of learned men, and himself well versed in most branches of literature <sup>1</sup>. *Ammianus* greatly extols his moderation, and the mildness of his temper, no less opposite to that of his brother *Gallus*, than the temper of *Titus* was to that of *Domitian* <sup>2</sup>. He could never endure the title of *dominus* or lord, tho' common to all princes ever since the time of *Dioclesian*; and had even some thoughts of quitting the diadem, which, for many years, had been looked upon as one of the ensigns of the sovereign power <sup>3</sup>.

His good qualities.

He made it his chief study to ease the people, lessening the taxes throughout the empire, and exacting no more than was absolutely necessary for the defence and support of the state <sup>4</sup>. All the cities used, pursuant to an ancient custom, to present the new prince with crowns of gold, some of which weighed a thousand, and some two thousand ounces, and upwards; but *Julian* enacted a law, forbidding any city, however rich or populous, to offer a crown weighing above seventy ounces. He would not suffer his officers or ministers to receive presents from the people, upon any consideration whatsoever; nor the soldiers to injure in the least the subjects or allies of the empire, through whose countries they marched <sup>5</sup>. *Libanius* speaks much at large of the extraordinary care he took in regulating the public carriages, in chusing worthy magistrates, in clearing the highways of robbers, and in relieving several cities, reduced by heavy taxes to a most miserable condition <sup>6</sup>. His bed, says *Mamertinus*, was as pure and chaste as that of a *Vestal* virgin <sup>7</sup>; and *Ammianus*, that he was an utter stranger to all unlawful pleasures, and a declared enemy to lewdness and debauchery <sup>8</sup>. He was generous, adds the same author, valiant, sincere in his friendship, and kind to all, especially to

<sup>1</sup> VICT. epit. p. 545.

<sup>2</sup> AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 63. & l. xxii.

p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 305.

<sup>4</sup> AMMIAN. l. xvi.

xvii. xviii. p. 63. 90. 114.

<sup>5</sup> LIBAN. p. 305.

<sup>6</sup> Idem,

p. 296--298.

<sup>7</sup> Panegy. xi. p. 230.

<sup>8</sup> AMMIAN. l.

xxv. p. 292.

His body was conveyed by *Procopius* from *Mesopotamia* to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, where it was interred with the usual solemnity (6); but afterwards transferred from thence, according to *Zonaras* (7) and *Cedrenus* (8), to *Constantinople*, and deposited, with that of *Jovian* his successor, in the porch of the church of the *Apostles*. This translation must have happened after the fifth century, since *Zosimus* has not mentioned it.

(6) *Ammian.* l. xxv. p. 305.

(7) *Zonar.* p. 24.

(8) *Cedren.* p. 78.

*Vide* Cange urb. Constantin. descrip. l. iv. p. 110.

such as were in distress, and most wanted his assistance<sup>r</sup>. *Prudentius* speaks of him as a prince who deserved well of the empire, both as a general and a lawgiver<sup>s</sup>.

He was not, however, even in the opinion of his admirers, *His faults*. without some faults. *Ammianus* owns him to have been of a fickle and changeable temper, ambitious beyond measure of popular applause, elated with the least success, and talkative to such a degree, that his tongue never lay still<sup>t</sup>. The same writer accuses him of cruelty and ingratitude, in condemning *Ursula*, to whom he owed the greatest obligations; and *Libanius*, tho' highly prejudiced in his favour, cannot help allowing him to have been superstitious to excess, inconsiderate on many occasions, and too much addicted to his own sentiments<sup>u</sup>. *Ammianus* blames the censorious temper, which he betrayed in a manner unworthy of a philosopher, and below the dignity of a prince, in his *misopogon*, and his *Cæsars*, not sparing even the excellent emperor *M. Aurelius*. The pagan writers themselves, namely *Eutropius*<sup>w</sup>, *Themistius*<sup>x</sup>, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*<sup>y</sup>, own, that his conduct towards the Christians was repugnant to the laws of humanity, and deserved to be buried in oblivion; which is more than a Christian writer of our days seems willing to allow (B).

c.

THE

<sup>r</sup> Idem ibid.<sup>s</sup> PRUD. apol. c. 4. p. 163.<sup>t</sup> AMMIAN.

I. xxii. p. 206.

<sup>u</sup> LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 304.<sup>w</sup> EUTROP.

p. 589.

<sup>x</sup> THEMIST. orat. v p. 69.<sup>y</sup> AMMIAN. I. xxii.

p. 222. &amp; I. xxv. p. 294.

(B) As for the Christian writers of ancient times, they represent *Julian* as one inclined to, and guilty of, the most enormous crimes; but craftily disguising them with a false shew of the opposite virtues. In these colours the reader will find his portrait drawn by *Socrates* in his ecclesiastic history (9), and by *Gregory Nazianzen* in the oration he wrote a few days after *Julian's* death (1). But whether the pagans were quite unbiassed by favour, and the Christians by prejudice, is what we submit to

the judgment of the reader. We will not take upon us to question the truth of what the panegyrists and admirers of *Julian* have written concerning his other virtues; but, as to his chastity, we are not fully convinced, that it deserved those mighty encomiums, which *Mamertinus* (2), *Libanius* (3), and *Ammianus Marcellinus* (4), have been pleased to bestow upon it; for on one side it is certain, that by *Helena*, his only wife, he had but one son, whom the midwife, bribed by the empress *Eusebia*, destroyed as soon

(9) *Socrat. l. iii. c. 21. p. 193.*(1) *Greg. Naz. orat. iv. p. 138.*(2) *Panegy. xi. p. 230.*(3) *Liban. orat. xii. p. 292.*(4) *Ammian.**l. xxv. p. 292.*



Greatly  
lamented  
by the pa-  
gens.

THE news of his death were received with inexpressible joy by the Christians, and with the deepest concern by the pagans. The messenger who brought it to *Charrha*, was either stoned

as born (5). On the other side, *Julian* himself, in a letter which he wrote in 363. that is, three years after the death of *Helena*, mentions his children, and the person who was charged with the care of their education (6). *Codinus* likewise, in his *antiquities* of Constantinople, takes notice of several statues erected to *Julian*, and his children (7). His bed, therefore, to use the expression of *Mamertinus* (8), was not perhaps quite so pure and undefiled as that of a *Vestal* virgin. The great *Chrysostom* describes the court of *Julian*, while he resided at Constantinople, crouded with aruspices, astrologers, magicians, young debauchees, and public prostitutes. The latter, at least, were not proper attendants for one, who pretended to rival the purity of the *Vestals*. But we will not lay any stress on the testimony of a Christian, and especially, as may be observed, of a prejudiced writer; though he solemnly declares, that he himself and all the inhabitants of Constantinople, to whom he appeals, were eye-witnesses of what he advances (9). As for *Julian's* so much boasted moderation, *Ammianus* himself acknowledges, that it was sometimes owing more to policy, than to the natural mildness of his temper (1). *Libanius* charges him with want of judgment in the choice of ministers, and of due care in

watching their conduct; whence some of them, concludes that writer, brought no small disgrace upon his government (2). *Libanius* writes, that *Julian* was apprised of, but winked at, their faults, that he might not seem inconstant in his friendship (3). *Ammianus* owns, that his court was not quite free from bribery and corruption (4). In what related to the Divinity, says the same writer, he was rather superstitious than religious, sacrificing daily innumerable victims procured at a vast expence; which proved very burdensome to the state, and at the same time highly prejudicial to the military discipline, the soldiers, with whom he feasted on the victims, returning almost every day drunk to their quarters (5). Had he returned victorious from his *Persian* expedition, continues the same writer, he would scarce have left a bullock alive in the whole empire (6). We need not therefore recur to the testimony of the Christian writers, to shew, that the many virtues ascribed to him by the pagans, were not without the alloy of several vices and imperfections. In short, he did not perhaps deserve the bitter reproaches with which he was traduced, as the worst of princes, by the Christians, nor the mighty encomiums bestowed upon him, as the best of princes, by the pagans.

(5) *Ammian. l. xvi. p. 72.*

(6) *Julian. ep. xl. p. 184.*

(7) *Codin.*

*antiq. Const. p. 19.*

(8) *Panegy. xl. p. 230.*

(9) *Chrys. in gent. p. 676.*

(1) *Ammian. l. xxii. p. 226, 227.*

(2) *Eutr. p. p. 589.*

(3) *Liban.*

*erat. xii. p. 307.*

(4) *Idem, p. 220.*

(5) *Ammian. l. xxv. p. 294.*

(6) *Idem, l. xxii. p. 225.*

## C. II. *The Constantinopolitan History.*

to death by the populace<sup>a</sup>, or with difficulty escaped the fury of the enraged multitude<sup>a</sup>. Several cities placed the image of the deceased prince amongst those of their gods, and paid it the same honours. *Libanius*, transported with grief when he first heard of his death, determined to lay violent hands on himself, not caring to outlive him; but, upon second thoughts, he changed his mind, and chose to live, that he might have the satisfaction, as he himself tells us, of composing his funeral oration (C). Of the several writers who flourished under *Julian*, the reader will find a succinct account in our note (D).

<sup>a</sup> *Liban. orat. xiii. p. 733.*

<sup>a</sup> *LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 330.*

(C) He wrote two discourses on this occasion, the one to express his own grief (7), the other to set forth the praises of *Julian* (8). From the latter, which contains the whole history of *Julian's* life, and from the two orations written much about the same time, and on the same subject, by *Gregory Nazianzen*, an impartial reader will conclude, that both writers are strangely biased and prejudiced, the one in his favour, the other against him. *Julian* not only renounced the Christian religion, whence he was surnamed the *Apostate*, but betrayed a mortal hatred to those who professed it, traducing them with the name of *Galileans*, as he impiously styled our Saviour the *Galilean*, debarring them from all honours and employments, both civil and military, and prohibiting them either to teach, or learn, the sciences; which, to *Ammianus* himself, seemed inconsistent with the laws of humanity (9). But we refer our readers to the ecclesiastic writers for a more particular account of the persecution he raised against the church, and of his wild attempt to restore *Judaism*, and re-

build the temple of *Jerusalem*; which is said, by *Ammianus* and others to have been miraculously defeated by balls of fire issuing out of the earth, and destroying both the work and the workmen.

(D) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, in his history of the emperors, gives us a more particular account of *Julian's* reign, than any other writer. As he was a pagan, he bestows great encomiums upon a prince, who did all that lay in his power to restore paganism. However, he was not so prejudiced in his favour, as not to tell us what he thought him unworthy. *Eunapius*, a most zealous stickler for the ancient religion of the *Romans*, that is, for idolatry, often mentions and highly commends *Julian* in his history of the sophists. He had written the history of his reign in several books (1); but whether that was a different work from his general history of the emperors, is what we are nowhere told. But of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Eunapius*, we shall speak at the end of the reign of *Valens*. *Callistus*, one of *Julian's* officers, wrote in verse, ac-

(7) *Liban. orat. xi. p. 292. & l. xxv. p. 294.*

(8) *Idem, orat. xii.*

(9) *Ammian. l. xxii. p.*

(1) *Eunap. c. 5. p. 76, 77.*

cording to *Socrates* (2), the history of that prince; but his work has not reached our times. *Vossius* tells us, that *Callistus* attended *Julian* in his *Persian* expedition (3), which must be a conjecture of his own; for we find no such thing in *Socrates*, the only writer who mentions him. *Julian* himself deserves to be ranked among the writers of his life; for he wrote the history of his wars in *Gaul* (4), which has been long since lost; and gives us an account of the most remarkable passages of his life in his *misopogon*, in his letter to the *Athenians* (of which two pieces we have spoken above), and in the writings which he published in the year 362. the one upon *Cybele*, the other against a *Cynic* philosopher (5). He wrote another discourse against the *Cynics*, particularly against one *Heraclius* or *Heraclitus* (6). From that piece it appears, that he was strangely importuned by those philosophers, and that he entertained no better opinion of them than of the Christian monks, to whom he compares them. His discourse to *Themistius* is, properly speaking, a letter, in which he answers that philosopher, who had written to him from *Constantinople*, magnifying the hopes and expectation of the people, in seeing one raised to the empire, who professed the study of philosophy. *Julian* tells him in his answer, that, when he reflects on the duties incumbent on a prince, and the great difficulty

of discharging them well, the mighty hopes that the world entertained of him, served rather to dishearten than encourage him (7). This is the whole subject of the letter, which seems to have been written soon after *Julian* was raised to the dignity of *Cæsar*. In the manuscript copy of this letter, are several passages, which seem quite foreign to the purpose, and are thought by some to be fragments of a treatise, containing several instructions, addressed to a pagan pontif, concerning the duties of his office (8). *Petavius* is of opinion, that they were addressed to *Arfaces*, pontif of *Galatia*, to whom *Julian* wrote his forty-ninth letter (9). But the most famous of all *Julian's* works is, that intitled *the Cæsars*; which, in reality, is a satire on all the emperors from *Julius Cæsar* to *Constantine* and his children. It begins with a kind of dialogue (1). From the injurious and abusive manner he speaks of *Constantine*, we may conclude, that he wrote it after the death of *Constantius*, or at least after he had openly declared against him. *Socrates* ascribes to a vanity unworthy of a prince, his thus ridiculing all his predecessors, without sparing even *M. Aurelius* (2), whom he had proposed to himself for his pattern (3). *Vossius* assures us (4), that in the ancient copies this work is stiled *Saturnalia*, and *the banquet*; a title which well suits it; for it was written during the *Saturnalia*, or

(2) *Socras.* l. iii. c. 21. p. 195.

(4) *Liban. orat.* v. p. 178.

(5) *Julian. ibid.* p. 716—718.

(6) *Julian. ibid.* p. 228.

(7) *Socras.* l. iii. c. 1. § 23. p. 169. 198.

(8) *Voss. bist. Græc.* l. ii. c. 18. p. 250.

(3) *Voss. bist. Græc.* l. iv. c. 18. p. 486.

(5) *Julian. orat.* vii. p. 332. *Suid.* p. 1248.

(6) *Julian. ad Themist.* p. 490, &c. (8) *Idem,*

(9) *Idem, Cæs.* p. 3—5.

(3) *Julian. ad Themist.* p. 467.

the feasts of *Saturn*; that is, about the end of *December*, in 361. or 362. and *Julian* in the work introduces *Romulus* entertaining the gods at a banquet in the time of the *Saturnalia* (5). But *Suidas* supposes the *Cæsars* and the *Saturnalia* to be two different works, and quotes some things out of the latter, which are not to be found in the former (6). *Julian* himself speaks of his *Saturnalia* as addressed to *Sallust* (7), which cannot be said of his *Cæsars*. He quotes the former work in a discourse, which he wrote on the sun, and likewise inscribed to *Sallust*. This piece he composed in three nights, perhaps about the twenty-fifth of *December*, when the pagans celebrated the feast of the sun; for *Julian* honoured that luminary as his chief deity (8). *Suidas* ascribes two other works to him, the one on the three figures, which he does not explain, and the other on the origin of evils; but both these works, as well as that which he wrote against the Christians, have been long since lost. He wrote several letters, of which sixty-four have reached our times, not counting those which, by reason of their length, have been ranked among his discourses. *Libanius*, who pretends to have brought the epistolary stile to its greatest perfection, shares that glory with *Julian*, the elegance of whose letters he greatly commends and admires (9). Under *Julian* flourished *Proereses*, a Christian sophist, highly esteemed for his learning and eloquence. *Eunapius*, who was his disciple,

gives the following account of him: He was a native of *Armenia*, descended of a noble family, but reduced to poverty; exceeding well-shaped, though of a gigantic stature, and resembling a colossus (1). He left his native country when very young, and studied first at *Antioch*, under one *Ulpianus*, and afterwards at *Athens*, where he was disciple to one *Julian*, who, in dying, left him his house. He likewise succeeded *Julian* in his employment, and taught eloquence with such reputation and applause, that the other professors, jealous of his great credit, prevailed upon the proconsul to banish him from *Athens* (2); but he was soon recalled by the emperor's order, and restored to his former employment. All those who came from *Pontus*, and the other parts of *Asia Minor*, or from *Egypt* and *Libya*, studied under him (3). Among these we may reckon the great *Basil*, and *Gregory Nazianzen*; for they came from *Cappadocia* to study eloquence at *Athens*, while he taught there. He was afterwards invited into *Gaul* by *Constantians*, who received him with extraordinary marks of esteem, perhaps because he passed for a Christian, says *Eunapius* (4); but *St. Jerom* assures us, that he was truly a Christian (5). *Suidas* confounded *Constantine* with *Constantians*, when he wrote, that *Constantine* paid him great honours (6). The *Gauls*, says *Eunapius*, who were no judges of his genius, nor capable of relishing his eloquent

(5) *Julian. Cæs.* p. 3-5.  
303. & *orat.* iv. p. 294.

(6) *Suid.* p. 1247.

(7) *Julian. ibid.* p.

*orat.* v. p. 184.

(8) *Idem, orat.* iv. p. 291, 292.

(9) *Liban.*

*orat.* v. p. 184.

(1) *Eunap.* c. 1. p. 102.

(2) *Idem, c.* 7. p. 96

101.

(3) *Idem, p.* 110, 111.

(4) *Idem, p.* 121, 122.

(5) *Hier.*

*ad anc.* 363.

(6) *Suid.* p. 596.

speeches, admired his stature and mien, and, above all, his patience in bearing the cold of their country, tho' he used no shoes, and was only defended against the inclemency of that climate by a thin cloak (7). He was afterwards sent by *Constantine* to Rome, where the senate caused a statue to be erected to him, with this inscription; Rome, the queen of cities, to the king of eloquence. When he left Rome, about the year 349. to return to Athens, *Constantine* bestowed great revenues upon him, with the honorary title of general of the Roman armies. The Romans, upon his departure, begged him to send one of his disciples to teach eloquence at Rome. He complied with their request, and sent them one *Eusebius*, a native of Alexandria; a person fit to live at Rome, says *Eunapius*, because well versed in the art of flattery (8). *Julian*, who had, no doubt, been acquainted with *Proereses* at Athens, wrote a very kind and obliging letter to him, which is still extant (9). When that prince published the famous edict, forbidding all Christians to learn, or teach, the sciences, he excepted *Proereses*; but he, scorning to accept the favour, resigned of his own accord his professorship; which greatly provoked *Julian*, who, out of pique to *Proereses*, heaped great honours upon *Libanius* (1). The generous conduct of *Proereses* on this occasion makes us question the truth of what we read of him in *Eunapius*; to wit, that he had recourse

to the pontif of *Eleusis*, to know whether *Julian* was to reign long; and that, being assured his reign would prove short, he took courage, and resolved not to renounce the Christian religion (2). *Eunapius* betrays on all occasions such an inveterate hatred against the Christian religion, that we cannot give credit to any thing he writes on that head. After the death of *Julian*, *Proereses* was, it seems, reinstated in his professorship, when *Eunapius* studied under him for the space of five years, and then returned to *Lydia*, his native country. He owns, that *Proereses* instructed him with no less care, than if he had been his own son. *Proereses* died soon after, perhaps in 368. being then about ninety-two years old; for he was eighty-seven when *Eunapius* began to study under him, in the end of 363. which was the first of *Julian's* reign (3). He left no works behind him, besides his declamations (4). *Oribasius*, a famous physician, was a native of *Pergamus* in Asia, according to *Eunapius* (5), of *Sardis*, according to *Philostorgius* (6) and *Suidas* (7). He studied physic under *Zeus* of *Cyprus*, to whom *Julian* wrote a letter, inviting him back to *Alexandria*, whence *George*, the famous *Arian* bishop, had caused him to be banished (8).

When *Julian* was created *Cesar*, he took *Oribasius* with him into *Gaul*, and reposed such confidence in him, says *Eunapius* (9), as to make him privy to his

(7) *Suid.* p. 222, 223. (8) *Idem.* p. 25. (9) *Julian.* ep. ii. p. 126.  
 (1) *Suid.* p. 595. (2) *Eunap.* c. 8. p. 126. (3) *Idem.* *ibid.* (4) *Suid.*  
*ibid.* (5) *Eunap.* c. 5. p. 76. & c. 19. p. 139. (6) *Philos.* & vi. c. 15.  
 p. 205. (7) *Suid.* p. 329. (8) *Julian.* ep. xlv. p. 196. (9) *Eunap.* c. 29. p. 140.

greatest secrets, that is, to his idolatry; for *Oribasus* was himself a pagan. The same author writes, that *Oribasus* was famous, not only for his skill in physic, but for his other extraordinary talents, which procured the empire to *Julian* (1); but explains himself no farther. *Oribasus*, at the request of *Julian*, abridged, first, the works of *Galen*, and afterwards those of all the most able physicians. Both these works were inscribed to *Julian*, as appears from the prefaces, which have been transmitted to us by *Photius* (2). *Photius* prefers the second work to the first; nay, and to all the books of physic which had been published till his time. It consisted of seventy books; but only the first fifteen, with the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, printed at *Paris* in 1555, have reached our times. *Oribasus* himself, by a second abridgment, reduced his seventy books to nine; which he addressed to his son *Eustathius* (3). The reader will find an abstract of this work in *Photius* (4), who observes, that they may prove very useful to those, who are already acquainted with physic, by refreshing the memory of what they have learnt; but may lead new beginners into great mistakes (5). *Oribasus* wrote another abridgment of the same nature in four books; which he inscribed to *Eunapius*, probably the author of the lives of the sophists, at whose request he had undertaken it (6). This work is still extant. To these *Photius*

adds four other books of physic inscribed to one *Eugenius*; but so like those addressed to *Eunapius*, that he suspects them to be a supposititious work (7). Besides the works we have already mentioned, *Photius* supposes *Oribasus* to have published seven more on the same subject (8). He would not have us to mind the stile of that writer, because his works, says he, are abstracts of different authors; and besides, elegance of stile is what we must not expect from a physician (9). *Suidas* supposes *Oribasus* to have inscribed to *Julian* seventy-two books, and to have published, besides four books on *the doubts and difficulties of physicians*, a work on *royalty*, and another on *maladies* (1). He adds, that *Oribasus* was created by *Julian* quæstor of the city of *Constantinople*; an employment unknown to other writers. He attended *Julian* into *Persia*, and did all that lay in his power to cure his wound, but without success. After the death of that prince, his patron and benefactor, he was stripped of all his wealth, and banished to the countries of the barbarians (2), or abandoned, to use the expression of *Eunapius*, to the barbarians, who were most noted for their cruelty (3). However, he was greatly respected by them, and honoured by their princes, on account of the art he professed. At length the *Roman* emperors recalled him, and restored to him his estate, and all his effects (4). He gave some ease to *Chrysanthus* in his last

(1) *Idem* *ibid.*

218. p. 557.

c. 219. p. 581.

(9) *Idem* *ibid.*(2) *Eunap.* c. 19. p. 140.(2) *Phot.* c. 216, 217. p. 556, 557.(4) *Idem*, p. 560.(7) *Idem*, p. 564. & c. 216. p. 564.(1) *Suid.* p. 329.(4) *Idem*, p. 141, 142.(3) *Idem*, c.(6) *Phot.*(8) *Idem* *ibid.*(2) *Philosorg.* l. vii. c. 15. p. 105.

malady at *Sardes*; but could not cure him (5). He was still living, when *Eunapius* wrote the lives of the sophists, that is, about the year 400. Among *Julian's* letters, there is one to him, written about the year 358 (6). *Himeras*, a celebrated sophist in *Julian's* time, was a native of *Bithynia*, and the son of *Aminius*, who taught rhetoric at *Prusa* in the same province (7). *Himeras* and *Proereses*, of whom we have spoken above, were at the same time professors of eloquence at *Athens*, and rivals (8). *Photius* supposes him to have likewise taught at *Corinth* (9). *Julian* invited him afterwards to *Constantinople*, and received him upon his arrival with extraordinary marks of friendship and esteem. He continued at court till the death of that prince, and then returned to *Athens* (1). He lived to a great age, in which he lost his sight, and was, besides, afflicted with a leprosy. He left behind him several declamations, and other pieces of that nature (2). He was, as plainly appears from his writings, a pagan. *Eunapius* commends his stile (3), as does likewise *Photius*, who has transmitted to us abstracts of some of his works (4). In the history of *Julian's* reign, we have mentioned the philosopher *Maximus*, who first inclined that prince to idolatry, and the study of magic. He was a native, either of *Smyrna*, as we read in *Eunapius* (5);

or of *Ephesus*, as *Ammianus* will have it (6); and brother to the philosopher *Claudianus*, who taught at *Alexandria*, and to the sophist *Nymphidianus*, professor of rhetoric at *Smyrna*, and afterwards secretary to *Julian*. *Maximus* must have been well versed in polite learning, since *Julian* submitted all his compositions to his judgment (7); and *Eunapius* has placed his life among those of the sophists, tho' he is commonly stiled *Maximus the philosopher*. *Julian* invited him to court about the beginning of the year 362. where he behaved, as *Eunapius* himself owns (8), in a manner altogether unworthy of a philosopher. He returned to his native country, as appears from *Julian's* letters (9), for the recovery of his health; but came again to court, and, together with *Priscus*, attended *Julian* in his *Parthian* expedition (1). These two were, without all doubt, in the number of those obstinate and ignorant philosophers, who, according to *Ammianus*, bore great sway at court, and put the emperor upon that wild enterprise, against the sentiments of the officers of the army (2). Hence, when the news of *Julian's* death were brought to *Antioch*, the people, in the transports of their joy, cried out, *Thus are the predictions of the false prophet Maximus fulfilled* (3). *Eunapius* writes, that *Jovian* continued to honour *Maxi-*

(5) *Eunap. c. 21. p. 160.*(6) *Julian. ep. xix. p. 135.*(7) *Phot.**c. 165. p. 363. Eunap. c. 12. p. 129.*(8) *Idem, c. 8. p. 119.*(9) *Phot.**c. 165. p. 352.*(1) *Eunap. p. 129.*(2) *Idem, c. 12. p. 129. Suid.**p. 1239.*(3) *Eunap. p. 129.*(4) *Phot. c. 165. p. 352. & c. 243. p.**1076. 1144.*(5) *Eunap. c. 5. p. 67. & 16. p. 137.*(6) *Ammian. l.**xxix. p. 390.*(7) *Julian. ep. xvi. p. 131.*(8) *Eunap. c. 5. p. 77. 79.*(9) *Julian. ep. xv. xvi. xxxviii.*(1) *Eunap. c. 5. p. 81. Ammian. l. xxv.**p. 291.*(2) *Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 245.*(3) *Theodoret, l. iii. c. 22. p. 659.*

mus, and the other philosophers, who had followed *Julian* (4). Be that as it will, they were treated in a very different manner by *Valentinian* and *Valens*, who hated all the friends of *Julian*, and, above the rest, these two philosophers, accused, as they were addicted to the study of magic, of having brought upon the princes the maladies with which they were both seized about the beginning of *April* in 364 (5). *Priscus*, however, was cleared; but the soldiery and populace were, with difficulty, restrained by *Sallustius Secundus* from tearing *Maximus* to pieces. Having escaped the rage of the multitude, he was condemned to pay a greater fine than he was able to discharge, and kept a close prisoner till the end of the year 365 (6). when, by the mediation of *Themestius*, who recommended him to *Valens*, in a speech pronounced before that prince, and by the interest of *Clearchus*, a zealous pagan, he was set at liberty, and not only forgiven the fine, but restored to his estate, and suffered to come to *Constantinople*, where he was very well received (7). But his happiness was short-lived; for he was accused, with several other philosophers, as a magician, in 371. found guilty of magical practices; and being sentenced to death with the rest, was beheaded at *Ephesus* the same year (8). *Suidas* ascribes to *Maximus*, the master of *Julian* the apostate, several rhetorical and philoso-

phical pieces, some of which were addressed to *Julian* himself; but adds, that he was a native of *Epirus* or *Byzantium* (9): on the other hand, *Socrates* warns us not to confound *Maximus* of *Byzantium*, the father of *Euclid*, with *Maximus* of *Ephesus*, who induced *Julian* to embrace the worship of the gods (1). *Chrysanthus* was a native of *Sardes* in *Lydia*, in which city his father was senator. He studied with *Maximus* under *Edesus* of *Cappadocia*, a Platonic philosopher and magician; and then returned to his native city, where he continued, notwithstanding the repeated and pressing solicitations of *Julian* and *Maximus*, inviting him to court. *Julian* created him pontif of *Lydia*, in which employment he had the prudence not to disoblige the Christians, as we have observed already; and therefore was suffered by the Christian emperors to live unmolested (2). He lived to the age of eighty (3). After his death, *Eunapius*, who was his wife's cousin, and had been his disciple, wrote his life, and frequently mentions him in his history of the sophists, which he had undertaken at his request (4). *Suidas* likewise speaks of him; but does not inform us, whether or no he left any works behind him (5). *Priscus* was born in the country of the *Molossæ*, or *Thesproti*, in *Epirus*; and studied under *Edesus*, with *Maximus* and *Chrysanthus*. Afterwards he retired to *Greece*, whence

(4) *Eunap.* c. 5. p. 82. (5) *Zof. l. iv. p. 734, 735.* (6) *Idem, p. 374. Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 315. Eunap. c. 5. p. 83. Themist. orat. vii. p. 100.*  
 (7) *Idem, p. 99, 100. Eunap. p. 84—87.* (8) *Ammian. l. xxix. p. 390.*  
*Socrat. p. 39. Eunap. p. 87.* (9) *Suid. p. 92.* (1) *Socrat. l. iii. c. 1. p. 165.*  
 (2) *Eunap. c. 5. p. 69, 80. & c. 12. p. 144—149.* (3) *Idem, p. 152.* (4) *Idem, p. 153.* (5) *Suid. p. 1155.*



he was invited by *Julian* to court, and complied with the invitation. He was perhaps more esteemed by that prince than *Maximus* himself. He attended the emperor to *Antioch*, and there prevailed upon him to admit *Libanius* to his presence, and even to receive him in a friendly manner, tho' he was not a little prejudiced against him (6). He followed *Julian* into *Persia*, and was accused, with *Maximus*, of magical practices under *Valens*; but discharged, and suffered to return to *Greece*, where he lived to the age of ninety, and upwards (7); and was killed, with many others, by the barbarians (8), that is, we suppose, by the *Goths*, who, in 395. or 396. ravaged *Greece* under the conduct of the famous *Alaric*. *Julian*, in his letters, bestows great commendations on one *George*, a receiver of the public revenues; on the philosopher *Eugenius*, whom some take to be the father of *Themistius*; and on *Eccobolus*, under whom he studied rhetoric (9). As the celebrated sophist *Libanius* lived long after *Julian's* time, we shall speak of him in a more proper place.

(6) *Eunap. c. 5. p. 69. Lib. vit. p. 42.* (7) *Eunap. c. 81. Ammian. l. xxv. p. 291.* (8) *Eunap. p. 75.* (9) *Julian. ep. viii. p. 121, 124. ep. liv. p. 218. xviii. p. 135. xix. xliii. p. 136. 196.*

## C H A P. III.

*The History of the Eastern and Western Empire, from the Death of Julian, to the Death of Valens.*

THE death of *Julian* was no sooner known, than the chief Jovian officers of the army assembled, and, with one consent, *chosen emperor* chose *Jovian* to succeed him<sup>a</sup>, who was accordingly saluted *peror*. with the title of *Jovianus Augustus*, the day after *Julian's* death; that is, the twenty-seventh of *June* of this year 363. He was the only surviving child of *Verronianus*, who was a native of *Sigidunum* in *Pannonia*, or rather in *Mœsia*<sup>b</sup>; and had lately resigned the eminent post of *comes domesticorum*, to lead a private and retired life. He was reckoned one of the best commanders of his time, and the reputation which he had acquired in the army, greatly contributed to the promotion of his son<sup>c</sup>. The first thing *Jovian* did after his election, was to name him for his colleague in the consulship against the ensuing year; for *Verronianus* was said to have been foretold in a dream, that his son should be one day raised to the empire, and he to the consulship; but he died before he had the honour of discharging that office, or the satisfaction of seeing his son emperor, tho' he had been informed of his promotion<sup>d</sup>. *Jovian*, or *Flavius Claudius Jovianus*, as he is stiled on an antient coin, was born about the year 331. and married *Carito*, the daughter of *Lucillianus*, a commander of great renown, often mentioned by *Ammianus*. By her he had, according to *Philostorgius*<sup>e</sup>, a son named *Verronianus*, who was born about the time *Jovian* was created emperor, and a daughter, of whom we find no further mention; nay, *Zonaras* tells us in express terms, that *Verronianus* was his only child<sup>f</sup>.

As *Jovian* was not only a true, but a pious and zealous Christian, we shall not copy his character from the Christian writers, who may be suspected of partiality, but from the pagans, who cannot be thought to have been biased in his favour. Among these *Eutropius* commends his affable, mild,

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. I. xxv. p. 226.<sup>b</sup> VICT. epit.<sup>c</sup> AMMIAN.

p. 308. THEMIST. orat. v. p. 65.

<sup>d</sup> AMMIAN. THEMIST.

ibid. SOCRAT. I. iii. c. 26. p. 205.

<sup>e</sup> PHILOSTORG. I. viii.

c. 8. p. 12.

<sup>f</sup> ZON. p. 25.

*His excellent qualities :* and generous temper ; and adds, that no one could, with justice, accuse him of neglect or imprudence in the discharge of his duty <sup>k</sup>. *Ammianus Marcellinus* <sup>h</sup>, and *Victor* the younger <sup>l</sup>, describe him as well shaped in his person, of a majestic air, of a gay and agreeable aspect, of an even, affable, and courteous temper, naturally inclined to mercy, and a great encourager of learning, being himself pretty well acquainted with the sciences. From the few officers he preferred during his short reign, we may judge, adds *Ammianus*, how careful and circumspect he would have been in the distribution of offices, had he lived longer. *Themistius* bestows upon him still greater encomiums <sup>k</sup> ; but we lay no great stress upon them, as coming from a panegyrist. On the other hand, *Suidas* <sup>l</sup> paints him in quite different colours, following therein, as we imagine, *Eunapius*, who, by his implacable hatred to the Christian religion, was often led into gross mistakes. *Ammianus* does not forget to mention his vices, as well as his virtues, telling us, that he was naturally timorous, a great eater, and much addicted to wine and women <sup>m</sup>. The same author observes, that *Jovian* had a great respect and veneration for the law of the Christians <sup>n</sup> ; and truly he had always made an open profession of the Christian religion, even in the reign of *Julian*, despising both his threats and promises <sup>o</sup> (A). His promotion was no-ways agreeable to the pagans, as ap-

*allayed with some bad ones.*

<sup>k</sup> EUTROP. p. 589. <sup>h</sup> AMMIAN. p. 296. <sup>l</sup> VICT. p. 79.  
<sup>k</sup> THEMIST. orat. v. p. 63. <sup>l</sup> SUID. p. 1244. <sup>m</sup> AMMIAN. p. 300, 308. <sup>n</sup> Idem, l. xxi. p. 201. <sup>o</sup> THEODORET. l. iv. c. i. p. 660.

(A) *Socrates* (1), *Suidas* (2), and *Nicephorus* (3), tell us, that *Julian* having ordered all the Christian officers in his army, either to renounce their religion, or quit the service, *Jovian*, at that time tribune, resigned his post without the least hesitation ; but *Julian* would not suffer him to retire ; nay, he afterwards employed him in the *Persian* war ; for he was, at the emperor's death, the first among those officers who were styled *domestici* (4). *Zosimus* writes, that he was raised to the empire by the chief officers, at the request of the whole army (5) ; for *Suidas* himself owns him to have been an excellent commander, tho', at the time of his election, he was scarce thirty-two years old (6).

(1) *Socrat.* l. iii. c. 22. p. 195. (2) *Suid.* p. 1244. (3) *Nirepb.* l. x. p. 38. p. 94. (4) *Ammian.* l. xxv. p. 226. (5) *Zos.* l. iii. p. 729. (6) *Suid.* *ibid.*

pers from the manner in which *Ammianus Marcellinus* speaks of it (B).

THE army was, as we have related above, in a strange country, far from home, with a provoked enemy round them, quite destitute of provisions, and consequently reduced to the necessity of perishing, either with hunger, or by the arms of the incensed *Persians*.<sup>†</sup> *Jovian*, who was obliged to struggle with two such formidable enemies, did not so much dread the latter as the former; nay, he repulsed the *Persians* with great slaughter, as often as they ventured to attack him, as *Ammianus* tells us in express terms<sup>p</sup>; which is sufficient to refute what *Libanius* writes of the great advantages gained over *Jovian* by the *Persians*<sup>q</sup>. But the valour and experience of *Jovian* was not proof against the famine which raged in his camp, and would not have left one man alive in the whole army, had not Heaven unexpectedly declared in his favour, to use the expression of *Ammianus*, by inclining the enemy to offer conditions of peace at so critical a conjuncture<sup>r</sup>. That writer is of opinion, that the *Persians*, out of mere pity and compassion, set on foot a treaty<sup>s</sup>; and *Libanius* cannot conceive what could induce them to think of a peace, when they had reason to promise themselves the greatest advantages from the continuation of the war<sup>t</sup>. The negotiations lasted four days, which proved more insupportable to the *Romans*, says *Ammianus*<sup>u</sup>, than the greatest torments, by reason of the famine which raged in the camp. Besides the dreadful extremity to which the army was reduced, *Jovian* was apprehensive, and not without reason, of

<sup>p</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 297, 298.

<sup>q</sup> LIBAN. orat. xii. p. 324.

<sup>†</sup> AMMIAN. p. 299.

<sup>r</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>s</sup> LIBAN. pro templis, &c. p. 24, 25.

<sup>u</sup> AMMIAN. ibid.

(B) *Ruffinus* (7), *Socrates* (8), *Sozomen* (9), and *Theodoret* (1), assure us, that he would not accept the empire, and the command of the army, till all the soldiers had declared themselves Christians, and solemnly renounced the impious ceremonies which they had practised under *Julian*; on which account he is

honoured by *Ruffinus* with the title of *confessor*. It is not therefore probable, that he paid any regard to the answer of those, who, having consulted, surely without his consent, the entrails of the victims, promised safety, if the army decamped; but inevitable destruction, if they continued in the same place (2).

(7) *Ruf.* l. xi. c. 1. p. 177.

(8) *Socrat.* ibid.

(9) *Soz.* l. vi.

c. 3. p. 635.

(1) *Theodor.* l. iv. c. 1. p. 660, 661.

(2) *Ammian.*

p. 297.

the designs of *Procopius*, *Julian's* kinsman <sup>v</sup>. No wonder, therefore, that he submitted to a peace upon terms dishonourable, we own, in themselves, but absolutely necessary to extricate himself, and so many brave men, out of the difficulties, into which the temerity and imprudence of *Julian* had led them. A peace was agreed on for thirty, or, as *Rufinus* will have it <sup>z</sup>, for twenty-nine years, upon *Jovian's* promising to abandon and yield up to the *Persians* the five provinces on the *Tigris*, which had been taken from them in the reign of *Dioclesian*, with several castles, and the cities of *Nisibis* and *Singara*. To this article was added another, in itself no less, if not more shameful; which was, not to lend any assistance to *Arfaces* king of *Armenia* against the *Persians*, tho' *Arfaces* was a faithful friend and ally of the empire. *Jovian*, however, with difficulty, prevailed upon the king of *Persia* to suffer the inhabitants of *Nisibis* and *Singara* to withdraw with their effects into the *Roman* territories <sup>v</sup>. The loss of *Nisibis*, which was the bulwark of the empire against the *Persians*, chiefly affected the *Romans*; and *Ammianus* takes great pains to exaggerate that loss, in order to raise the public odium against *Jovian*, to whom he is favourable on no occasion <sup>z</sup> (C).

JOVIAN,

<sup>v</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 240.      <sup>z</sup> RUF. p. 177.      <sup>v</sup> AMMIAN. p. 300.      ZOS. p. 730.      RUF. ibid. GREG. NAZ. orat. iv. p. 118.      <sup>z</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 303.

(C) Both *Ammianus* (3) and *Eutropius* (4) observe, that, from the foundation of *Rome*, no consul or emperor had ever yielded to the enemy an inch of ground. But therein they are certainly mistaken; for *Adrian* abandoned to the barbarians a far greater extent of country than *Jovian*. *Aurelian* relinquished all the countries conquered by *Trajan* beyond the *Danube*; and *Dioclesian* an immense tract towards the borders of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, as *Tiberius* had done, long before, the large provinces, conquered at a vast expence of blood

and treasure by the brave *Drusus*. It is true, that these countries were not given up in virtue of a treaty, but because they could not be kept without an immense charge. However, if it was thought commendable in those princes to abandon them on that score, we ought not to join *Ammianus* and *Eutropius* in condemning *Jovian* for abandoning, even by treaty, provinces, which he could not keep, without exposing to certain death or captivity the flower of the whole forces of the empire, when the enemy would with great ease

(3) *Ammian.* p. 206.(4) *Eutrop.* p. 731.

JOVIAN, after the conclusion of the treaty, pursued his retreat; and having passed the *Tigris*, and a long tract of

have conquered more than they acquired by the treaty. His giving up by treaty what others had abandoned of their own accord, does not render the action less necessary, nor consequently less prudent. *Ammianus* pretends, that *Jovian* might have reached the province of *Corduene* belonging to the empire, in the four days which he spent in negotiations (5). But between them and that province flowed the *Tigris*, which, even after the peace, and when opposed by no enemy, they passed with the utmost difficulty, and not without the loss of many persons, who were carried away by the violence of the stream, as *Ammianus* himself informs us (6). *Zosimus* supposes them to have passed the *Tigris* before the treaty (7); but his authority is of no weight, when he disagrees with *Ammianus*, who served in this expedition. Between the *Tigris* and *Corduene* lay a desert seventy miles in extent, destitute of all sorts of provisions, even of water, which reduced them to the necessity of feeding upon their horses, and consequently of leaving behind them great part of their baggage and arms (8). *Libanius* owns, that most of them returned without either arms or money (9). What therefore must have become of them, had they at the same time been incessantly harassed by a formidable enemy? *Agathias*, who lived two hundred years af-

ter, writes, that *Jovian*, impatient to get out of the *Persian* dominions, betrayed *Nisibis* (1); but *Eutropius*, who was an eyewitness of what he writes, does not indeed approve of the peace; but owns, that it was necessary (2): and *Philostorgius*, a Christian writer, but an *Arian*, and consequently no-ways favourable to *Jovian*, tells us, that there was no other means of saving the army, already reduced to the tenth part (3). The only thing *Eutropius* blames in *Jovian*, is his faithfully observing the articles, to which necessity alone obliged him to submit, instead of following the example of the ancient *Romans*, who never scrupled to break a disadvantageous treaty, extorted from them by force or fear (4). But his religiously executing the articles of a treaty, however disadvantageous, when he was under no other restraint, but that of his oath, reflects no less honour on him, than glory on the religion which he professed. He was not acquainted with the maxim, which, to the great disgrace of our religion, prevails now-a-days with the most Christian princes, that no treaties, how solemnly soever entered into, are binding, when the least advantage may be reaped from the breach of them; as if perjury were not a crime of as deep a dye in the greatest prince, as in the meanest of the people.

(5) *Ammian.* p. 300.

(6) *Idem.* p. 301, 302.

(7) *Zos.* p. 730.

(8) *Ammian.* *ibid.*

(9) *Liban. orat.* xii. p. 325.

(1) *Agath.* l. iv. p.

135, 136.

(2) *Eutrop.* p. 589.

(3) *Philostorg.* l. viii. c. 1. p. 106.

(4) *Eutrop.* *ibid.*

Jovian  
pursues his  
march to  
the Ro-  
man do-  
minions.

desert, without being in the least molested by the enemy, he arrived at *Ur*, a *Persian* fortress between the *Tigris* and the city of *Nisibis*, where he was met by *Cassianus* governor of *Mesopotamia*, and *Mauritius* a tribune, with such provisions as the army commanded by *Procopius* and *Sebastian* could spare them; for he had sent the two former officers to acquaint the latter with the extremity to which he was reduced<sup>a</sup>. From *Ur* he dispatched messengers into *Illyricum* and *Gaul*, with the news of *Julian's* death, and his own promotion. At the same time he appointed *Lucillianus* his father-in-law commander in chief of the horse and foot in *Illyricum* and *Italy*, and *Malaricus* general of the troops in *Gaul*, in the room of *Jovinus*<sup>b</sup>. Then, continuing his march, he entered at last the *Roman* territories at a place called *Thisalphata*, and was there met by *Procopius* and *Sebastian*, who commanded the army which *Julian* had left in *Mesopotamia*. The emperor received them in a very obliging manner, and soon after sent *Procopius*, who was *Julian's* kinsman, to attend the corpse of that prince to *Tarsus*, in the suburbs of which city he was buried, pursuant to the orders he had given a little before he expired. When the funeral ceremonies were over, *Procopius* privately withdrew from *Tarsus*; and, tho' diligent search was made after him in all parts of the empire, he never could be heard of, till he assumed the purple in 365<sup>c</sup>. From *Thisalphata* the emperor advanced to *Nisibis*; but encamped without the walls, tho' greatly importuned by the inhabitants to lodge in the palace, as his predecessors had always done. He was ashamed, says *Ammianus*, to enter a city, which he was about to deliver up to the enemy<sup>d</sup>. The next day *Bineses*, a *Persian* lord of great distinction, who attended *Jovian* in the quality of an hostage, demanded the city to be delivered up to him, pursuant to the articles of the treaty<sup>e</sup>.

THE inhabitants did all that lay in their power to divert the emperor from complying with his demand; they earnestly intreated him to give them leave to defend the place of their nativity, which they undertook to do, without putting the public to the least charge, telling the emperor, that they were well acquainted with the fatigues of a siege, and knew how to check the *Persian* pride. But *Jovian* insisting upon the faith of the treaty, and the obligation of his oath, *Bineses* was, by his order, admitted into the city, of which he took possession.

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 301. Zos. l. iii. p. 730.

<sup>b</sup> AMMIAN. p. 302.

<sup>c</sup> Idem, p. 303----306.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Idem ibid.

tion in his master's name, by setting up the *Persian* standard. At the same time the inhabitants were ordered to quit their native city, and retire elsewhere, with what effects they could carry with them. This order occasioned the most melancholy sight, says *Ammianus*, the sun ever beheld <sup>f</sup>. *Chrysostom* likewise describes their departure in a very affecting manner <sup>g</sup>. But the emperor, alleging the sanctity of his oath, was deaf to their cries, intreaties, and lamentations; so that the city was evacuated in three days time, every one cursing, as they departed, a peace, which had proved more fatal to them than the most bloody wars. All the roads were crowded with these forlorn exiles, loaded with what they could carry; but greatly grieved for the loss of many valuable things, which, for want of convenient carriages, they had been obliged to leave behind them. Most of them retired to *Amida*, and were placed by the emperor in the suburbs of that city, which, by this means, repaired all the losses it had sustained in the time of *Constantius*, and, by degrees, became the metropolis of what remained to the *Romans* in *Mesopotamia* <sup>h</sup> (D). He then continued his march to *Antioch*, passing through *Edeffa*, where he was on the twenty-seventh of *September*, as appears from the date of one of his laws <sup>i</sup>. *Zosimus* writes, that he was no-where received with the demonstrations of joy usual on such occasions <sup>k</sup>. However, it is not unlikely that his arrival was agreeable to the people of *Antioch*, who hated *Julian*, and consequently must have been pleased to see his successor arrive in their city.

DURING his stay at *Antioch*, which was not long, he revoked all the laws that had been enacted by *Julian* against the Christians, and made it his chief study to restore the Christian religion to its former lustre <sup>l</sup> (E). He wrote to all the governors

*Jovian re-  
wakes all  
the laws  
against the  
Christians.*

<sup>f</sup> AMMIAN. p. 304.

<sup>g</sup> CHRYS. in gent. tom. i. p. 696.

<sup>h</sup> AMMIAN. ibid. Zos. p. 733. Chron. Alex. p. 696. <sup>i</sup> Cod.

Theod. chron. p. 67.

<sup>k</sup> Zos. ibid.

<sup>l</sup> RUF. l. xi. c. i.

p. 177. Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 640.

(D) *Jovian* did not leave *Nisibis*, according to *Ammianus* (5), till all the inhabitants were retired. Others tell us, that he marched away in the night-time, after he had been two days en-

camped before it; two months, we read in *Suidas*, which must be a mistake of the transcriber (6).

(E) *Themistius*, a pagan philosopher, tells us, that he published

(5) *Ammian.* p. 305.

(6) *Suid.* p. 1244.



nors of provinces, strictly injoining them to take care, that they were not disturbed in their usual assemblies. He restored to the churches, to the ecclesiastics, to the virgins and widows, all the privileges, immunities, and exemptions, which had been granted to them by *Constantine* and his children, but lately revoked by *Julian*<sup>m</sup>. He likewise ordered the yearly allowance of corn, which had been given by *Constantine* to the churches, for the support of the poor, to be continued to them; but as the famine still raged, only the third part of *Constantine's* donation could be spared. *Jovian* promised them the other two parts as soon as the famine abated: but he dying in the mean time, his successors did not make good his promise; whence the churches thenceforth received only one third of what *Constantine* had allotted to them<sup>n</sup>. *Jovian* like

<sup>m</sup> Soz. l. vi. c. 3. p. 640.  
& l. iv. p. 664.

<sup>n</sup> THEODOR. l. i. c. 10. p. 552.

a law, granting to every one full liberty to hold what religion he pleased; and, after having bestowed great encomiums upon him on that score, he adds, that he suffered the temples to be opened, and the usual sacrifices and ceremonies to be performed in them (7). On the other hand, *Sozomen* assures us, that, by a law enacted at *Antioch*, he suppressed all religions, except the Christian, ordered the temples to be shut up, and prohibited, under severe penalties, the offering of victims, and all manner of idolatrous worship (8); insomuch that the pagans were obliged, according to *Socrates* (9), to creep into holes and corners, and those who, in *Julian's* time, had worn the philosophical cloak, to quit it, and to appear in the common attire. What the two latter authors write, is confirmed by the pagan sophist *Libanius*, who says, that, after the death

of *Julian*, those were heard with applause, who inveighed against the gods; that the pontiffs and philosophers were dragged to the tribunals as criminals; that they were obliged, by the most exquisite torments cruelty itself could invent, to confess what sums they had received of *Julian* for the worship of their gods, and forced either to restore what they had received, or to languish in dungeons; that the temples were pulled down, and the sophists, who, in *Julian's* reign, had been entertained with the greatest respect by the governors of provinces, were now driven away from their gates like criminals and homicides (1). The emperor was even advised, to put *Libanius* to death, for commending *Julian*; but a *Capadocian*, who had a great ascendant over *Jovian*, advised him to take no notice of such trifles (2).

(7) *Themist.* p. 67, 68.

(8) *Soz.* l. vi. c. 3. p. 640.

(9) *Socrat.*

l. iii. c. 25. p. 205, & c. 24. p. 202, 203.

(1) *Liban. orat.* xii. p. 327.

(2) *Liban. vit.* p. 45.

wife restored the *labarum*, or the standard with the cross; and obliged one *Magnus*, a *comes* or count, to rebuild at his own expence the church of *Berytus*, which, by his order, had been burnt; nay, the emperor had commanded his head to be cut off, but was with difficulty prevailed upon by his friends to spare him<sup>o</sup>. As in *Julian's* time several sacred virgins had married, some by choice, others by constraint, *Jovian*, by a law addressed to the prefect *Sallustius Secundus*, declares those guilt of death, who shall mention marriage to the sacred virgins, or utter a single word in their presence repugnant to the rules of modesty<sup>p</sup> (F).

*JOVIAN* not only espoused the cause of the Christians against the pagans, but that of the orthodox believers against the *Arians*; for, by the first law he published after he had entered the *Roman* dominions, he commanded the churches to be every-where restored to those, who had inviolably adhered to the faith of the council of *Nice*, and recalled all the bishops who had been banished on that score, and *Athanasius* in particular, to whom he wrote with his own hand a very obliging and friendly letter<sup>q</sup>, which has reached our times<sup>r</sup>. Some time after he wrote a second letter to him, desiring him to draw up and send him a rule<sup>s</sup> of faith, by which he might regulate his belief in the great variety of opinions that prevailed then in the church. *Athanasius* readily complied with the emperor's request, and sent him a creed, or rule of faith, supposed to be that which still passes under his name, approved of and subscribed by all the bishops of *Egypt*<sup>t</sup>. *Jovian* soon after invited *Athanasius* to court, received him, upon his arrival at *Antioch*, with the greatest demonstrations of esteem and veneration imaginable, often conferred with him touching the articles of religion then in debate, and was by him thoroughly confirmed in the doctrine defined and established by

*He espouses the cause of the orthodox Christians against the Arians.*

<sup>o</sup> Idem, l. iv. c. 19. p. 689. <sup>p</sup> Soz. p. 640. <sup>q</sup> THEODOR. l. iv. c. 2. p. 661. GREG. NAZ. p. 394. SOCRAT. p. 202. <sup>r</sup> ATHAN. tom. ii. p. 33, 34. <sup>s</sup> THEODOR. p. 661. RUF. l. xi. c. 1. p. 177. GREG. NAZ. ibid.

(F) This law is still extant, and dated from *Antioch*, the nineteenth of *February* of the ensuing year 364 (3). which is a gross mistake, it being certain, that *Jovian* was dead before that time, and that he left *Antioch* before the end of the present year.

(3) *Cod. Theod.* l. ix. tit. 25. leg. 2. p. 197.

the council of *Nice*. After this, *Athanasius* took his leave of the emperor, and returned to his diocese (G).

He sets out  
for Con-  
stantino-  
ple.

*JOVIAN*, after a short stay at *Antioch*, set out for *Constantinople*, tho' the winter was already far advanced, to prevent the disturbances, which he had reason to apprehend in the West. As he passed through *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, he ordered some ornaments to be added to the tomb of *Julian*; on which account he is blamed by some Christian writers<sup>u</sup>. From *Tarsus* he proceeded to *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*, where he was informed, that *Malaricus*, whom he had appointed general of the troops in *Gaul*, having declined that post, *Lucillianus*, the emperor's father-in-law, and general of the troops in *Illyricum* and *Italy*, had hastened into *Gaul*; and, taking upon him there, when matters were not yet settled, to examine the accounts of some officers, one of them, conscious of his frauds, had fled for protection to the *Batavians* who served in the *Roman* army; and by persuading them, that *Julian* was still alive, had so incensed them against *Lucillianus* as a traitor, that in a tumult they killed him, and a tribune, by name *Seniauchus*, whom he had brought with him into *Gaul*. *Valentinian*, afterwards emperor, but then only tribune, and one of the attendants of *Lucillianus*, narrowly escaped undergoing the same fate. This tumult, which happened at *Rheims*, did not prevent the troops in *Gaul*, nor their general *Jovinus*, from declaring for *Jovian*, and proclaiming him emperor. They even sent deputies to him, to congratulate him upon his promotion, and acquaint him, that they were ready to obey his commands. The de-

A tumult  
in Gaul.

<sup>t</sup> THEODOR. l. iv. c. 3. p. 661---664. EPIPHAN. c. 10. p. 726.  
SOZ. l. vi. c. 5. p. 642.      <sup>u</sup> SOCRAT. l. iii. c. 26. 205. BA-  
RON. ad ann. 364.

(G) *Socrates* (4) tells us, that the emperor no sooner entered the *Roman* dominions upon his return from *Persia*, than he was met by the leading men among the *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Aca- cians*, and other sectaries, all striving to ingratiate themselves with the new prince, and pre- possess him in their favour; but that he received them coldly, telling them, that he was an

enemy to contention, and should esteem and countenance those only, who promoted unity and concord. However, as *Jovian* himself openly professed the faith of the council of *Nice*, that doctrine was embraced by many, who, till that time, had been very sanguine in opposing it, and was soon after solemnly confirmed in a council held at *Antioch* this year (5).

(4) *Socrat. l. iii. c. 24. p. 202. & c. 25. p. 205.*

(5) *Idem ibid.*

putica met the new emperor at *Aspna* in *Galatia*, who received them in a very obliging manner, and continued *Jovianus* in the post of general, charging him not to suffer the death of *Lucillianus* to go unrevenged.

FROM *Aspna*, *Jovian* pursued his journey to *Ancyra*, the Jovian metropolis of *Galatia*, where he took upon him his first consulate upon fullship. We have observed above, that he had named his father for his colleague; but he dying in the mean time, he took in his room his own son, whom, tho' then only an infant, he distinguished with the title of *nobilissimus*, or *most noble* \* (H). *Jovian*, hastening to reach *Constantinople*, left *Ancyra*, and continued his journey, tho' the cold was then so severe and intense, that some of his retinue died on the road. Upon his arrival at *Dadašana*, a town on the borders of *Galatia* and *Bithynia*, but belonging to the latter province, he was met by *Themistius*, and other persons of distinction, sent by the senate of *Constantinople* to attend him. But before he left that place, <sup>He dies at</sup> he was found dead in his bed, on the sixteenth or seventeenth <sup>Dadašana</sup> of February of this year 364. after he had lived thirty-three years, and reigned seven months, and twenty days \* (I). *Jovian*

\* AMMIAN. l. xiv. p. 306, 307. SOCRAT. *ibid.* ZOS. p. 733 ZONAR. p. 25. \*\* AMMIAN. p. 308. SOCRAT. *ibid.* - ZOS. *ibid.* ZONAR. *ibid.*

(H) The discourse which *Themistius* is said to have pronounced on occasion of the emperor's consulship, has reached our times (6); but *Socrates* assures us, that he pronounced it six weeks after at *Dadašana*, and a second time at *Constantinople* (7).

(I) His sudden death gave occasion to various reports. Some ascribe it to the dampness of his chamber, which had been newly plastered; others say, he was stifled with the vapours of charcoal placed in the room to dry it. Some write, that he died of a surfeit; others, that his death was owing to bad and

poisonous mushrooms. *Socrates* says, he was carried off by an obstruction; and *Chrysostom*, that he was either poisoned or murdered by his guards. *Ammianus* likewise seems to have believed, that he died a violent death; for he compares his end with that of *Scipio Emilianus*, who was strangled in his bed; and adds, that no inquiry was made after the death of either of them (8). But *Jovian* had not yet disobliterated any man; nor does it appear, that he had any enemies, except perhaps *Procopius*, who took no advantage of his death; nor even shewed himself on that occasion.

(6) *Themist.* *orat.* v. p. 71. p. 308.

(7) *Socrat.* *ibid.* p. 205.

(8) *Ammian.*

Year of the flood 2814. Of Christ 364. Of Rome 1162.

*Valentinian* is greatly commended by all the ecclesiastic writers, among whom *Theodoras* says, that Heaven raised him to the sovereignty to reward, even in this life, his virtue; but that the world did not deserve to enjoy long so great a blessing.

*JOVIAN* being dead, the chief officers, both civil and military, assembled in order to choose a new emperor; when some proposed *Equitius*, tribune of the first company of the shieldmen of the emperor's guard; and others *Janatarius*, a kinsman of the deceased emperor, at that time commander of the troops in *Illyricum*: but the former was rejected on account of his surly and rustic temper, and the latter because he was at too great a distance<sup>z</sup> (K). At length, after an interregnum of nine or ten days, *Valentinian* was, by universal consent, chosen emperor; which unanimity *Ammianus* ascribes to a particular inspiration from Heaven<sup>y</sup>. The prefect *Sallustius Secundus*, *Arintheus* one of the generals of the army, *Daga-*

*Valentinian is chosen emperor.*

<sup>y</sup> THEODOR. l. iv. c. 4. p. 664, 665.  
p. 310.      <sup>a</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>z</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxvi.

The body of the deceased emperor was carried to *Constantinople*, and there interred with the usual solemnity in the church of the *Apostles*, where his tomb was to be seen many years after (9). His wife was coming to meet him, according to *Zonaras* (1), with her son *Verronianus*, and a retinue worthy of an empress, when she received the news of his death. *Cedrenus* likewise tells us, that she never saw him after his promotion (2); but *Themistius* writes, that the emperor was consequently, in all-upon-bod, the mother to, the emperor *Constantina*; and adds, that by his crying and struggling when he was to be carried, according to custom, in the consular chariot, he seemed to portend what happened soon

after; that is, the death of his father (3). The empress was still living in 380 (4). and was buried, after her death, near her husband (5). Of her son we shall speak hereafter.

(K) *Zosimus*, ever favourable to the pagans, tells us, that the electors, with one voice, named to the empire *Sallustius Secundus*, prefect of the East; a man, says he, of great worth, and long experience in war, by religion a Christian. He adds, that *Sallust* excusing himself on account of his old age and infirmities, they were for naming his son; but that the father opposed his election, alleging, that he was too young, and consequently not equal to so great a charge (6).

(9) *Philos.* l. viii. p. 113. *Zonar.* p. 25. *Du Cange urb. Constant. descript.* II. iv. p. 110. (1) *Zonar.* ibid. (2) *Cedren.* p. 309. (3) *Themist.* orat. v. p. 71. (4) *Chrys. ad vid. junior. tom. iv. p. 46.* (5) *Zonar.* ibid. (6) *Zos.* l. iii. p. 734.

*Leiphas* general of the horse, and *Datianus* a patrician, who had been consul in 358. are said to have been the chief authors of his election <sup>b</sup>. The latter had been left by *Jovian* on account of his old age, and the severity of the winter, in *Gallia*; whence he wrote to the army, advising them to choose *Valentinian*, as a man well qualified for that high station<sup>c</sup>. This election was made at *Nice*, the metropolis of *Bithynia*, whither the army that attended *Jovian* had, after his death, removed from *Dadastana* <sup>d</sup>.

*VALENTINIAN* was the son of *Gratianus*, a native of *Cibale* in *Pannonia*: his ancestors were no-ways conspicuous; <sup>rentage,</sup> but *Gratianus* himself being admitted into the army on account <sup>education,</sup> of his extraordinary strength, and great address at all manner <sup>employ-</sup> of exercises, raised himself by degrees to the dignity of count <sup>ments, &c.</sup> of *Africa*; of which honourable employment he was afterwards deprived, upon a suspicion of his having imbeziled the public money. However, he was many years after appointed commander of the troops in *Britain*; in which office he acquitted himself with great reputation. On his return from thence, he withdrew to his estate in the country, leading there a retired life, till it was confiscated by *Constantius*, incensed against him for having entertained *Magnentius* as he passed that way, with a design to usurp the empire. But he continued, notwithstanding his disgrace, to be greatly beloved and esteemed by the army<sup>e</sup>; and the esteem and affection they had all for the father did not a little contribute to the promotion of the son<sup>f</sup>. The senate of *Constantinople* decreed him a statue in the beginning of the reign of *Valens*<sup>g</sup>. We do not find, that he had any other children besides *Valentinian* and *Valens*, who are supposed to have been both born in the city of *Cibale*, the birth-place of their father. The former is styled on some medals <sup>h</sup> *Flavius*, which prænomen became common to all those who, after *Constantius*, he raised to the empire. *Valentinian* had by his first wife, <sup>i</sup> *Livia Severa*, the emperor *Gratian*, born in the year 359. his <sup>bc</sup> his second wife, *Justina*, the mother of *Valentinian II.* and <sup>was</sup> his daughters, we shall speak hereafter. *Valentinian* was <sup>ed,</sup> as we read in *St. Ambrose*<sup>j</sup>, and held the doctrine of the council of *Nice*, tho' that of *Arius* generally prevailed in *Pannonia*<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> PHILOSTR. l. viii. c. 8. p. 113. <sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>d</sup> AM-  
MIAN. ibid. <sup>e</sup> Idem, l. xxx. p. 428. VICT. epit. p. 545.  
<sup>f</sup> VICT. ibid. <sup>g</sup> THEODORET. p. 171. THEMIST. orat. vi.  
p. 81. <sup>h</sup> BIRAC. p. 501, 505. <sup>i</sup> AMBROS. ep. xiii.  
p. 204. <sup>k</sup> SOCRAT. l. iv. c. 1. p. 210.

He is said by most writers to have been altogether illiterate ; and *Themistius* seems to insinuate, that neither he, nor his brother *Valens*, had any knowledge of the *Greek* tongue<sup>1</sup>. But *Ausonius* allows him some erudition<sup>m</sup>. He betook himself early to the profession of arms, and on several occasions gave remarkable proofs of his courage, prudence, and experience<sup>n</sup>. In *Gaul* he commanded a body of horse, in quality of tribune ; but that command was taken from him by *Constantius*, as we have related in the reign of that prince, upon a false charge brought against him by *Barbetio* (L).

UNDER *Julian* he was tribune of one of the bands of the guards, called *Joviani*, who constantly attended the emperor<sup>o</sup> (M). Upon the promotion of *Jovian*, *Lucillianus*, father-in-law to that prince, took him with him into *Gaul*, as one capable of establishing, by his prudence, and known abili-

<sup>1</sup> THEMIST. orat. vi. p. 71.

<sup>m</sup> AUSON. idyll. xxviii. p. 339.

<sup>n</sup> ZOS. p. 734.

<sup>o</sup> THEODOR. l. iii. c. 12.

(L) *Philostorgius* writes, that, while he was in *Gaul*, it was conjectured from some omens, that he should attain one day to the empire ; which induced *Constantius* to send him into *Mesopotamia*, to serve there against the *Persians* (7).

(M) We are told, that, being one day obliged, as tribune of the guard, to attend the emperor into a temple, and the minister of the idols sprinkling those who entered with water, which was supposed to purify them, *Valentinian*, who was a zealous Christian, seeing a drop of it upon his habit, not only reviled and upbraided the pontif, as an impostor, but struck him, and in the presence of *Julian* cut out that part of his habit on which it had fallen, and threw it contemptuously on the ground. This provoked *Julian* to such a de-

gree, that he immediately ordered *Valentinian* either to sacrifice to the gods, or lay down his employment : he chose, without hesitation, the latter ; but *Julian*, not satisfied therewith, confined him, according to *Philostorgius*, to *Thebes* in *Egypt* ; according to *Sozomen*, to *Melitene* in *Armenia* ; charging him with some neglect of duty, to deprive him of the glory which he was apprised would accrue to him from suffering on account of his religion (8). If what these authors write be true, *Julian* must have recalled him soon after, perhaps to employ him in the *Persian* war ; for he is supposed to have been banished in 362. and on the other hand it is plain from *Ammianus Marcellinus* (9), that, at the death of *Julian*, he served in the army in the quality of tribune.

(7) *Philos.* l. vii. c. 7. p. 93.

(8) *Soz.* l. vi. c. 6. p. 644. *Philos.*

*ibid.* *Theodor.* p. 650. *Zos.* l. iv. p. 735.

*Oros.* l. vii. c. 32. *Ref.* l. ii. c. 2.

p. 178. (9) *Ammian.* l. xxv. p. 302.

ties, the authority of the new emperor in that province. *Lucilianus* was killed, as we have related above, in a tumult at *Rheims*; and *Valentinian* narrowly escaped undergoing the same fate. Upon his return into the East, *Jovian* preferred him to the command of the second company of the *scutarii*, or shieldmen of the guard; and left him at *Ancyra*, when he set out from thence on his march to *Constantinople*, with orders to follow him some time after <sup>p</sup>. *Valentinian* was still at *Ancyra*, when *Jovian* died at *Dadaſtana*; and he was chosen, in the manner we have related above, to succeed him. Upon his election, messengers were immediately dispatched to acquaint him with it; and, in the mean time, *Equitius* and *Leo* ordered to prevent disturbances or tumults in the army. *Valentinian*, soon after the arrival of the messengers, set out from *Ancyra*, and reached *Nice*, where the army then was, on the twenty-fourth of *February*; but did not appear abroad till the twenty-sixth, perhaps because he was in suspense, whether he should accept the empire or no, as we read in *Victor* the younger <sup>q</sup>. This, at least, seems more probable to us than the conjecture of *Ammianus Marcellinus* <sup>r</sup>; to wit, that out of superstition he avoided transacting any thing on the twenty-fifth, that being the *bissexile*, and consequently an unlucky day.

BE that as it will, orders were given in the evening, by the advice of the prefect *Sallustius Secundus*, that no person, who might, on account of his post or quality, be supposed to aspire to the empire, should, on pain of death, be seen abroad the next morning. As soon as it was light, the whole army was drawn up in a plain near the city of *Nice*; and *Valentinian*, appearing at their head, was desired to ascend the tribunal; which he had no sooner done, than he was, with loud shouts, *He is saluted by the* saluted *Valentinianus Augustus*, and adorned, in the sight of the whole army, with all the ensigns of sovereignty, that is, with a purple robe and diadem <sup>s</sup>. When this ceremony was over, the new emperor was preparing to harangue the army, according to custom, and had already stretched out his hand to begin his speech, when he was stopped by a seditious noise of the soldiery, requiring him to take that instant a colleague in the sovereignty, that the empire might not for the future remain, as it had happened twice in a few months, without an head. *Valentinian*, tho' a man of great resolution and intrepidity,

<sup>p</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 302.  
MIAN. p. 312.

<sup>q</sup> VICT. epit. p. 545.

<sup>r</sup> Idem ibid. Zos. l. iii. p. 734.

<sup>s</sup> AM-



*His firmness and intrepidity in quelling a tumult in the army.*

was at first somewhat alarmed; but, soon resuming his usual courage, he first reproved, with an air of authority, those who appeared the most forward and seditious; and then, without any interruption, addressed himself to the army in the following terms: "It was in your power a few days ago to choose for your emperor whom you pleased; but since you have raised me to that high station, I must tell you, power is no longer in your hands: you are not to prescribe laws to your sovereign; it is my province to command, and yours to obey: I am to judge, and not you, what may be useful and conducive to the public welfare. However, I do not say, that I will not take a colleague; but, in an affair of such importance, I must proceed with the utmost care and precaution imaginable, lest both you and I may hereafter have occasion to repent of our rashness." This resolute speech, uttered with all the authority of a sovereign, stopped the mouths of the mutineers; and no one daring to oppose a man, who seemed born to command, he was again, with a general acclamation, saluted with the title of *Augustus*, and conducted, or, as *Philostorgius* will have it, carried on a large shield, to the imperial palace<sup>1</sup>.

*He declares his brother Valens his colleague in the empire.*

VALENTINIAN, being thus declared emperor at *Nice* on the twenty-sixth of *February* of this year 364. left that city on the twenty-eighth of the same month, and set out for *Constantinople*. His march was very expeditious; for he made his public entry into *Nicomedia* on the first of *March*. and there created his brother *Valens præfectus stabuli*, that is, according to the modern phrase, master of the horse, with the title of tribune; and, after his arrival at *Constantinople*, declared him his colleague in the empire on the twenty-eighth of *March*, according to the most probable opinion. This ceremony was performed at a place called *Hæbdomon*, or the *seventh*, because it was seven miles distant from *Constantinople* (N). Some time after, both princes

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 312. THEODORET. l. iv. c. 5. p. 665. SOZOM. p. 645. PHILOSTORG. p. 113.

(N) In this place, which was a village, with an imperial palace, and several churches, the emperors who succeeded *Valens* were commonly crowned; and that prince embellished it with several edifices, and with a stately tribunal or throne; whence it took the name of *the tribunal* (1). *Ammianus* tells us, that *Valentinian* having summoned a council at *Nice*, as soon as he

(1) *Du Cange urb. Constant. descript. l. ii. p. 140.*

princes were seized with a violent fever, which was by some ascribed to the magical practices of *Julian's* friends, especially of the philosophers *Maximus* and *Priscus*, who thereupon were apprehended, with many others, and carried in chains to *Constantinople*. *Priscus* was soon discharged; but *Maximus*, who *Hepunifres* was universally hated, and supposed to have stirred up *Julian* some of *Julian's* friends against *Valentinian*, on account of his zeal for the Christian religion, was condemned to pay an heavy fine, and to lie in prison till he had paid it. Many eminent persons were accused on this occasion; but the prefect *Sallustius Secundus*, with his usual address, prudence, and good-nature, stifled such accusations, and put a stop to all further inquiries\*. The two emperors were no sooner recovered, than they left *Constantinople*; and, passing through *Adrianople*, where they were on the twenty-ninth of *April*\*, arrived at *Philippopolis*; whence they proceeded to *Sardica*†, and from that city to *Naissus* in *Dacia*, where they were on the third of *June*; and seem to have continued till about the eighteenth of the same month, partly at *Naissus*, partly at a castle named *Mediana*, about three miles from that city‡.

As the empire was threatened with a general invasion from the barbarous nations that surrounded it, *Valentinian*, the better to make head against them, thought it adviseable to divide the provinces between himself and his brother; and accordingly made this famous partition at *Mediana*, committing to the go-

*He divides the empire with his brother Valens.*

\* Zos. l. iv. p. 735. EUNAP. c. 5. p. 82, 83.  
 AMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 315. Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 69.  
 ibid.

\* AM-  
 \* Idem

was declared emperor, to deliberate about a colleague; and the other officers being all silent, thro' fear of disobliging the emperor, *Dagalaiphus* addressing him with great liberty, *If you are partial*, said he, *to your own family, you will make choice of your brother; but if you love your people, you will prefer some other.* *Ammianus* adds, that when he named *Valens*, his choice was universally applauded, because no one dared to disapprove or

oppose it (2); which shews, that no great advantages to the state were expected from *Valens*. However, *Ammianus*, who neither condemns him as a bad prince, nor thinks him worthy of a place among the good ones (3), observes to his praise, that he ever kept up a good understanding with his brother; that he undertook nothing without his advice; and obeyed him, not only as his elder brother, but as his sovereign (4).

(2) *Ammian.* p. 314.  
 p. 315.

(3) *Idem*, l. xxx. p. 428.

(4) *Idem*, l. xxvi.

Libya  
Tripoli-  
tana ha-  
rassed by  
the As-  
turians,  
and op-

Romanus.

Romanus  
accused,  
but conti-  
nued in his  
command.

vernment of *Valens* the East, that is, all *Asia*, with *Egypt* and *Thrace*; and reserving to himself *Illyricum*, *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, and *Africa*, that is, all the West. After this partition, both princes repaired to *Sirmium*, where they parted, *Valentinian* for *Milan*, and *Valens* for *Constantinople*. In the mean time, the barbarians broke into the empire from all quarters, the *Germans* into *Gaul* and *Rhætia*, the *Sarmatians* and *Quadians* into *Pannonia*, the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacotti*, into *Britain*, and the *Asturians*, with other *Moorish* nations, into *Africa*. But the latter province was not so much harassed by the barbarians as by *Romanus*, who had been sent by *Jovian* to protect it; for the *Asturians* had in his reign made frequent inroads into *Libya Tripolitana*, and the neighbouring countries. *Romanus* surpassed the barbarians themselves in oppressing and pillaging that unhappy province, and even refused to march against the enemy, who, roving up and down the country, committed every-where dreadful ravages, because the inhabitants would not comply with his exorbitant demands; for he required, besides immense sums, no fewer than four thousand camels, without which, he said, he could not take the field. The *Africans*, finding they could have no protection from *Romanus*, charged the deputies, whom they sent with the usual presents to *Valentinian* upon his accession to the empire, to lay before the new emperor the miserable state of their affairs; which they did accordingly, offering to prove the particulars contained in the memorial, which they presented to the emperor; but *Remigius*, who was then *magister officiorum*, and shared with *Romanus*, his kinsman and confidant, the spoils of the province, by representing things in a quite different light, managed his friend's cause with so much cunning and address, that the emperor, not knowing whom to believe, referred the matter to a further inquiry; which *Remigius* got easily put off from time to time, as there was then a great hurry of business at court. However, they prevailed upon the emperor to give the command of the troops to *Ruricius*, governor of *Libya Tripolitana*; but, by the interest of *Remigius*, it was soon after restored to *Romanus*. In the mean while the *Asturians* came down in greater numbers than ever, and laid waste the fruitful territories of *Leptis* and *Oea*; from which cities, and that ... *Sebrata*, the province is said to have been named *Tripolis*, that word importing *three cities*. As continued the whole time unconcerned and inactive, the bar-

\* AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 316. Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 69; 70.

rians scoured the country without meeting with the least opposition; ravaged it in a most miserable manner, put many persons of all ranks to the sword, took an incredible number of prisoners, and had even the confidence to lay siege to *Leptis*, a strong and populous city; but were not able to reduce it.

THE noise of these devastations reaching the emperor's ears, *Palladius* he dispatched *Palladius* to pay the troops their arrears, and bring him a true account of the state of the province. *Romanus* being immediately acquainted by his friend *Remigius* with the errand on which *Palladius* was sent, persuaded the principal officers of the army, with whom he maintained a good understanding, to present *Palladius*, whom he represented as a man of great authority at court, with a great share of the money which he had brought to pay them. *Palladius* accepted the present, and proceeded to *Leptis*, where he heard the complaints of the inhabitants, and was by them conducted to view the country, that he might be an eye-witness of the miserable condition to which it was reduced, and of the dreadful havoc the barbarians had made, without being in the least curbed or restrained. *Palladius*, at that sight, could not help exclaiming against *Romanus*, telling him in plain terms, that he would not fail to acquaint the emperor with his unaccountable conduct, and upbraiding him with his cruelty and avarice. But *Romanus* soon stopt his mouth, by upbraiding him in his turn with converting to his private use the money with which he was to pay the soldiers, and threatening to let the emperor know he had betrayed his trust. This put *Palladius* into such a fright, that he agreed with *Romanus* to conceal the whole from the emperor, whom accordingly he assured on his return, that the city of *Leptis*, and the *Tripolitan* province, complained without reason; which was believed, *Palladius* being generally esteemed a man of great integrity, and above all bribery and corruption. Nay, the emperor was by him so misled, and shamefully imposed upon, that he sent him back into *Africa* to try and punish the authors of the supposed calumnies and false informations brought against *Romanus*. In the discharge of this scandalous office, he tampered so cunningly with the inhabitants of *Leptis*, that they drowned the complaints which *Jovinus*, one of their deputies, had laid before the emperor in their name, maintaining, that they had given him no such commission. *Jovinus* himself, to gain the favour of *Palladius* and *Romanus*, and by that means avoid the danger that threatened him, owned he had made a false report to the emperor; who thereupon ordered him to be put to death, with

*sent to inquire into the state of the province.*

*He is gained over by Romanus.*

*His accusers punished.*

with some of the chief citizens of *Leptis*, and the governor *Ruricius*, who had confirmed the truth of the informations brought against *Romanus*. The latter was executed at *Stepha* in *Mauritania*, and the others at *Utica*. *Bretibius* and *Aristomenes*, two other citizens of *Leptis*, who had complained of *Romanus*, were condemned to have their tongues cut out; but they found means to make their escape, and lay concealed till the reign of *Gratian*, when this scene of iniquity was brought to light<sup>2</sup>.

THE following year, 365. both princes entered upon their first consulship, the one at *Milan*, the other at *Constantinople*. *Valentinian* seems to have continued at *Milan* till the month of *August*, and then to have visited several cities of *Italy*, to wit, *Verona*, *Aquileia*, and *Luceria*<sup>2</sup>. From *Italy* he passed into *Gaul*, and was either at or near *Paris* in his way to that city in the latter end of *October*, when he received certain intelligence, that the *Germans* had made an irruption into that province; and that *Procopius* had revolted in the East. Of the latter we shall speak in the reign of *Valens*. As for the *Germans*, they had sent ambassadors to congratulate *Valentinian* upon his accession to the empire; but *Ursacius*, then *magister officiorum*, having received them in a very disobliging manner, and sent them back with far less presents<sup>3</sup> than were usually given them, they had thrown them away with scorn and indignation; and, upon their return, stirred up their nation to take arms, and revenge the affront that had been offered them. They broke therefore into *Gaul*, and laid waste the country bordering on the *Rhine*. *Valentinian* dispatched *Dagalaiphus* against them, and advanced in person as far as *Rheims* to support him. But the *Germans* retiring at his approach, he returned to *Paris*, and there took up his winter-quarters<sup>4</sup>. He was for returning into *Illyricum* to make head there against the rebel *Procopius*; but his friends, and the deputies that were sent to him from all the cities in *Gaul*, earnestly intreating him not to leave that province exposed to the inroads of the *Germans*, he complied with their request, considering, says *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that *Procopius* was only an enemy to his family, whereas the *Germans* were declared enemies to the whole *Roman* empire<sup>5</sup>. Being therefore resolved not to stir out of *Gaul*, he dispatched *Neotherius*, at that time only a notary, but afterwards, that is, in 390. consul, into *Africa*, to

The Ger-  
mans  
break into  
Gaul;  
Year of  
the flood  
2815.  
Of Christ  
365.  
Of Rome  
1163.

but retire  
at the ap-  
proach of  
the empe-  
ror.

<sup>2</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 316. & l. xxvii. p. 347—380.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 315

—317.

<sup>5</sup> Idem, l. xxvii. p. 334.

prevent *Procopius* from making himself master of that province; and at the same time enjoined *Equitius* to cover *Illyricum*, and watch the motions of the usurper on that side <sup>d</sup> (O).

THE next consuls were *Gratian* and *Dagalaiphus*: the latter was general of the horse, and had been *comes domesticorum* under *Julian*: his name gives us room to believe, that he was by birth a barbarian. As for his colleague, he was the son of the emperor *Valentinian*, and then an infant; whence in the dates of the laws enacted this year he is marked thus, NB. P. that is, *Nobilissimus Puer*. The *Germans*, who had made an irruption into *Gaul* the preceding year, and retired at the approach of the emperor, as we have observed above, returned this year, 366. and having passed the *Rhine* on the ice, defeated the *Romans* in a pitched battle, took the standards of the *Batavians* and *Heruli*, and killed the two counts *Charietto* and *Severianus*, says *Zosimus*, who commanded the *Roman* forces <sup>e</sup> (P). What *Zosimus* writes touching the *Batavians* may be true; but, as for *Valentinian*, it is plain from *Ammianus*, that when this battle was fought, he was at *Paris*; whence he immediately dispatched *Dagalaiphus*, to prevent the evil consequences that were likely to attend the defeat of the other generals. *Dagalaiphus*, pretending he had not sufficient strength to engage the enemy, who were roving about

The Romans defeated by the Germans.  
Year of the flood 2816.  
Of Christ 366.  
Of Rome 1164.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>e</sup> Zos. l. iv. p. 740.

(O) St. *Jerom* writes, that *Equitius* abused his authority in oppressing and plundering the people whom he was sent to protect (5). *Equitius* was already *comes* or count, to which dignity the emperor added on this occasion that of *magister* or general (6).

(P) That the *Romans* were defeated, and *Severianus* killed, is owned by *Ammianus* (7); but *Charietto* must have escaped, since we find a law dated the seven-teenth of *May* addressed to him (8); whereas this battle was fought in the depth of winter,

when the *Rhine* was frozen over (9). *Zosimus* adds, that *Valentinian*, who, according to him, was present at this battle, highly provoked against the *Batavians* for having given ground the first, ordered them to be cashiered, and sold for slaves; but suspended the execution of his orders, upon their promising to retrieve their reputation by some signal enterprize; which they did accordingly, attacking the enemy's camp in the dead of the night, and committing there a dreadful slaughter (1).

(5) *Hier. ad ann. 373.*

(6) *Ammian. l. xxvii. p. 334.*

(7) *Idem ibid.*

(8) *God. Theod. l. v. tit. 5. leg. 1. p. 440.*

(9) *Ammian. ibid. & Zof. l. iv. p. 740.*

(1) *Zof. ibid.*

the country in several great bodies, did not so much as offer to restrain them. Hereupon he was recalled, and *Jovinus*, general of the troops in *Gaul*, who was sent in his room, gained a complete victory over the *Germans*, as we shall relate hereafter. The public joy for the happy successes of this glorious campaign, was greatly heightened by the arrival of messengers from *Valens*, with the head of *Procopius*, killed in *Asia* on the twenty-seventh of *May*, as we shall relate hereafter. *Valentinian* was returned to *Rheims* on the twenty-seventh of *November*<sup>†</sup>, and seems to have continued there all winter<sup>‡</sup>.

THE next consuls were *Lupicinus* and *Jovinus*, both generals, the former under *Valens* in *Syria*, and the latter under *Valentinian* in *Gaul* (Q). All the laws of this year to the third of *June* are dated from *Rheims*<sup>h</sup>; a plain proof, that the emperor continued there till that time: one dated the sixth of *August* was enacted at *Nemæsa*, said to have been a place in the neighbourhood of *Rheims*<sup>i</sup>. From *Nemæsa* the emperor re-

<sup>†</sup> Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 77, 79. • <sup>‡</sup> Idem ibid. Idem, p. 78, 79. <sup>h</sup> Idem ibid.

(Q) *Jovinus* is by the ablest critics thought to be the same person with *Valens Jovinus*, general of the horse, who was succeeded in that employment by *Theodosius* in 370. as we read in *Ammianus* (2). He was sent this very year into *Britain*, and attended *Valentinian* in his expedition against the *Germans* in 368 (3). *Flodard*, in his history of the church of *Rheims*, produces the epitaph of one *Jovinus*, who had been twice general of the *Roman* horse and foot, and yet was more illustrious for his piety than his employments (4). He was baptized and buried at *Rheims*, in the church of St. *Agricola*, now the abbey of St. *Nicaeus*, or St. *Nicaise*, as the natives call it. The stately tomb,

still to be seen there, is thought to have been his (5). The epitaph seems to insinuate, that he was the founder of that church, which, in the last will of the holy bishop *Remigius*, is stiled the *Jovian church* (6). Most authors take this *Jovinus* to be the consul of this year, which we can hardly believe, since in the epitaph no notice is taken of the consulship; a dignity far superior to the others mentioned in it. Besides, we are no-where told, that *Jovinus*, the consul of this year, was a Christian; nay, from *Julian's* preferring him to the first employments, both civil and military, we may well conclude, that he did not profess the Christian religion, at least in that prince's reign.

(2) *Ammian.* l. xxviii. p. 369. (3) *Idem*, l. xxvii. p. 346. (4) *Flodard. Remon. ecclef. bist.* l. i. c. 6. p. 33. (5) *Marlot. metropol. Remens. bist.* i. l. c. 28, p. 101. (6) *Flodard.* p. 32, 33.

moved to *Amiens*, as appears from a law dated the eighteenth of *August*, and addressed to *Prætextatus*, prefect of *Rome* \*. He was probably kept so long at *Rheims* by a violent distemper, with which he was seized this year. As his recovery was despaired of, the great officers of the court began to form cabals, and to think of naming him a successor. The chief candidates for the imperial dignity were *Rusticus Julianus* and *Severus*, both dreaded on account of their severity and rigour, but the former much more than the latter: he afterwards betrayed a most cruel and savage temper, when he was proconsul of *Africa* in 371. and 372. *Symmachus* is thought to have addressed to him the first fifteen letters of his third book. As for *Severus*, he was, in the judgment of *Ammianus*, in every respect preferable to *Julianus* †.

BUT the emperor's unexpected recovery put an end to the hopes and intrigues of the courtiers; for he, being probably informed of what had been transacted, resolved to prevent any farther disputes, by raising his son *Gratian* to the empire. Having therefore beforehand gained the soldiery, he assembled them in the neighbourhood of *Amiens*; and, with their consent and approbation, declared him his colleague in the empire, vesting him with the purple, and other ensigns of sovereignty, amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude ‡. Thus was *Gratian* created emperor on the twenty-fourth of *August*, 367. at the city of *Amiens*, for which he is said to have ever shewed a very particular regard: he was then about eight years old, having been born in 359. on the eighteenth of *April*, or, as others will have it, on the twenty-third of *May* (R). About the

Valentinian falls ill;

but recovers, and creates his son Gratian emperor.

Year of the flood 2817.

Of Christ 367.

Of Rome 1165.

\* Idem *ibid.* † AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 342. ‡ Idem *ibid.* p. 343. Zos. l. iv. p. 742. Socr. l. iv. c. 11. p. 219.

(R) Every one was surprised, says *Ammianus*, at the emperor's raising him at once to the sovereignty, instead of creating him first *Cæsar*, pursuant to the custom, which had prevailed till that time (7). *Victor* writes, that he was induced thereto by his mother-in-law, and his wife. Of the former, we find no farther mention in history. As to the

latter, she was, without all doubt, the mother of *Gratian*, *Valentinian's* first wife, called by *Socrates*, *Severa* (8), and stiled on some medals *Valeria Severa Augusta* (9). That princess was then certainly at court, and in favour; but seems to have been soon after disgraced. We read in the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that the empress *Severa* having purchased

(7) *Ammian.* l. xxvii. p. 342. p. 132.

(8) *Socrat.* l. iv. c. 31. p. 249.

(9) *Goldm.*



The city of the close of this year, the city of *Mentz* was unexpectedly attacked, taken, and plundered, by *Rhanda*, one of the princes of the *Alemans*, while the emperor, says *Ammianus*, was employed in some other expedition<sup>a</sup>; but in what expedition, we are no-where told. *Valentinian*, soon after the promotion of *Gratian*, left *Amiens*, and repaired to *Treves*, in which city he passed the winter, as appears from the dates of the several laws of this and the following year<sup>o</sup>. This year the *Picts* and *Scots* broke into the *Roman* territories, but were repulsed by

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 349.<sup>o</sup> Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 81.

an estate at a very low rate, the emperor, suspecting some foul dealing, was so provoked, that, not satisfied with obliging her to restore the estate to the former owner, he drove her out of the city (1). Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Valentinian* divorced her, and married *Justina*, a native of *Sicily* (2), and daughter, as is supposed, of one *Justus*, whom *Constantius* ordered to be put to death, while he was governor of *Picenum*, because he had bragged, giving credit to some omens, that he should one day be the father of an emperor. *Zosimus* writes, that she had been married before to *Magnentius*, killed in 352 (3). She favoured the doctrine of *Arius*, but craftily concealed her sentiments in the emperor's life-time (4). She had two brothers; to wit, *Constantianus*, who was raised to the dignity of *tribunus stabuli*, but killed by a band of robbers in 369. and *Cerealis*, on whom the emperor conferred the same dignity after the death of his brother (5). By *Justina* the emperor had four children; to wit,

*Valentinian II.* *Justa*, *Grata*, and *Galla*, of whom the latter was married to the emperor *Theodosius* (6). *Socrates* writes, that the empress having taken *Justina*, upon the death of her father, under her protection, and brought her up at court, the emperor was so taken with her charms, that he resolved to marry her; but, on the other hand, being unwilling to divorce his wife *Severa*, he caused a law to be published in all the cities of the empire, allowing his subjects to have two wives at a time: he adds, that *Valentinian* himself, being the first who made use of his own licence, married *Justina* without dismissing *Severa* (7). Thus *Socrates*. But as neither *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who is no-way favourable to *Valentinian*, nor *Zosimus*, an avowed enemy to all the Christian princes, take any notice of such a remarkable law, we cannot help looking upon the account of *Socrates* as an arrant fable. *Jornandes* indeed relates the same thing (8); but he copied it from *Socrates*, whom, for the most part, he follows.

(1) *Chron. Alex.* p. 702, 704. (2) *Socrat. l. iv. c. 31. p. 249.* (3) *Idem ibid. Jorn. p. 652. Zof. l. iv. p. 746.* (4) *Ruffin. l. ii. c. 15. p. 184.*  
 (5) *Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 367.* (6) *Socrat. p. 150.* (7) *Socrat. l. iv. c. 32.* (8) *Jornand. reg. c. 40. p. 652.*

*Theodosius*, father to the emperor of that name, as well as the *Franks* and *Saxons*, who had broken into *Gaul*; and it was probably on account of the advantages gained on this occasion that *Valentinian* assumed the title of the conqueror of the *Franks*, which is given him in an inscription of the year 369<sup>p</sup>. *Ammianus*, among the other transactions of this year 367. relates several instances of the excessive severity and injustice of *Valentinian*, who had hitherto with great care concealed the cruelty of his temper. He condemned *Diocles*, who had been *comes largitionum in Illyricum*, to be burnt alive for very inconsiderable faults; and ordered *Diodorus*, who had been *agens in rebus*, to be put to death, with three apparitors of the vicar of *Italy*, for no other reason but because *Diodorus* had commenced a suit against a count, who was going to court, and the apparitors had, pursuant to their office, summoned him to appear. The memory of *Diodorus*, and the three apparitors, is still honoured, says *Ammianus*, by the Christians at *Milan*, who call the place where they were buried *the innocents*<sup>q</sup>. To this probably the quaestor *Euphraxius* alluded, when, upon the emperor's commanding another person to be put to death for causing the sentence of a lawful judge to be executed, he told him, that the Christian religion honoured those as martyrs, whom he condemned as guilty<sup>r</sup>. *St. Jerom* tells us, that this year, in the country of the *Airebates*, now the *Artois*, wool fell from heaven mixed with rain<sup>s</sup>. *Orosius* adds, that it was true wool<sup>t</sup>; and *Bucherius*, that some of it is still to be seen at *Aras*, where it is called *manna*<sup>u</sup>.

THE following year the two emperors *Valentinian* and *Valens* were consuls for the second time. The former enacted this year several excellent laws; and among the rest one commanding all pleaders, or lawyers, to forbear, in pleading, abusive terms, invectives and injuries, and to content themselves with such fees as their clients shall be pleased to give them, without making any bargain or agreement beforehand: as for such lawyers as have been honoured with any public employment, he will have them to be satisfied with the glory of protecting the innocent, without debasing themselves to accept of any other reward<sup>v</sup>. By another law, he establishes a physician in each of the fourteen quarters, into which the

<sup>p</sup> VALES. rer. Fran. l. i. p. 46. <sup>q</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 345.  
<sup>r</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>s</sup> Hist. chron. ad ann. 367. <sup>t</sup> OROS. l. vii. c. 32. p. 218. <sup>u</sup> BUCH. Belg. p. 349. <sup>v</sup> Cod. Theodof. l. ii. tit. 10. leg. 2. p. 140. & cod. Just. l. ii. tit. 6. leg. 6. p. 187.

city of *Rome* was divided, who was to take care of the poor, and be maintained at the public expence. By this law the physician is allowed to accept what his patient shall think fit to give him, when intirely recovered, but not what he had promised during his illness<sup>a</sup>. By a third law, he commands some soldiers to remove from a synagogue, where they were quartered, that being contrary to the respect due to a place set apart for the worship of God<sup>y</sup>. This year *Valentinian* entering the territories of the *Alemans*, defeated them with great slaughter, and spent the greater part of the following year in fortifying the banks of the *Rhine*, as appears from several laws of different dates enacted at *Marciaticum*, which most geographers take to be *Manheim*, at *Altrip* between *Manheim* and *Spire*, and at *Brisac*<sup>z</sup>.

Several  
persons put  
to death  
by the em-  
peror's or-  
di

THIS year the emperor caused several senators, governors of provinces, judges, and other officers, to be put to death for receiving bribes, and oppressing the people committed to their care, and among the rest the eunuch *Rhodanus*, his chief chamberlain, whom, upon the complaint of a widow named *Berenice*, whose estate the eunuch had seized unjustly, he caused to be immediately apprehended, and to be burnt alive in the circus, where the people were assembled to behold the sports<sup>a</sup>. The next consuls were the two emperors *Valentinian* and *Valens*, both the third time. The former continued all this present year 370. as appears from the dates of several laws, partly at *Treves*, partly at *Alteia*, which is supposed to have been an imperial palace or country-seat near that city. In an inscription of this year, which is still to be seen at *Vienne* in *Austria*, we read that *Equitius*, general of the troops in *Illyricum*, erected by the emperor's orders a fort in that country; and from another inscription of the following year, found near *Strigonium* or *Gran* in *Lower Hungary*, it appears, that another fort was built by his order in that neighbourhood, for protecting the trade carried on by the subjects of the empire in those parts<sup>b</sup>. The emperor caused likewise a bridge to be built this year over the *Tiber* at *Rome*, which was then called the bridge of *Gratian*, afterwards the bridge *Cestius*, and is by the present inhabitants stiled *Ponto di S. Bartolomeo*, or the bridge of *St. Bartholomew*, being near the porch of *St. Bar-*

<sup>a</sup> Cod. Theodof. l. xiii. tit. 3. leg. 8. p. 34.

<sup>y</sup> Cod. Just.

l. i. tit. 9. leg. 4. p. 101.

<sup>z</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 85, 86.

<sup>a</sup> ZONAR. p. 26. Chron. Alex. p. 700. SUID. p. 706, 707.

<sup>b</sup> Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 291.

*theolomew's church* (S). This year is remarkable in history for an irruption of the *Saxons*, who dwelling on the coasts of the ocean amongst inaccessible marshes, left their country in great numbers, and landing on the *Roman* territories, committed there dreadful ravages, but were all to a man treacherously cut off by the *Romans*. *The Saxons break into the empire.*

THE same year the *Burgundians*, to the number of eighty thousand fighting men, appeared on the banks of the *Rhine*, being invited thither by *Valentinian*, who maintained a private intelligence with their kings, and had promised to pass the *Rhine*, and, in conjunction with them, fall upon the *Alemans*, with whom they were then at variance on account of some salt-pits. But the emperor being thus busied in building the above-mentioned forts, and not caring to interrupt that work, and join them, as he had promised to do, they put to the sword all the prisoners they had taken, and returned to their own country, highly enraged against the emperor, by whom they had been thus disappointed and deluded<sup>a</sup>. However, *Theodosius*, general of the horse, to which post he had been raised for his gallant and prudent conduct in *Britain*, taking advantage of the consternation the *Alemans* were in, made an irruption into their country, and returned with a considerable number of captives, to whom the emperor allotted lands and settlements on the banks of the *Po* (T). *An army of 80,000 Burgundians on the banks of the Rhine. Year of the flood 2820. Of Christ 370. Of Rome 1168.*

<sup>a</sup> GRUTER. p. 160. BARON. ann. 312.

<sup>d</sup> OROS. p. 377.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid.

(S) In the inscription it is said to have been built in the seventh year of the tribuneship, that is, of the reign, of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, and the third of *Gratian*, which was the present year: nevertheless the two former princes are marked there consuls the second time; whereas it is certain, that, in the seventh year of their reign, and the third of *Gratian's*, they were both in their third consulship. *Valentinian* and *Valens* are, in the same inscription, stiled emperors for the seventh time, and *Gratian* for the second, and are all three honoured with the title of conquerors of the Ger-

mans, *Alemans*, *Franks*, and *Goths*; which shews, that each of them shared with his colleagues the glory of his victories and renown. Their victories, or rather the victories of *Valentinian*, over the *Franks*, must have been very inconsiderable, since *Ammianus* takes no notice of them.

(T) *Ammianus*, in speaking of the *Burgundians*, informs us of several particulars relating to their government and religion. He seems not to doubt, but they were descended from the *Romans*; and *Orosius* speaks of them as the descendents of those

*The great cruelties of* a pathetic account of the horrible cruelties practised this year at Rome by *Maximinus*, or, as others stile him, *Maximus*, a man of a most inhuman and savage temper. He was brother-in-law to *Valentine* or *Valentinian*, who attempted to usurp the sovereignty in *Britain*; but nevertheless of a mean descent, and by birth a barbarian. However, he raised himself by degrees to the first employments in the state. He was first made governor of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, and afterwards of *Tuscia* or *Tuscany*. From the latter government he was preferred to the honourable employment of *præfectus annonæ* at Rome, whose province it was to supply the city with provisions; which he did at first with great prudence and moderation, but in the end betrayed a most cruel, inhuman and revengeful temper, which he began to do on the following occasion: One *Chilo*, who had been vicar to the prefects, and his wife *Maxima*, having accused *Sericus*, *Asbolius*, and *Campensis*, three persons of mean condition, before *Olybrius*, prefect or governor of the city, for having, by magical practices and enchantments, endeavoured to take away their lives, *Olybrius* began to inquire into this matter; but he falling sick, the complainants, impatient of delay, petitioned and obtained, that the cause might be referred to the *præfectus annonæ*, who readily undertook it, being glad of any opportunity that offered to satisfy his cruel temper, no more capable of pity or moderation, says *Ammianus*, than that of a wild beast let loose upon the prey. He had scarce begun his examinations, when he wrote to the emperor, that innumerable persons were guilty of magical practices, but could not be convicted without racks and tortures. Hereupon the emperor, who was himself naturally inclined to cruelty, appointed *Maximinus* vicar to the prefects in the room of *Aginacius*, and impowered him by an edict to put such persons, if thought necessary, to the rack,

Romans, who were left by *Tiberius* and *Drusus*, the adopted sons of *Augustus*, in the castles and boroughs of Germany; nay, he supposes them to have been named *Burgundiones*, from the Latin word *burgus*, signifying a borough (9). But from the word *burgus* they ought perhaps to have been called *Burgiones*, as

*Valesius* observes (1). *Pliny* the elder takes them to be originally a German nation, sprung from the *Vindili*; that is, as is generally supposed, from the *Vandals* (2). *Valesius* distinguishes the *Burgundiones* of Germany from those of the same name, who dwelt more to the East on the banks of the *Danube* (3).

(9) *Orat. l. vii. c. 32. p. 219.*  
*l. iv. c. 14. p. 86.*

(1) *Vales. rer. Francic. p. 48.*  
 (3) *Vales. ibid.*

(2) *Plin.*

as had been by other princes exempted from it on account of their rank, or only subjected to it in cases of treason. With *Maximinus* he joined in commission one *Leo*, at that time only a notary, but afterwards raised to the dignity of *magister officiorum*. He was by birth a *Pannonian*, of mean parentage, but no less bloodthirsty, according to *Ammianus*, than his colleague *Maximinus*†.

THESE two implacable judges performed their commission with that cruelty which every one may imagine: persons of all ranks and ages were dragged to their tribunal, tortured without mercy, and either executed like public malefactors, or stripped of their estates, and sent into banishment. Among the former were *Marinus*, a famous pleader, *Cethegus*, *Paphius*, and *Cornelius*, all three senators, and many other eminent persons of both sexes. *Alypius*, a young nobleman of great distinction, was, for a very small fault, sent into exile. *Lollianus*, the son of *Lampadius*, who had been governor of *Rome* in 366. and *praefectus praetorio* under *Constantius*, being accused of having copied, when he was yet very young, a book of magic, his father, finding *Maximinus* inclined to condemn him to banishment, advised him to appeal to the emperor; which he did accordingly: but *Valentinian* having referred the cause to *Phalangus*, governor of *Batrica*, who surpassed *Maximinus* himself in cruelty, the youth was by him sentenced to death, and publicly beheaded. As *Maximinus* continued raging without distinction of sex, age or condition, the senate dispatched deputies to the emperor, earnestly intreating him, as he tendered the lives of his innocent subjects, to revoke the power he had given to *Maximinus*. *Valentinian* complied with their request, which put an end for the present to those bloody executions. *Maximinus* was called to court, and received with great marks of esteem and affection by the emperor, who two years after created him prefect of *Gaul*, in which office he continued at least three years (for he was still prefect in 376.) ; but was soon after put to death by *Gratian*, with some of the ministers of his cruelty‡.

THE following year, when *Gratian* and *Sex. Petronius Probus* were consuls, the emperor enacted several remarkable laws; and among the rest one dated the eleventh of *February*, and addressed to *Viventius* prefect of *Gaul*, enacting, that such players and comedians as should have received at the point of death the sacrament of baptism, should not be obliged, if they

*Persons of all ranks tortured and executed.*

† AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 358---360.

‡ Idem, p. 361—

Year of the flood 2821. Of Christ 371. Of Rome 1169.

should recover, to act again on the stage <sup>h</sup>. From this law it appears, that the profession of a player, always deemed infamous among the *Romans*, was, under the Christian princes, thought inconsistent with Christianity; and likewise, that it was not free and voluntary, but servile, and hereditary in certain families. By another law, dated the seventh of *September*, the emperor declares, that the daughters of players shall not be obliged to follow the profession of their mothers, if they have behaved in any other calling so as to deserve a good character <sup>i</sup>. By a third law, dated the twenty-ninth of *May*, and addressed to the senate, he allows the free exercise of the pagan religion; and by a fourth, dated the twenty-eighth of *June*, several privileges are granted or restored to the pagan pontiffs, and the same honour and respect is ordered to be paid to them as to the *comites* or counts <sup>k</sup>. It is surprising that an emperor, who is said to have been not only an orthodox, but a zealous Christian, should have thus favoured the pagan pontiffs and religion. By a law dated the seventeenth of *May*, he exempts from all civil offices such as had been admitted among the clergy before his time; but obliges the rest to discharge them, notwithstanding the privileges and immunities granted by other princes to all ecclesiastics. All the laws enacted this year before the twenty-eighth of *June*, are dated from *Treves*, whence he removed to *Cantionacum*, a place unknown to geographers, but which must have been but at a small distance from *Treves*, since the emperor was in that city on the twenty-eighth of *June*, and the very next day at *Cantionacum*, where he staid till the fifteenth of *August*.

He attempts to surprise the king of the Alemans.

On the sixth of *September* he was at *Mentz*, probably on his march into the country of the *Alemans*; for this year he undertook an expedition against them, hoping to surprise *Macrianus* their king, a brave and resolute prince; but he, having received timely notice of his approach, saved himself by flight; and the emperor, greatly concerned for his disappointment, returned to *Treves*, after having laid waste the country round *Mentz* belonging to the *Alemans* called *Bucinobantes*, to whom he gave one of their own nation, by name *Fraomarius*, for king, who soon after exchanged his new dignity for the command of some of his countrymen then quartered in *Britain*. *Valentinian* was returned to *Treves*, with his two generals, *Se-*

<sup>h</sup> Cod. Theod. 1. xv. tit. 7. leg. 1. p. 361.  
p. 363.

<sup>k</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>i</sup> Idem ibid.

*verus* and *Theodosius*, on the sixth of December<sup>1</sup> (U). The next consuls were *Modestus* and *Arintheus*, during whose administration nothing happened in the West, which authors have thought worthy of transmitting to posterity. From the dates of several laws it appears, that the emperor passed the whole year, partly at *Treves*, and partly at *Naxonacum*, which stood at a small distance from that city<sup>m</sup>.

THE next consuls were *Valentinian* and *Valens*, both for the fourth time. This year *Maximinus* was created prefect of *Gaul*; and the first against whom he exerted his new authority, was a person guilty of no less enormous crimes than himself, to wit, *Remigius*, who, being *magister officiorum*, had screened his kinsman *Romanus* from the punishment due to the many cruelties, murders and extortions which he had committed in *Africa*, as we have related above. *Leo*, upon his return from *Rome*, where he had been joined in commission with *Maxi-*

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 397. & l. xxx. p. 399. Cod. Theod. p. 89. <sup>m</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 90, 91.

(U) *Ammianus Marcellinus* (4) and *St. Jerom* (5) observe, among the transactions of this year, that *Octavianus*, who had been proconsul of *Africa* under *Julian*, having concealed himself, while he was pursued by the officers of justice, in the house of an ecclesiastic, the magistrates commanded the ecclesiastic to deliver him up; which he refusing to do, was by the emperor's orders beheaded at *Sirmium*. The same year *Hymecius*, who had been vicar of *Rome* under *Julian*, and raised by *Valentinian* to the proconsulship of *Africa*, being accused of evil practices (our historian explains himself no farther), was brought to *Ocniculum*, about thirty miles from *Rome*, to be tried there by *Ampelius* governor of that city, and his vicar *Maximinus*. A letter was produced against him, written with his own hand to a pagan priest, named *Amantius*, desiring him to offer sacrifices to the gods, that the cruel and avaricious emperor might in the end be reconciled to him; for part of his estate had been already confiscated for some real, or, as *Ammianus* believed, supposed crime. When this letter was produced, *Hymecius*, well apprised of the cruelty of *Maximinus*, appealed to the emperor, who referred the whole affair to the senate, by whom *Hymecius* was banished to the island of *Boas* on the coast of *Dalmatia*. The emperor was highly dissatisfied with the senate for not sentencing him to death; but did not think it advisable to make the least alteration in their decree (6).

(4) *Ammian. l. xxiii. p. 238. & l. xxix. p. 396.*  
(6) *Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 359.*

(5) *Hier. chron.*



Remigius  
and Palladius, the  
accomplices of Ro-  
manus, strangle  
themselves.

minus, being raised to the post of *magister officiorum*, *Remigius*, who held it before him, retired to his estate in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*, his native city, to lead there a retired life. But *Maximinus*, despising him now that he was out of power, seized and put to the rack one of his domestics, by name *Cæsarius*; in order to make him discover the evil practices of his master, and what sums he had received of *Romanus* to defend and support him at court. This *Remigius* no sooner understood, than, overcome by fear, he strangled himself, to avoid a public and more ignominious death<sup>n</sup>. *Palladius*, who was no less guilty than *Remigius*, had been, it seems, disgraced before, for some other misdemeanour, tho' he ascribed his misfortune chiefly to his having imposed upon the emperor in an affair of such importance. Of this *Valentinian* had some suspicion, and therefore ordered him to be arrested; but while the soldiers who guarded him were passing the night (no doubt the eve of some festival) in a church, he ended his life in the same manner as *Remigius* had done his<sup>o</sup>. *Romanus* himself was then under arrest, for having, by his unaccountable conduct, driven *Firmus*, a *Moorish* prince, to revolt. *Theodosius*, who was sent to suppress the rebellion, had seized *Romanus*, with all his domestics and papers, among which were found some relating to the affair of *Leptis*. Upon this *Palladius* had been arrested; but both he and *Remigius* having laid violent hands on themselves, *Romanus* was some time after set at liberty, and the matter dropped for the present, but resumed under *Gratian*, when *Romanus* was convicted of high misdemeanours; but nevertheless, by the interest of *Merabaudus*, allowed to come to court to plead his own cause before the emperor<sup>p</sup>. What was the issue of this affair, we are no-where told. *Firmus*, whom we have mentioned above, was the son of *Nubel*, the most powerful of all the *Moorish* princes, who looked upon him, though subject to the *Romans*, as their king and sovereign. He left several sons behind him, and among the rest *Firmus* and *Zamma*. The latter being privately murdered by his brother *Firmus*, *Romanus*, with whom *Zamma* lived in great intimacy, to revenge the death of his friend, did all that lay in his power to incense the emperor against *Firmus*, being backed therein by his kinsman *Remigius*, then *magister officiorum*.

*Firmus*  
revolts in  
Africa.

HEREUPON *Firmus*, apprised of the danger that threatened him, and no longer able to bear the haughty and insolent behaviour of *Romanus*, and the officers of the army, resolved to

<sup>n</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 417.

<sup>o</sup> Idem, l. xxviii. p. 381. &

l. xxix. p. 399.

<sup>p</sup> Idem, l. xxviii. p. 381, 382.

revolt

revolt in his own defence; and accordingly, having animated the other *Moors* nations to shake off the yoke, under which they had long groaned, he assumed the purple, and the other ensigns of royalty, with the title of *king*, a *Roman* tribune, who had taken part with him, laying his collar upon the head of the new king, instead of a diadem.<sup>1</sup> Some antiquaries will have this to be the *Firmus*, who, on an antient medal, bears the title of *Augustus*<sup>2</sup>; but their opinion is rejected by others. *Firmus*, finding himself in a short time at the head of a considerable body of *Moors*, who flocked to him from all quarters, ravaged the provinces of *Africa* and *Mauritania* without opposition, and even made himself master of *Cæsarea*, *Takes Cæ-* now *Algier*, the metropolis of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, where *sarea, and* he found a considerable sum belonging to the exchequer, but *other pla-* left in the hands of the magistrates of that city. The officers *ces.* of the treasury sued the magistrates for the money which had been left with them in trust; but were ordered by the emperor to drop the prosecution, *Clemens*, bishop of the place, having prevailed upon him, to issue that order, and by that means saved his country from certain ruin<sup>3</sup> (W).

THE emperor was no sooner informed of the revolt of *Firmus*, than he dispatched against him *Theodosius*, the best general of his time, with the troops that were quartered in *Pannonia* and *Upper Mœsia*, and a detachment out of those that attended the court, and were thence called *comitatenses*. *Theodosius* embarked at *Arles* in the latter end of the year 372. or the beginning of 373. and having had a favourable passage, landed soon after at a place called *Igilgitanum* in *Mauritania Sitifensis*. His first care, upon his arrival, was to arrest *Romanus*, who, by his haughty and arbitrary conduct, had, as it were, forced

*Theodosius is sent against him.*

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 429. OROS. l. vii. c. 33. ZOS. l. iv. p. 744. <sup>2</sup> SPANH. l. vii. p. 599. <sup>3</sup> Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 389. SYMMACH. l. i. epist. 58. p. 39.

(W) The famous *Symmachus*, as was believed, by the bishop of whom hereafter, wrote on this occasion to *Titianus*, then vicar of *Africa*, pressing him to cause the order which the bishop had obtained to be put in execution (7). *Firmus* took likewise the city of *Tuneta*, betrayed to him, as was believed, by the bishop of the *Donatists*, upon his promising not to molest any of that sect (8). The *Donatists* looked upon *Firmus*, not as an usurper, but a lawful prince; whence they were in those parts styled *Firmiani* (9).

(7) *Symmach.* l. i. epist. 58. p. 39.  
(9) *Idem in par.* l. i. c. 10, 11.

(8) *August.* ep. clxiv. p. 286.

*Firmus pretends to submit.* the *Moors* to revolt. *Firmus*, in the mean time, hearing that so renowned a commander was sent against him, began to despair of success; and thereupon dispatched deputies to *Theodosius*, declaring, that he had been, in a manner, forced to revolt; that he did not pretend to justify what he had done, but, on the contrary, was ready to submit, and quit the ensigns of royalty, provided the emperor would forget his past conduct. *Theodosius*, thinking it adviseable to admit of his submission and excuse, assured him of his pardon, upon his delivering up to him some of the chief men among the *Moors*, by way of hostages. This *Firmus* promised to do; but as he put off from day to day the execution of his promise, *Theodosius*, suspecting his sincerity, marched from *Panchariana*, the place of the general rendezvous, to *Tubusuptius*, in the neighbourhood of mount *Ferratus*, where *Mascezel*, brother to *Firmus*, lay encamped with a considerable body of *Moors*. He was there met by a second embassy from *Firmus*; but as the deputies brought no hostages along with them, he would not so much as admit them to his presence, but fell unexpectedly upon the *Tyndenses* and *Masnienses*, two *Moorish* nations, commanded by *Mascezel*; and having defeated them with great slaughter, he laid waste the country, rased the castle of *Petra*, which had been lately built, and made himself master of another strong-hold, which he made choice of for a magazine, storing it with all sorts of provisions, that they might be nearer at hand, in case he should think fit to penetrate farther into the country.

*Theodosius defeats some nations in alliance with Firmus.*

*Firmus pretends anew to submit;*

In the mean time *Mascezel*, having rallied his broken forces, ventured a second engagement, in which he was attended with no better success than in the former, great numbers of his troops being cut off, and he himself narrowly escaping. Hereupon *Firmus* sent at last the promised hostages, and with them some bishops to intercede with *Theodosius* in his behalf. The *Roman* general received them with the utmost civility and respect, and upon their promising, in the name of *Firmus*, that the booty and prisoners he had taken should be restored, and the *Roman* army supplied with provisions, he granted a general pardon to him and all his followers; which so encouraged the *Moor*, that he came in person to wait on *Theodosius*; and bewailing his folly and rashness, promised to make amends for both by his future conduct and fidelity. *Theodosius* received him in a most obliging manner, gave him all the encouragement he expected or desired, and dismissed him, extremely pleased with his reception. *Firmus*, at his departure, left some of his relations behind him for hostages; and two days after delivered up to the *Romans* a place called *Icosum*, with the prisoners,

soners, military ensigns, and the booty he had taken. From thence *Theodosius* advanced to *Tipasa*, where he was met by the ambassadors of the *Mazices*, a nation inhabiting the eastern parts of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, who had joined *Firmus* in his revolt. They came to submit in the name of the whole nation, and to beg pardon for their revolt; but *Theodosius* returned them no other answer, than that their perfidy deserved to be punished with the utmost severity.

FROM *Tipasa* he proceeded to *Cæsarea*, now *Algier*, which *Firmus* had taken in the beginning of the rebellion, and delivered up to be plundered by his soldiers. There he received, but prepares for war, certain intelligence, that *Firmus* was preparing underhand for war; that he had never had any real intention of concluding a peace with the *Romans*; and that he only watched an opportunity of falling upon them at the best advantage. Hereupon *Theodosius*, leaving at *Cæsarea* the first and second legions, who were to repair the fortifications, and secure it in the best manner they could against any farther attempts of the enemy, marched to *Sugabbari*, a town of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, where he surprised a *Roman* cohort, who had joined the rebels. Their tribunes he put to death; but contented himself with condemning the common soldiers to the meanest offices in the army. From thence he advanced farther into the country; and having *Theodosius* made himself master of *Gaionatis* and *Tingitanum*, two places *his gains* of great strength, he passed the mountain *Ancorarius*, and entering the country of the *Mazices*, gained a signal victory over *great advantages* them. They made at first a vigorous resistance; but were at length utterly defeated, and almost all put to the sword. But, notwithstanding this victory, the *Moors* poured down upon him *over his confederates* from all quarters in such multitudes, that he thought it advisable to retire, rather than to penetrate farther into the country, his army being only three thousand five hundred strong. But the enemy, apprised of his design, not only harassed him incessantly on his march, but by stopping up all the passes, cut off his retreat; insomuch that the whole army must inevitably have perished, had not the *Moors* unexpectedly betaken themselves to flight, and left the passes open, at the sight of a great body of their own countrymen, whom they mistook, observing some *Roman* deserters at their head, for a reinforcement coming to relieve *Theodosius*. The *Romans*, having thus, by an happy mistake, escaped death or slavery, retired in good order to *Murzucanum*, and from thence to *Tipasa*; where *Theodosius*, reflecting on the posture of his affairs, resolved to manage the war after another manner, and to try, whether he could, by menaces or promises, prevail upon the nations in alliance

liance with *Firmus* to make a separate peace, and deliver him up to the *Romans*.

WITH this view he dispatched embassadors to the several nations that had joined him; which *Firmus*, who was well acquainted with the fickle temper of the *Moors*, no sooner understood, than, dreading the issue of such negotiations, he abandoned his army; and taking the advantage of a dark night, retired privately to the mountains called *Caprarienses*, which, by reason of the rocks and precipices, were deemed inaccessible. The multitude, struck with amazement at his unexpected flight, and now without an head, soon dispersed; and *Theodosius*, seizing their camp, made himself master of the neighbouring countries without the least opposition, placing such governors over them, as had given him evident proofs of their fidelity. He then marched without delay in pursuit of *Firmus*, who, as he was informed, had taken sanctuary in the country of the *Isastenses*. That warlike nation refusing to deliver him up, several battles were fought, in one of which *Mazaca*, *Firmus's* brother, was taken prisoner; but died the same day of the wounds he had received. *Evastus*, a person of great authority among the *Isastenses*, and his son *Florus*, fell likewise into the hands of the *Romans*; and as they had been remarkably zealous in the cause of *Firmus*, they were both, by *Theodosius's* orders, burnt alive. The *Romans*, overpowered with numbers, were often reduced to great streights; but having in the end utterly defeated the enemy in a battle which lasted from morning to night, some nations, that had joined the *Isastenses*, began to be weary of the war, and desert them. Hereupon *Igmazen*, prince of the country, finding himself abandoned by his allies, and no ways in a condition to make head against the *Romans* with his own forces alone, privately agreed with *Theodosius* to betray *Firmus* into his hands, and accordingly ordered him to be secured, while he was preparing to make his escape. But *Firmus*, to avoid the disgrace of the punishment, which he apprehended from the *Romans*, strangled himself while his guards were asleep, to the great grief of *Igmazen*, who had proposed to ingratiate himself with the *Romans*, by carrying him alive to their camp. However, he immediately sent the body to *Theodosius*, who received it with great joy, and soon after returned to *Sitifiis*, which city he entered in a kind of triumph. The several *Maorish* nations, that had sided with *Firmus*, sent deputies to sue for peace; which *Theodosius* readily granted them, upon their delivering up to him some of their leading men, whom he caused to be put

*Firmus abandons his army, and flies to the Isastenses;*

*who are defeated by Theodosius.*

*Firmus strangles himself.*

to death. In this war *Gilda*, one of *Firmus's* brothers, took party with the *Romans*, and gave signal proofs of his fidelity; but afterwards revolted under *Honorius*, and was attended with no better success than his brother (X).

THE following year, when *Gratian* was consul the third time with *Equitius*, many eminent persons of both sexes were cruelly racked and put to death by *Simplicius*, vicar of *Rome*, who, being raised to that employment by the interest of *Maximinus*, put, under various pretences, all those to death to whom his patron bore the least grudge, and among the rest *Aginacius*, a patrician of an illustrious and ancient family, who had been consular or governor of *Byzantium* under *Julian*, and vicar of *Rome* in the present reign. He was accused of adultery; and tho' the informer could not make good the charge, yet he was sentenced to death, and executed with *Anephia*, a lady of great distinction, who being accused of the same crime, had impeached *Aginacius*, hoping by that means to ingratiate herself with *Simplicius*, and escape the danger that threatened her. As for the emperor, he passed the winter at *Milan*, as appears from the dates of several laws, but was again at *Treves* on the twenty-first of *May*, and the twentieth of *June*. From thence he marched into *Germany*; and after having ravaged the country bordering on the *Rhine*, returned to *Basse*, in the neighbourhood of which city he ordered a fort to be built named *Rebur*: from this fort we find a law dated the tenth of *July*. While the emperor was encamped there, the *Quadi*, breaking into *Pannonia*, committed dreadful ravages there, defeated two *Roman* legions, and made themselves masters of all the open country. The *Sarmatians* at the same time entered *Mæsia*, but were repulsed with great slaughter by *Theodosius*, afterwards emperor (Y). The emperor was at *Treves* on the ninth

Cruelties  
exercised  
at Rome  
by Simplicius.  
Year of  
the flood  
2824.  
Of Christ  
374.  
Of Rome  
1172.

\* AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 398---408, Zos. l. iv. p. 744. \* AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 363---366. \* Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 93, 94. \* Idem ibid.

(X) When the war was ended, *Theodosius* wrote to *Symmachus*; but in his letter he spoke only in general terms of his victory, referring him to public fame for a more particular account of it. *Symmachus*, in his answer, com-

mends his modesty, which to him seemed the more worthy of praise, as *Theodosius* was no less qualified for writing than fighting (1).

(Y) The following year 375, is marked in the *fasti* thus; *The year of the third consulship of Gratian*.

(1) *Symm. l. v. epist. i. p. 389.*

An embassy  
from the  
Sarmatians.

ninth of April<sup>7</sup>; but left that city soon after<sup>a</sup>. He was met on his march by ambassadors from the *Sarmatians*, who throwing themselves at his feet, earnestly intreated him not to give credit to the reports that had been spread abroad concerning the ravages and cruelties said to have been committed by those of their nation; they assured him, that, upon examination, he would not find them guilty of the crimes that were by their enemies urged against them. The emperor answered, that he would determine nothing for the present; but suspend his judgment till his arrival in those parts which had most suffered by their late irruption. Having thus dismissed the ambassadors, he pursued his march; and arriving in *Illyricum*, took up his quarters at *Carnuntum*, once a flourishing city, but then in decay (Z). The emperor chose it, as being most conveniently situated for the defence of the country, and continued there three months, making the necessary preparations for his intended expedition against the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians*<sup>a</sup>. He was still at *Carnuntum* on the twelfth of August<sup>b</sup>.

The people  
of Illyri-  
cum op-  
pressed by  
Probus.

PROBUS the prefect was the only person against whom he shewed any resentment; for he, to satisfy the avarice of the emperor, had, according to *Ammianus*, oppressed the people committed to his care in a manner hardly to be expressed, putting to death, banishing, or condemning to dungeons, the most wealthy among them, that he might seize their estates; inasmuch that all the persons of rank in the country, dreading the avarice and unheard-of cruelties of their governor, had privately disposed of their effects, and abandoned their country (A). *Valentinian* made a strict inquiry into his conduct, and finding

<sup>7</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 94.

<sup>a</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 418.

<sup>b</sup> Cod. Theod. ibid.

tian, and his colleague Equitius. St. Jerom writes, that no consuls were named this year, on account of the disturbances raised in *Pannonia* by the *Sarmatians* (2).

(Z) Most geographers take it to be the city of *Hainburg* on the *Danube* in *Austria*, about thirty-three miles east of *Vindobona*.

(A) All this the emperor learnt of a philosopher, by name *Iphicles*, who had been sent by the *Epirotes* his countrymen, to thank *Probus* for his prudent and mild administration. The emperor, informed of the errand on which he was sent, asked him, whether his countrymen were really satisfied with their governor; and whether their

(2) Hier. chron.

finding him guilty of most enormous extortions, and unheard-of barbarities, resolved to depose him; but was prevented by death from putting his design in execution<sup>c</sup> (B). *Probus* was descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome, and reckoned amongst his ancestors the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*. The families of the *Probi*, of the *Anicii*, and of the *Olybrii*, were, according to St. *Jerom*<sup>d</sup>, *Aufonius*<sup>e</sup>, and *Prudentius*<sup>f</sup>, the most conspicuous in Rome. *Probus*, who had embraced the Christian religion, with his whole family<sup>g</sup>, lived in great intimacy with St. *Ambrose*, the celebrated bishop of Milan. When the latter was by the emperor appointed governor of *Liguria* and *Æmia*, *Probus*, in taking his leave of him, gave him the following memorable advice: *Acquit yourself in your office, not like a governor, but like a bishop*<sup>h</sup>. St. *Ambrose* was then by profession a pleader or advocate. *Probus* was first proconsul of *Africa* in 358. afterwards four times prefect of *Italy* or *Gaul*, and, in 371. *Gratian's* colleague in the consulship. He was no less famous for his wealth, than his birth and employments; for he is said to have owned immense possessions in all the provinces of the empire<sup>i</sup> (C).

VALEN-

<sup>c</sup> AMMIAN. p. 125.  
ep. iii. p. 422.

<sup>d</sup> HIER. ep. viii. p. 63.

<sup>e</sup> AUSON.

<sup>f</sup> PRUD. in Sym. l. i. p. 221.

<sup>g</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>h</sup> Ambros. vit. p. 79.

<sup>i</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 352.

thanks and commendations were sincere. *They*, thank and commend him, answered frankly the philosopher; *but with tears in their eyes, and sore against their will.*

(B) Thus *Ammianus*. But St. *Jerom* writes, that *Illyricum* was plundered, and tyrannically oppressed, by *Equitius*, without so much as mentioning *Probus* (3); and *Ammianus* himself owns, that *Leo*, then *magister officiorum*, exasperated the emperor against *Probus*, hoping to be made prefect in his room (4).

(C) *Paulinus Diaconus* tells us, that two *Persian* lords of great distinction, being come to *Milan*

to visit St. *Ambrose*, went thence to *Rome*, on purpose to behold the grandeur and pomp in which *Probus* lived (5). He died, as appears from *Claudian*, before the end of the year 394. being then in the sixtieth year of his age (6), after having received the sacrament of baptism; and was buried in a magnificent monument near the church of St. *Peter* at *Rome*, of which monument some remains were still to be seen in the time of pope *Nicolas V* (7). Several letters written to him by *Symmachus* have reached our times (8), and a poem addressed to him by *Aufa-*

(3) Hier. *chron.*  
vit. p. 83.  
ann. 395.

(4) *Ammian.* l. xxx. p. 424, 425.

(6) *Claud. de consulat. Olyb. & Prob. p. 2.*

(8) *Sym. l. iii. epist. 50—55. p. 36.*

(5) *Ambros.*  
(7) *Baron. ad*



Faustinus  
executed.

VALENTINIAN, during his stay at *Carnuntum*, caused *Faustinus*, nephew to *Viventius*, a few years before prefect of *Gaul*, to be first inhumanly racked, and afterwards publicly executed, being accused of magical practices, and of having answered one *Nigrinus*, desiring him in jest to make him a notary, *Make me first emperor*. They were joking; but the joke cost both of them their lives. From *Carnuntum* the emperor dispatched *Merabaudus* and count *Sebastian*, with a party of foot, to lay waste the enemy's country, while he, with the main body of the army, advanced to *Acincum*, now *Grán*, or, as others will have it, *Buda* in *Lower Hungary*\*. There he passed the *Danube*, and having ravaged the enemy's country far and near, destroying all with fire and sword, he returned to *Acincum*, when the autumn was already far advanced. Being desirous to find out some convenient winter-quarters in that frozen climate, he proceeded from thence to *Sabaria*, now *Serwar*;

Valentinian  
ravages the  
country of  
the Quadi.

\* Vide BAUDR. p. 55.

nus in 372. *Ammianus* commends him in several places of his history; but more frequently taxes him with great vices, perhaps because he professed the Christian religion (9). *Claudian*, tho' a pagan as well as *Ammianus*, highly commends him; but it is in a panegyric on his children (1). Both writers agree in extolling his generosity. His wife *Proba*, named in the ancient inscriptions *Anicia Faltonia Proba*, was no less esteemed on account of her birth and extraordinary qualities, than her husband, being adorned with every virtue becoming her sex, and descended from the *Anician* family, equalled by *Cassiodorus* (2), *St. Austin* (3), *St. Jerom* (4), and *St. Ambrose* (5); to the imperial families:

Some of her ancestors bore the first employments in the times of the republic; and one of them is said to have been honoured with a triumph for reducing *Illyricum* (6). *Ammianus* (7) and *Zosimus* (8) take notice of their immense wealth; and *St. Jerom*, writing to *Demetrias* the grand-daughter of *Probus*, says, that it was the peculiar prerogative of her family to possess riches, and despise them (9). *Anicius Julianus*, on whom *Symmachus* bestows great encomiums (1), was the first *Roman* senator that embraced the Christian religion (2). *Ammianus* observes, that, in the reign of *Constantine*, the *Anicians* bore the chief sway in *Rome* (3).

(9) *Ammian.* l. xxvii. p. 352, 353. l. xxviii. p. 362. l. xxxii. p. 423, 424.  
(1) *Claud. ibid.* (2) *Cassiod.* l. x. ep. 12, p. 162. (3) *August.* ep. cxxxix.  
p. 305. (4) *Hier.* ep. xi. p. 162. (5) *Amb.* ep. xxxiii. p. 263. (6) *Au-*  
*gust.* p. 422. (7) *Ammian.* l. xvi. p. 68. (8) *Zos.* l. vi. p. 323.  
(9) *Hier.* ep. viii. p. 68. (1) *Sym.* p. 299. (2) *Prud.* in *Sym.* l. i. p.  
221. (3) *Ammian.* *ibid.*

but that place not answering his expectation, he pursued his march along the *Danube* to *Bregetia*, which some take to be a village now called *Bregnitz*, and others a place in the isle of *Schut*, where the present city of *Kamars* stands, or a little below that of *Markelbau*<sup>1</sup>. There he gave audience to the ambassadors of the *Quadi*, come to sue for peace; but while he was speaking to them with great warmth, and threatening to extirpate their whole nation, he all on a sudden fell to the ground, as if his life and voice had failed him at once. He was conveyed into his chamber by those who attended him, where he was seized with convulsion-fits, and violent contortions of all his limbs, in the agonies of which he expired on the seventeenth of *November* of this year 375. in the fifty-fifth year of his age, after having reigned twelve years, wanting an hundred days<sup>m</sup> (D). The body of the deceased emperor was embalmed, and sent

He dies suddenly.  
Year of the flood 2825.  
Of Christ 375.  
Of Rome 1173.

<sup>1</sup> Vide SANS. & BAUDR. p. 129, 130. <sup>m</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 427. VICT. epit. PHILOST. l. ix. c. 16. p. 130.

(D) *Victor* writes, that he died of a surfeit (4). *St. Jerom* ascribes his death to a violent vomiting of blood (5). *Socrates* tells us, that, being affronted at the meanness and beggarly appearance of the ambassadors of the *Quadi*, he asked them, if their country afforded men of no better quality to appear before him. They answered, That the first men in the nation were in his presence. Hereupon he fell into a great passion, upbraiding their whole nation with arrogance, for presuming to insult the majesty of the *Roman* emperor and people. He delivered this with so much heat and violence, that, his veins bursting, he was instantly suffocated in his own blood (6). The reader will find in *Socrates* part of the speech which he made, or is supposed to have made, to the embassa-

dors (7). His death was prefigured, according to *Ammianus*, by several omens: A blazing star, which, in the opinion of that writer, ever forebodes the death of some great personage, had appeared a few days before: at *Sirmium* the palace, court, and forum, were consumed by lightning: the night before he died, he saw, or imagined to see, his wife, then absent, sitting by him in a melancholy posture, and in a mourning dress, with her hair disheveled. This *Ammianus* takes to have been his genius forsaking him (8). On the day he died, his horse, while he was about to mount, rearing with great fury, his strator or equerry, striving to place the emperor in the saddle, happened to give him a blow; which he resenting with his usual brutality, ordered the equerry's hand to be cut off;

(4) *Vict. epit.*  
(7) *Idem ibid.*

(5) *Hier. ep. iii. p. 26.*  
(8) *Ammian. p. 426.*

(6) *Socrat. p. 248, 249.*

sent to *Constantinople*, to be interred there amongst the other Christian princes. It arrived in that city on the twenty-eighth of *December* of the ensuing year 376. but was not buried till the twenty-first of *February* of the year 382. when *Theodosius* paid it that last duty<sup>a</sup>. Some pretended in 1174. to have discovered his body at *Andernach* on the *Rhine*; but it is evident from history, that he was buried at *Constantinople*.

His character.

As to his character, *Ammianus* taxes him with several vices. He was, according to that writer, naturally inclined to cruelty, punishing even the smallest faults with the utmost severity, and suffering his ministers, or rather encouraging them, to exercise unheard-of cruelties. He was covetous to a great degree, using all possible methods to raise money; which however some excuse in him, as he found, on his accession to the empire, the exchequer quite exhausted by his predecessors, especially by *Julian*, who had spent immense sums in the *Persian* war. He had a mighty opinion of his own accomplishments and abilities, and therefore hated all who were eminent for learning, valour, skill in the military art, or any other prerogative; nay, even such as had a genteel fancy in dress. He pretended to be a great enemy to cowards, and nevertheless, on several occasions, betrayed more fear than was becoming a man, who, from his infancy, had borne arms; inasmuch that his ministers, who were well acquainted with his temper, when he was in a passion, and they could by no other means appease him, used to pretend certain intelligence from the frontiers, that the barbarians were up in arms, and ready to break into the empire; which never failed to allay his wrath, and make him appear, to use the expression of *Ammianus*, as mild as ever was *Antoninus Pius*<sup>b</sup>. He suffered himself to be strangely imposed upon by his ministers, reposing an intire confidence in those who deserved it the least; whence the provinces were

Imposed upon by his ministers.

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 433. MARC. chron. p. 431, 432.

AMMIAN.

but *Cerealis*, *tribunus stabuli*, or master of the horse, put off the execution of so cruel and unjust an order at the peril of his own life (9). The year before, the *Tiber* overflowed its banks, and laid all the lower parts of *Rome* under water, the inhabitants being obliged to save themselves

upon the hills; where they had perished with hunger, had not *Claudius*, prefect of the city, sent them a sufficient supply of provisions in boats. These overflows of the *Tiber* were generally looked upon as the forerunners of some public disaster.

often oppressed, and the people reduced to beggary, while he, misled and deceived by those about him, believed they enjoyed an intire happiness <sup>1</sup>. Had he not been deceived in the choice of his ministers, says *Victor*, he would have reigned with great glory, and been ranked after his death amongst the best princes <sup>2</sup>. And truly he was, even according to *Ammianus*, a writer no-ways partial to him, or any of the Christian princes, endowed with many excellent qualities; well acquainted with the military art, and no less with the art of governing; careful in protecting the subjects of the empire against the incursions of the barbarians; an exact observer of the military discipline; enured from his infancy to hardships, and no-ways biased by favour in disposing of the great offices. Tho' he had many relations, who, upon his advancement, expected great preferments, yet he employed none of them, except his brother *Valens*, whom he assumed for his colleague, and with whom he reigned in perfect concord. In his entertainments he was splendid, but not profuse; in his person comely, and well-shaped; in his conversation agreeable; of an extraordinary memory, and ready elocution; knowing well how to accommodate himself to all times and occasions <sup>3</sup>. He suffered no places to be bought or sold during the whole time of his reign; and tho' he was often mistaken in the choice of his officers and ministers, yet his intention was to prefer only the most deserving, and for that reason he neglected his own relations. He abated the taxes, and eased his people, as far as the state of his affairs would allow, of the heavy burdens laid upon them by his predecessors <sup>4</sup>. He was an utter stranger to debauchery, and unlawful pleasures, which he endeavoured to restrain by several excellent laws <sup>5</sup>.

As to his religion, in the great variety of opinions, which *Headbered* at that time divided the world, he inviolably adhered to the orthodox faith; but, avoiding all disputes, he allowed to the rest of his subjects, even to the pagans, an intire liberty of *to the orthodox faith.* conscience. He is blamed by the ecclesiastic writers, for suffering his brother *Valens* to persecute the orthodox Christians; but some allege in his defence, that the condition of his affairs would not allow him in prudence openly to oppose *Valens* since that perhaps might have kindled a civil war, which, at that time, would have proved fatal to the empire. To conclude, he was endowed, according to *Ammianus*, with such

<sup>1</sup> P. *VICT.* epit. p. 345.Idem *ibid.*<sup>2</sup> *AMMIAN.*

433.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, p. 423.<sup>4</sup> *VICT.* p. 651.

excellent qualities, that had they not been allayed with the mixture of the above-mentioned vices, especially with that of cruelty, he had been no-ways inferior to the excellent emperors *Trajan* and *M. Aurelius* <sup>u</sup>. Amongst his other laws he enacted one addressed to *Maximus* vicar of *Rome*, relating to the stature or size of such as were to be admitted into the army, which was not to be under six feet seven inches <sup>w</sup>.

*The reign  
of Valens  
in the East.*

WE shall now proceed to the history of the reign of *Valens* in the East, which, to avoid confusion, we have thought proper to deliver separately, there being no other connexion, but that of time, between the reigns and transactions of the two princes. After the division of the provinces made at *Mediana* in the neighbourhood of *Naissus* in *Dacia* in 364. *Valens* returned to *Constantinople*, where he enacted a law dated the twenty-sixth of *December*, forbidding the messengers of good news to exact, according to the abuse which then prevailed, or even to accept, any thing of the people; but allowing them to receive what persons of rank and fortune shall think proper to offer them of their own accord <sup>x</sup>. The following year 365. *Valens* was still at *Constantinople* on the nineteenth of *March* <sup>y</sup>; but soon after set out for *Syria*, the *Persians* being in motion, with a design, as was apprehended, to break the peace which they had lately concluded with *Jovian*. Being informed, as he entered *Bithynia*, that the *Goths* were ready to invade *Thrace*, he dispatched messengers to his officers in those parts, warning them to be upon their guard, and pursued his march to *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, where he was on the fourth of *July*, and continued there till the latter end of the summer <sup>z</sup>. During his stay in that city, a dreadful earthquake happened, which was felt in most provinces of the empire, and overturned several cities in *Sicily*, *Palæstine*, and above all in the island of *Crete*, where the shock was most violent <sup>a</sup>.

*Procopius  
revolts,*

WHEN *Valens* was upon the point of departing from *Cæsarea*, news were brought him of the revolt of *Procopius*, who, after having paid the last duty to the body of his kinsman *Julian*, had privately withdrawn, through fear of *Jovian*, into *Chersonesus Taurica*; but not trusting those barbarians, and finding himself destitute even of the necessaries of life, he left that inhospitable country, and returning in disguise into the territories of the empire, he reached undiscovered the city of *Chal-*

<sup>u</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 432.

<sup>w</sup> Cod. Theod. l. iii. de tyronib.

<sup>x</sup> Cod. Theod. l. viii. tit. 11. leg. 1. p. 602, 603.

<sup>y</sup> Cod.

Theod. chron. p. 73.

<sup>z</sup> Idem, p. 74.

AMMIAN. p. 322.

<sup>a</sup> Idem, p. 331, 333. HIER. chron. p. 258.

*cedon*, where he was received by one *Strategius*, his trusty friend, and by him carefully concealed at his country-house. From thence he went frequently in a mean dress to *Constantinople*; and finding that the people there were generally-dissatisfied with the present government, on account of the cruelties practised by *Petronius*, whose daughter, *Albia Dominica*, the emperor had married, he resolved to improve that dissatisfaction to his own advantage. Having therefore gained over an eunuch of great wealth, by name *Eugenius*, lately disgraced by *Valens*, and some of the officers who commanded the troops that had been sent into *Thrace* against the *Goths*, and were then quartered at *Constantinople*, he boldly ventured to discover himself, and lay before the people and soldiery the title he had to the empire, as being nearly related to *Julian*. Here-upon the officers, whom he had gained beforehand, proclaimed him emperor; and the rest following their example, saluted him with the title of *Augustus*, and carried him in triumph to the imperial palace, whither he was attended only by the dregs of the people. However, the next and the following days several persons of distinction joined him, and at length the whole city of *Constantinople*. The news of this revolt struck *Valens* with such terror and dismay, that he was for quitting the imperial purple, and resigning the empire; but being, with powerful arguments, persuaded by his friends not to part with the imperial dignity, he detached some troops against his new rival, hoping to crush him before he was in a condition to make any resistance. This detachment met *Procopius* at *Mygdus* in *Phrygia*, attended by a promiscuous multitude of fugitive slaves, deserters, and persons of desperate fortunes, who, upon the approach of the emperor's forces, put themselves in a posture of defence. But *Procopius*, distrusting their courage, while both parties were ready to engage, stepped boldly forward, as if he designed to challenge one of the adverse party to a single combat; and taking *Vitalianus*, one of the officers, by the hand, mildly upbraided him and his fellow-soldiers, for siding with a *Pannonian* robber against one allied to the family of *Constantine the Great*.

His speech made such a deep impression upon them, that they immediately passed over to his party, and with loud acclamations saluting him emperor, carried him in triumph to the imperial pavilion. This defection brought a very considerable accession of strength to *Procopius*, who thereupon de-

<sup>b</sup> AMMIAN. p. 320. Zos. l. iv. p. 737. THEMIST. p. 91.  
AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 322, 324.

Valens  
obliged to  
raise the  
siege of  
Chalcedon.

tached a strong party, under the conduct of *Rumitalca* a tribune, to seize on *Nice*; which they did accordingly, without the loss of a single man<sup>d</sup>. *Valens*, alarmed at the usurper's unexpected progress, dispatched *Vadomarius*, formerly king of the *Alemans*, to recover that important place, while he went in person to lay siege to *Chalcedon*, from which city one of his laws is dated the first of *December*<sup>e</sup>; but he met with so vigorous a resistance, that he was obliged to give over the enterprise, the besieged insulting him from the walls as he retired, and reviling him with the nickname of *Sabaianus*, that is *Beer-drinker*, *Sabaia* being a kind of small drink made of barley, and common in *Pannonia*, where *Valens* was born. *Rumitalca*, who commanded in *Nice*, being informed of his retreat, sallied out with great boldness, and bearing all down before him, had utterly defeated the emperor, had not *Valens*, upon timely notice of his approach, taken a quite different route by the lake *Sanona*, and the windings of the river *Gallus*<sup>f</sup>. Thus was the emperor obliged to abandon *Bithynia* to the enemy, and retire with all expedition to *Ancyra*, where he continued waiting the arrival of the troops which *Lupicinus* was leading out of the East to his assistance. In the mean time *Arintheus*, one of his chief commanders, an officer of great prowess and renown, meeting a party of the rebels, commanded by one *Hyperechius* formerly an apparitor, and scorning to enter the lists with such a contemptible enemy, commanded, with an air of authority, *Hyperechius's* own men to bring to him in chains their vile and despicable leader; which they did accordingly, struck with the awful and majestic mien of that renowned commander<sup>g</sup>.

Procopius  
seizes on  
Cyzicus,  
and the  
treasure  
lodged  
there.

BUT in the mean time *Procopius*, being informed that the money allotted for the pay of the soldiers who served in the East, was lodged in the city of *Cyzicus*, hastened thither, laid siege to the place, and in the end reduced it, tho' defended with great resolution and intrepidity by *Serenianus*, at that time comes domesticorum, who found means to make his escape, as *Zosimus* informs us<sup>h</sup>; but was afterwards taken in *Lydia*, carried prisoner to *Nice*, and there, by *Marcellus*, governor of the place, put to death. *Procopius* being, by the reduction of this place, become master of the *Hellepont*, he appointed *Hormisdas* governor of that province, with the title of proconsul. He was the son of *Hormisdas*, brother to *Sapor* king of *Persia*, who,

<sup>d</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 325.

<sup>e</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 75, 76.

<sup>f</sup> AMMIAN. ibid. SOCRAT. l. iv. c. 8. p. 216.

<sup>g</sup> AMMIAN. ibid.

<sup>h</sup> Zos. p. 328.

as we have related elsewhere, had, in the year 323. taken refuge in the court of *Constantine the Great*, and ever after served the *Romans* with great fidelity.

PROCOPIUS spent the best part of the winter in endeavouring to draw over to his party the cities of *Asia*; but his designs were in great measure defeated by *Clearchus*, vicar of that province, and more by his own conduct; for having hitherto behaved with great moderation and humanity, he all on a sudden grew proud, haughty, and tyrannical, loading the provinces that had submitted to him with exorbitant taxes, tho' *cal.*

he knew, that their aversion to *Valens* was chiefly owing to that prince's avarice. But nothing more prejudiced the people against him, than his commanding the house of *Arbetio* to be stripped of the moveables of inestimable value, and of the immense riches, which that antient and brave commander had amassed under *Constantius*. • He gave him this unseasonable proof of his indignation, tho' he had formerly lived in great friendship with him, upon his declining to wait upon him, on account of his great age, and the infirmities attending it. The following year 366. *Valens*, upon the arrival of the troops from the East under the command of *Lupicinus*, left *Galatia*, whither he had retired from before *Chalcedon*, and marched into *Lycia*, with a design to put the whole to the issue of a battle. As the soldiers of *Procopius* were greatly animated by the presence of *Faustina*, *Constantius's* widow, and her little daughter *Constantina*, whom *Procopius* carried about with him, and often exposed to the view of the army, *Valens*, to defeat that artifice, pre- led upon *Arbetio*, who had commanded the forces under *Constantius*, and was beloved by the soldiery, to join him, not doubting but the presence and interest of one of that prince's chief commanders would draw great numbers of the rebels over to his party. He was not therein deceived; for the presence of *Arbetio*, and the high opinion they all entertained of him, quite turned the hearts of *Procopius's* men; which *Gomoarius*, one of his chief commanders, being well apprised of, thought it advisable to abandon the tyrant, and submit to *Valens* <sup>k</sup> (E).

AFTER  
by some of  
his chief  
officers.

<sup>i</sup> AMMIAN. p. 327. EUNAP. c. 5. p. 84. THEMIST. orat. vii. p. 92—99. <sup>k</sup> AMMIAN. p. 327, 328.

(E) This happened, according to *Zosimus*, in the neighbourhood of *Thyatira* in *Lydia*, in the heat of a battle, while *Valens* was in imminent danger of being utterly defeated by the courageous behaviour



Defeated,  
taken, and  
put to  
death.

Year of  
the flood  
2816.  
Of Christ  
366.  
Of Rome  
1164.



AFTER this, *Valens* advanced to *Sardes*, and from thence to *Nicolaia*, a city of *Phrygia*, where he gave the rebels battle, the issue whereof continued doubtful, till *Agilo*, by nation a *German*, one of *Procopius's* chief commanders, with many others, went over to *Valens*; which so disheartened *Procopius*, that, quitting his horse, he fled into an adjoining wood, attended by *Florentius*, and *Barchalbas* a tribune. There they wandered about,\* till the moon shining out with great brightness, they began to apprehend they might be discovered. Hereupon *Procopius's* two companions, seizing him to save themselves, carried him bound to the emperor, who immediately ordered his head to be struck off, and sent it to *Valentinian*, then in *Gaul*<sup>1</sup>. *Florentius* and *Barchalbas* were likewise put to death by the emperor's orders; but, in the opinion of *Ammianus*, contrary to the rules of justice and equity: for had they betrayed, says that writer, a lawful prince, their treason had deserved to be punished with death; but as he was a rebel and usurper, they had great reason to expect another sort of reward for their seasonable service<sup>m</sup> (F). Such was the end of this usurper, in the forty-second year of his age, after he had born the title of emperor for the space of about eight months (G).

MARCELLUS,

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxvi. p. 329. PHILOST. l. vii. c. 5. p. 123.  
<sup>m</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 335. & l. xxvi. p. 329.

behaviour and prudent conduct of young *Hormisdas* (1). We question whether this can be reconciled with what we read in *Ammianus*.

(F) *Philostorgius* writes, that the army caused *Florentius* to be burnt alive, for his cruelties to those of their party at *Nice* (2), he having been appointed by *Procopius* governor of that city; but from *Ammianus Marcellinus* it is evident, that *Marcellus*, and not *Florentius*, was governor of that city. What *Socrates* writes (3) of the cruel death to which the emperor condemned *Proco-*

*pious*, and likewise his two generals, *Agilo* and *Gemoarius*, tho' they had abandoned him before his defeat, deserves no credit, since *Ammianus*, who never spares *Valens*, in displaying with great minuteness his other cruelties, takes no notice of this; nay, he tells us in express terms, that *A-raxes*, father-in-law to *Agilo*, by his interest obtained his pardon, tho' he had been *praefectus praetorio* to *Procopius* (4).

(G) He was put to death, according to *Idatius* and *Socrates*, on the twenty-seventh of May; but on the twentieth of June,

(1) Zsf. l. iv. p. 739.  
p. 214.

(2) Philost. p. 123.  
(3) Ammian. l. xxvi. p. 329.

(3) Socrat. l. iv. c. 5.

according

MARCELLUS, governor of *Nice*, and kinsman to *Procopius*, hearing of his death, ordered *Serenianus*, who was kept close prisoner in the place, to be immediately dispatched, saving, by the death of one man, the lives of many, says *Ammianus*; for, as he was noted for his cruelty, and had a great ascendant over *Valens*, whose countryman he was, it was feared, had he outlived the defeat of *Procopius*'s party, he would have induced the emperor, too much inclined of himself, to revenge, and occasioned the destruction of many persons, innocent as well as guilty<sup>n</sup>. After this bold execution, *Marcellus*, being informed that a body of *Goths* was marching to the assistance of *Procopius*, and not doubting but he should be able to draw them over to his own party, seized on the city of *Chalcedon*; and being assisted by some, whom poverty and despair had driven into rebellion, he assumed the purple, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. But *Valens*, upon the first no-

<sup>n</sup> AMMIAN. I. xxvi. p. 325.

according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*. He was born of an illustrious family in *Cilicia*, and nearly related to the emperor *Julian*. He was, tho' a pagan, employed by *Constantius* on account of his integrity, and raised by *Julian* to great employments, and distinguished with the title of count. When that prince set out on his memorable expedition against the *Persians*, he invested him and count *Sebastian* with the command of a body of thirty thousand chosen men, who were to remain in *Mesopotamia*, and cover the empire on that side against any sudden irruption of the enemy (5). *Zosimus* writes, that he delivered up to *Jovian* the purple robe, which *Julian* was said, as we have related above, to have given him, charging him to assume it, if he should happen to die before his return from *Persia* (6). That writer

adds, that thereupon *Jovian* gave him leave to retire with his family to *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, and lead there a retired life. Be that as it will, it is certain, from *Ammianus*, that he was sent by *Jovian* to attend the corpse of *Julian* to *Tarsus*; and afterwards withdrawing, he kept himself concealed, till he assumed the title of emperor, which occasioned his ruin. He was, according to *Ammianus*, a man of few words, close and reserved; of no mean presence, tho' he went somewhat stooping, with his eyes ever fixed on the ground, which proceeded from his gloomy and melancholy temper: yet he was always averse from the shedding of blood; which, in the opinion of *Ammianus*, was a thing to be wondered at, considering the moroseness of his disposition (7).

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Zos. l. iv. p. 736.*

(7) *Ammian. ibid.*

but is taken, and tortured to death.

Valens resolved to make war upon the Goths.

tice of his revolt, dispatched without delay a party of chosen men against him, who coming upon him unexpectedly, seized him, and having loaded him with chains, dragged him to the public prison; whence he was taken out the next day, and, together with his accomplices, tortured to death ° (H).

THE following year 367. *Valens*, hearing that a body of three thousand *Goths*, who were come to the assistance of *Procopius*, and had marched back upon the news of his death, had not yet passed the *Danube*, sent a strong detachment against them, who, cutting off their retreat, obliged them, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made, to lay down their arms, and yield themselves prisoners<sup>p</sup>. *Hercupon Athanaric*, at that time king, or rather judge, of the *Goths* named *Thervingi* (for he seems to have declined the royal title), dispatched

° AMMIAN. I. xxvi. p. 327. EUNAP. de legation. p. 18.

° Zos. I. iv. p. 740.

(H) *Themistius*, in his panegyric upon *Valens*, written a few months after the death of *Procopius*, tells us, that he used his victory with great moderation, punishing only the chief authors of the revolt (8). But *Ammianus* (9) and *Zosimus* (1) assure us, that he proceeded with the utmost severity against such as were but barely suspected of having favoured the rebels. His ears were open to all complaints and informations; and few, who had the misfortune to be accused, were so happy as to escape death, banishment, or confiscations, till the emperor had glutted himself with blood, and filled his own coffers, and those of his friends likewise. He ordered the city of *Chalcedon* to be dismantled, pursuant to an oath he had taken; but the inhabitants of *Nice*, *Nicomedia*, and *Constantinople*, interceding in the behalf

of a city, of which the walls were its chief beauty and ornament, to comply at the same time with their request, and his own oath, he caused only part of the walls to be demolished; which he immediately rebuilt with smaller stones, ordering the others to be conveyed to *Constantinople*, where they were made use of to build a public bath, called the *Thermæ* or *Hot-baths* of *Constantius*, if *Socrates* is not mistaken (2); for it is certain, that *Valens* built at *Constantinople* a public bath, bearing the name of his daughter *Carosa* (3), which was ended in 375. This year the empress *Albia Dominica* was, on the eighteenth of *January*, delivered of a son, named *Valentinian*, and surnamed *Galata*, no doubt because he was born in *Galatia*, where *Valens* passed the first months of this year, as we have observed.

(8) *Themist.* orat. vii. p. 84. p. 739.

(2) *Socrat.* i. iv. c. p. 216.

(9) *Ammian.* p. 330.

(1) *Zos.* I. iv.

(3) *Ammian.* p. 614. *Chron.*

embassadors to *Valens*, earnestly intreating him to set the prisoners at liberty, and suffer them to return to their own country, since they had been sent by their prince, a friend and ally of the *Romans*, to the assistance of a *Roman* emperor. The ambassadors, after having delivered this message, produced a letter from *Procopius* to their master, wherein he assured him, that the empire belonged to him as the kinsman of *Constantius*, and the heir of the great *Constantine's* family. *Valens* returned, it seems, no answer to the ambassadors; but sent *Victor*, then *magister equitum*, or general of the horse, to complain in his name of *Athanaric*, for assisting a rebel against his lawful sovereign. The *Goths* answered, that they had looked upon *Procopius* as the kinsman of *Constantine*, and the heir of his family, adding, that it was not their business to examine whether he was, or was not, a lawful prince; and that, if they were therein deceived, the emperor ought to forgive them, since their counsels had been influenced by what appeared to them just and equitable. They could not, however, obtain the deliverance of their prisoners, *Valens*, who had no other enemy at that time to divert him, being desirous to humble that powerful nation<sup>1</sup>. *Amugianus* thinks he had justice on his side<sup>2</sup>; but *Eunapius* will not take upon him to decide whether he had or no<sup>3</sup>. This war was likely to prove very dangerous, the *Goths* being then very powerful, and besides, elated with the great advantages they had gained over the neighbouring nations, if *Jornandes* is to be credited<sup>4</sup>, who seems to have been but indifferently acquainted with the history of his country, since he takes no notice of the present war. *Valens*, being bent upon war, and well apprised of the strength and power of the enemy, made vast preparations during the winter, with a design to fall upon the enemy early in the spring; but, being informed that the *Goths*, apprised of his design, were assembling a mighty army, in order to attack him the first, took the field before the winter was over; and having sent strong detachments to guard the banks of the *Danube*, he encamped with the rest of the army in the neighbourhood of *Marcianopolis*, the metropolis of *Lower Mœsia*, where he raised *Auxonius* to the dignity of prefect, in the room of *Sallustius Secundus*, no longer able to discharge that office, on account of his great age.

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 340. EUNAP. p. 18. ZOS. p. 748.  
<sup>2</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 23. p. 643. <sup>3</sup> AMMIAN. p. 338. <sup>4</sup> EUNAP. p. 18.  
<sup>5</sup> JORN. ibid. c. 3. p. 642, 643.

He passes  
the Da-  
nube, and  
lays waste  
the coun-  
try of the  
Goths.

HE was still at *Marcianopolis* on the third eth of *May*, as appears from the dates of some laws <sup>u</sup>; which we will not take upon us to reconcile with what we read in *Ammianus* <sup>w</sup> and *Zosimus* <sup>x</sup>; to wit, that in the beginning of the spring he left that city, and having assembled his troops, he passed the *Danube* at a place called *Daphne*, and spent the whole summer in ravaging and laying waste the enemy's country, without meeting with the least opposition, the *Goths* having fled, upon the approach of the *Roman* army, to the neighbouring mountains, called *Serri*, inaccessible to those who were not well acquainted with the country. In the beginning of the autumn he led back his army to the *Roman* territories, and was on the twenty-fifth of *September* at *Doresterum* in *Mæsia*, and on the thirty-first of *January* of the ensuing year 368. at *Marcianopolis* <sup>y</sup>, where, without all doubt, he passed the winter.

Great dis-  
orders com-  
mitted by  
the Isau-  
rian rob-  
bers.

Year of  
the flood  
2817.  
Of Christ  
367.  
Of Rome  
1165.



THIS year the *Isaurians*, who had continued quiet ever since the year 359. over-ran the neighbouring countries, plundering not only villages, but towns, and advancing as far as *Pamphylia* and *Cilicia*, where<sup>t</sup> they amassed an immense booty. *Musonius*, vicar of *Asia*, endeavoured to restrain them; but, as he was quite unacquainted with the art of war, he was cut in pieces, with all his men. *Musonius* had taught rhetoric at *Athens*, from which employment he was raised to the dignity of proconsul of *Asia*, and afterwards to that of vicar of *Asia*. However, the *Isaurians* were in the end surrounded by the inhabitants of the countries which they had plundered, and, their retreat being cut off, obliged to submit, and quit the booty they had taken. Their lives were spared, upon their promising to give no molestation to their neighbours for the future; and accordingly they kept their word till the year 376<sup>z</sup> (I). The following year 368. *Vakens* was still at *Marcianopolis* on the ninth of *March* <sup>a</sup>, and heard there his panegyric pronounced by *Themistius*, upon his entering the fifth year of his reign.

THE orator mentions in his speech an eastern prince, who had quitted the dominions of his father, tho' very considerable,

<sup>u</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 79.

<sup>w</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 340.

<sup>x</sup> Zos. p. 741.

<sup>y</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 80, 81.

<sup>z</sup> AM-

MIAN. p. 348, 349. EUNAP. c. 8. p. 125, 126.

<sup>a</sup> Cod.

Theod. chron. p. 81.

(I) *Germanicopolis* was their chief city, and in the fifth century an episcopal see; but not at

this time; for a bishop could find no employment among persons who were robbers by profession.

to have the honour of serving under *Valens* <sup>b</sup> (K). From *Marcianopolis* the emperor marched early in the spring to *Carpi*, a village, as is supposed, of *Mæsia*, with a design to ravage, as he had done the year before, the enemy's country; but he was obliged to encamp in the same place till the beginning of autumn, without ever being able to cross the *Danube*, which continued swelled beyond measure all that summer. He therefore returned to *Marcianopolis*, where he took up his winter-quarters <sup>c</sup>. One of his laws is dated from that place the twelfth of *November*, and another the thirteenth of *December* <sup>d</sup> (L).

THE following year 369. the emperor was still at *Marcianopolis* on the third of *May*; but at *Noviodunum* in *Lesser Scythia* on the third and fifth of *July* <sup>e</sup>, where he passed the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, and advanced far into the enemy's country, destroying all with fire and sword. *Zosimus* tells us, *Heinrodes* that the *Goths* sallying frequently out of their woods and marshes to ravage the *Romans*, the emperor dispatched against them the country of servants who attended the army, promising them a certain sum the *Goths*. for each head they should bring. Hereupon such numbers of the enemy were killed in the woods and marshes where they lurked, that the rest, finding no where a safe retreat, sent embassadors to sue for peace <sup>f</sup>. Thus *Zosimus*. But *Ammianus*, whose authority is of greater weight, informs us, that *Valens*, having attacked the *Gruthung*, a warlike nation, at a considerable distance from the *Danube*, after several encounters, gained a great victory over *Athanaric*, who, at the head of a numerous army, had ventured to engage him <sup>g</sup>. After this victory, *Valens* returned to *Marcianopolis*, with a design to

<sup>b</sup> THEMIST. orat. viii. p. 433.

<sup>c</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 460.

<sup>d</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 83.

<sup>e</sup> Idem, p. 87.

<sup>f</sup> Zos.

l. iv. p. 741.

<sup>g</sup> AMMIAN. p. 341.

(K) Some writers conjecture this prince to have been *Paras*, the son of *Arfaces* king of *Armenia*, who came to implore the assistance of *Valens* against the *Persians*, and continued some time at *Neocaesarea* in *Pontus*; but he cannot be said to have served under *Valens*. One *Bacurus*, stiled king of *Iberia*, served under *Valens* at the battle of *A-*

*drianople* (4), as he did afterwards under *Theodosius* (5); and him perhaps *Themistius* meant.

(L) This year is remarkable for one of the most dreadful earthquakes that had ever been felt, by which the city of *Nice* was utterly ruined, and in that of *Germa* in the *Hellepont* only a few houses left standing (6).

(4) *Ammian.* l. xxxi. p. 460.  
*et in.* *Socrat.* l. iv. c. 11. p. 219.

(5) *Ruf.* l. i. c. 10. p. 166.

(6) *Hier.*

The Goths winter there, and renew the war early in the spring. But in defeated, the mean while the Goths, weary of so destructive a war, which sue for had lasted already three years, and reduced them to the utmost peace, and distress, sent ambassadors to sue for peace ; which Valens at first refused to grant them upon any terms, but was in the end, with difficulty, prevailed upon, by the senate of Constantinople to hearken to their proposals. Thus Themistius, who was at the head of the Constantinopolitan deputies<sup>b</sup>.

VALENS, having at their request dismissed the ambassadors with a favourable answer, approached the Danube, and named Victor and Arintheus to treat with the Goths. After some conferences, a peace was concluded upon the following terms, Articles of highly honourable for the Romans ; to wit, 1. That the Goths the treaty. should not for the future pass the Danube, nor set foot on the Roman territories. 2. That the trade which they had been allowed by former treaties to carry on with what cities of the empire they pleased, should be restrained to two only, situated on the Danube. 3. That they should not for the future claim, nor expect the pensions that had been annually paid them by other emperors ; but nevertheless, that Athanaric's pension should be continued to him<sup>c</sup>. This was the first peace, concludes Themistius, which the Romans had in our memory granted to, and not purchased of, the Goths. When Valens and Athanaric were to meet, in order to ratify and sign the treaty, the latter could not be prevailed upon to pass the Danube, pretending that his father had obliged him solemnly to swear never to tread on Roman ground. On the other hand, Valens thinking it below the majesty of the empire to go to him, it was agreed, that the two princes should meet in boats in the middle of the river ; which they did accordingly, and ratified the peace to their mutual satisfaction<sup>d</sup>. Themistius, who was present at this interview, describes it much at large, but more like an orator than an historian<sup>e</sup>. He pronounced his speech in all likelihood at Constantinople, whither he retired after the conclusion of the treaty ; for, according to the code, he was at Marcianopolis on the second of December, and on the thirtieth of the same month at Constantinople<sup>f</sup>. This year dreadful disorders were committed in Syria by the inhabitants of a large village near Apamea, called Maratacupris, who, roving about the country, robbed all they met, and had even the boldness to enter some cities in the night-time, and plunder the

<sup>b</sup> THEMIST. ORAT. X. P. 133.  
MIAN. I. XXVI. P. 341, 342.  
133.

<sup>c</sup> Idem, p. 135.

<sup>d</sup> THEMIST. ORAT. X. P. 132,

<sup>e</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 86.

houses of the most wealthy inhabitants. Hereupon *Valens* sent <sup>Severity of</sup> a party of soldiers against them, with orders to set fire to their <sup>Valens re</sup> village, and put them all to the sword, without distinction of <sup>some rob-</sup> sex or age; which was done accordingly with the utmost rigour, the soldiers being in express terms enjoined not to spare even the sucking children<sup>a</sup>.

THE following year 370. *Valens*, leaving *Constantinople*, set out for *Antioch*; but he had scarce reached *Nicomedia*, when he received news of the death of *Eudoxius*, the *Arian* bishop of *Constantinople*, in whose room the *Arians*, with his approbation, placed one *Demophilus*. The catholics too chose their bishop, and raised to that see *Evagrius*; but the emperor sent a party of soldiers from *Nicomedia*, with orders to drive him out. The *Arians*, thus countenanced by the emperor, raised a cruel persecution against the catholics, who thereupon had recourse to *Valens*, sending eighty ecclesiastics to lay their grievances before him; but the emperor, instead of redressing them, ordered *Modestus*, who had been raised this year to the <sup>Valens</sup> dignity of prefect in the room of *Auxonius*, to put them all to <sup>causes 80</sup> death. *Modestus*, fearing the public execution of so many ec- <sup>orthodox</sup> clesiastics might occasion great disturbances, put them all on <sup>ecclesiastics to be</sup> board a vessel, pretending the emperor had ordered them to be <sup>put to</sup> sent into banishment; but when the vessel was at some distance <sup>death.</sup> from land, the mariners set fire to it, as had been agreed on beforehand, saving themselves in their boat. The ship was driven by a strong wind into a harbour called by *Socrates* *Dacidazus*, and there consumed, with all who were in it. This cruelty, says that writer, ~~was~~ punished by Heaven with a dreadful famine, which obliged most of the inhabitants of *Phrygia* to abandon their country, and fly to other provinces for relief. Some unforeseen accident must have diverted the emperor from his intended journey to *Antioch*; for he was, as appears from the dates of several laws, on the tenth of *June* at *Cyzicus*; on the twelfth of *December* of this year, and during the months of *January*, *February*, and *April*, of the ensuing year, at *Constantinople*<sup>o</sup>; which he left after the fifth of *May*<sup>p</sup>, and set out for *Syria*, advancing slowly, and administering justice in all the cities through which he passed; which would have gained him the affections of the inhabitants, had he not at the same time made it his chief study to establish every-where the heresy of *Arius*, and betrayed an irreconcilable hatred to the catholics<sup>q</sup>. He passed the winter at *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*,

\* AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 367, 368.  
p. 87---89.

<sup>p</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>o</sup> Cod. Theod. chron.  
<sup>q</sup> Zos. l. iv. p. 742.

where,



Valentinian, his only son, dies.

Cappadocia divided into two provinces, and Palæstine into three.

where, to his unspeakable grief, his only son *Valentinian Galatas* died (M). This year the emperor divided *Cappadocia* into two provinces, appointing *Tyana* the metropolis of *Cappadocia Secunda*, as *Cæsarea* was of *Cappadocia Prima*. At the same time he divided *Palæstine* into three provinces, viz. *Palæstina Prima*, *Palæstina Secunda*, and *Palæstina Salutaris*. *Cæsarea* was the metropolis of the first, *Scythopolis* of the second, and *Petra* of the third. The latter city, with the greatest part of *Palæstina Salutaris*, was dismembered from *Arabia*, as were several cities in the two other provinces from *Phœnicia*. The governor of *Palæstina Prima* was honoured with the title of *consular*; but those of the other two were only styled *presidents*. At what time *Lycaonia*, which had *Iconium* for its metropolis, was made a separate province, and those of *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia* divided into two, and *Arabia* into three, we will not take upon us to determine. These divisions of provinces proved very burdensome to the people, and raised quarrels and disputes among the metropolitan bishops, as appears from the ecclesiastic historians, and the letters of St. *Basil*.

THE following year 372. *Valens* left *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* early in the spring; for he was at *Seleucia* on the fourth of April, and on the thirteenth of the same month at *Antioch* (N). *Valens* came to *Antioch* to watch the motions of the *Persians*; for *Sapor* laying claim to *Armenia*, which had formerly belonged to the kings of *Persia*, but not caring openly to invade it, lest the *Romans* should espouse the cause of their allies, after

*Sapor begins new troubles in Armenia and Iberia.*

\* *HIER.* quæst. Hebr. p. 212. Cod. Theod. tit. 4. p. 171. adtit. c. 1. p. 3. *NORIS.* epoch. p. 401, 402. \* Cod. Theod. chron. p. 90, 91.

(M) *Gregory Nazianzen* writes, that, during his malady, the emperor had recourse to the prayers of St. *Basil*, who was then at *Cæsarea*, and promised to restore the child to health, provided *Valens* would suffer him to receive the sacrament of baptism at the hands of an orthodox bishop; which condition he not agreeing to, but, on the contrary, ordering him to be baptized by the *Arians*, the young prince immediately died (7).

(N) Soon after his arrival in that city, *Libanius* pronounced in his presence part of a speech composed in his praise, the other part, as it was exceeding long, being put off to another time. The emperor heard him with great pleasure, if the orator himself is to be credited; but the remaining part of his speech was never pronounced (8).

(7) *Greg. Naz. orat. xx. p. 351.*

(8) *Liban. vit. p. 48.*

having

having attempted in vain to allure the nobility over to his party, pretending great friendship for *Arfaces* their king, he invited him to a banquet, during which he ordered the unwary prince to be seized; and having put out his eyes, sent him in chains to a castle, called *Agabana*, where he was soon after put to death<sup>1</sup>. This, in all likelihood, is what gave occasion to the long account we read in *Procopius* of the captivity of *Arfaces* king of *Armenia*,<sup>2</sup> taken prisoner by one *Pacurus* king of *Persia*<sup>3</sup>; an account which has all the air of a romance. *Sapor*, having thus treacherously dispatched *Arfaces*, gave the government of *Armenia* to *Cylax* and *Artabanes*, both natives of the country, but inviolably attached to his interest. Then, driving out *Sauromaces*, whom the *Romans* had created king of *Iberia*, he put one *Aspacuras* in his place, cousin-german to *Sauromaces*, honouring him with a diadem, which the *Romans* had refused to the other<sup>4</sup>. *Olympias*, the daughter of *Ablavius*, one of *Constantine's* chief officers, and given by that prince in marriage to *Arfaces*, was no sooner informed of the captivity of her husband, than she took refuge with her son *Paras* in a strong fort called *Artogerassa*, where the king's treasures were lodged. *Cylax* and *Artabanes* were immediately ordered by *Sapor* to lay siege to the place; which they did accordingly; but pitying the forlorn condition of the queen and the young prince, they agreed with the besieged to abandon the *Persians* to their fury; who were accordingly almost all to a man cut off in a sally made by agreement in the night-time, while the guards themselves in the camp were asleep, *Cylax* and *Artabanes* having given out, that the besieged had demanded and obtained a truce for two days, in order to consider on the terms that had been offered them. The queen, thus delivered from the present danger, sent her son *Paras* to implore the assistance of the emperor, who caused him to be entertained for some time at *Neocæsarea* in *Pontus*, in a manner suitable to his rank and condition. However, not daring to assist him openly, at the request of the nobility of *Armenia*, he charged *Terentius*, who commanded on the borders of that country, with the title of *comes* or count, to conduct him into his father's kingdom, which he suffered him to govern, but without the title of king, or any of the ensigns of royalty, lest the *Persians* should look upon his appointing him king as a breach of the peace.

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxv. p. 300. & l. xxvii. p. 353.

COP. bell. Pers. l. i. c. 5. p. 15---17.

—335.

<sup>2</sup> PRO-  
COPIUS. p. 353

<sup>3</sup> AMMIAN. p. 353

Year of  
the flood  
2822.  
Of Christ  
372.  
Of Rome  
1170.

He seizes  
and ruins  
several  
strong-  
holds in  
Armenia

SAPOR was no sooner informed of what had passed in *Armenia*, than, transported with rage, he sent a strong body of troops into that kingdom, who, committing every-where dreadful ravages, obliged *Paras*, no-ways in a condition to oppose them, to take refuge, with *Cylax* and *Artabanes*, among the inaccessible mountains between the *Roman* territories and *Lazica*. The *Persians*, in the mean time, after having taken and burnt several strong-holds, sat down at length before *Artogerassa*, which, after several attacks, they took and destroyed, carrying away with them the wife and treasures of *Asaces*. *Sapor*, finding he could not get *Paras* into his power, had recourse to his usual artifices, in which he seldom miscarried; and by private messages to the young prince, whose cause he promised to espouse, prevailed upon him to cut off the heads of *Cylax* and *Artabanes*, who, he said, were rather his governors

Valens  
sends troops  
to the as-  
sistance of  
the Arme-  
nians.

than ministers, and send them to him into *Persia* \*. *Valens*, who had hitherto declined sending troops into *Armenia*, lest he should be charged with a breach of the peace, was no sooner informed of these proceedings, than he ordered *Arintheus*, one of the best commanders of his age, with a powerful army, into that kingdom, which by that means was preserved, the *Persians* not daring to send more troops thither, through fear of being overpowered by the *Romans*. Hereupon *Sapor* dispatched ambassadors to *Valens*, complaining of his sending troops to the assistance of the *Armenians*, which, he said, was a manifest breach of the treaty concluded between him and *Jovian*. *Valens*, without regarding the complaints of the *Persian* king, sent a new reinforcement of troops to *Arintheus*, and at the same time dispatched *Terentius*, with twelve legions, into *Iberia*, to restore *Sauromaces*, driven out of his kingdom by the *Persians*. *Terentius* was met, as he drew near the river *Cyrus*, by ambassadors from *Aspacuras*, whom the *Persians* had created king of *Iberia*, desiring that he and his kinsman *Sauromaces* might reign jointly, since he could neither resign, nor take part with the *Romans*, by reason his son was detained as an hostage in the *Persian* court.

Iberia di-  
vided into  
two king-  
doms.

THE emperor, being acquainted with his proposal, and willing to settle the affairs of *Iberia* without bloodshed, consented to a partition of the country, assigning to *Sauromaces* that part which lay south of the river *Cyrus*, and next to *Armenia* and *Lazica*, and the remainder, bordering upon *Albania* and *Persia*, to *Aspacuras* †. This highly incensed *Sapor*, who

\* AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 353—355.  
MIST. ORAT. xi. p. 143—149.

† Idem, p. 355. THE-

loudly complained, that the *Romans*, contrary to the treaty of peace, had sent troops into *Armenia*, and, despising his embassy, had, without his knowledge or consent, divided *Iberia*. Being now resolved to make open war upon the *Romans*, he assembled his forces, concluded alliances with the neighbouring princes, and spent the winter of this year 372. in vast preparations. However, he could not, it seems, put himself in a condition to act this year; for we do not find, that he attempted any thing, or even appeared in the field. As for *Valens*, he advanced to the banks of the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*; whence he returned in the latter end of autumn, without undertaking any thing which authors have thought worthy of notice. About this time a conspiracy was, it seems, formed against *Valens*, but seasonably discovered<sup>a</sup>; and this is all we find in history concerning it. The following year *Sapor* sent a considerable army towards the borders of the *Roman* empire, where they were met by *Trajan*, an officer of great experience, and *Vadomarius*, formerly king of the *Alemans*, at the head of a numerous and chosen body of troops. The *Roman* general had orders not to attack the *Persians* the first, that the emperor might not be charged with a breach of the treaty; but the *Persians* falling upon them, they gained a complete victory. However, *Valens* readily consented to a truce; which was no sooner concluded, than he returned to *Antioch*, and *Sapor* to *Ctesiphon*; for both princes had advanced as far as *Mesopotamia*; to support their respective generals<sup>a</sup>. The Persians defeated.

THE following year, while *Valens* was passing the winter at *Antioch*; many of all ranks and conditions were accused of attempting to learn, by magical practices, and forbidden arts, the name of the person who was to succeed *Valens* in the empire. Some of them owned the crime laid to their charge, and declared, that *Theodorus*, the emperor's second secretary, was the man whom the stars seemed to have destined to the empire. *Theodorus* was descended of an illustrious family in *Gaul*, or, as others will have it, in *Sicily*, endowed with extraordinary accomplishments, and in every respect worthy of the empire, if he had not had the ambition of aspiring to it, and endeavouring to raise himself, by unlawful means, to that high station<sup>b</sup>; for all authors agree, that he was privy to the execrable practices of the magicians. *Ammianus*, who, it seems, was then at *Antioch*, or at least in that neighbourhood,

<sup>a</sup> THEMIST. orat. xi. p. 148.<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 383.<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid. SOZOM. l. vi. c. 35. p. 229.

gives us a very particular and distinct account of what passed on that occasion, which it would be too tedious to transcribe. *Theodorus* was found guilty, not only of magical practices, which were forbidden on pain of death, but of having conspired with others to take away the emperor's life; whereupon he was beheaded, as we read in *Ammianus* <sup>c</sup>, whose authority is of more weight with us than that of *Sozomen*, who writes, that he was burnt alive <sup>d</sup> (O).

*Many innocent persons put to death.* No one would have complained, if only *Theodorus* and his accomplices had suffered; but innumerable innocent persons were, on that occasion, inhumanly racked, and afterwards either executed, or sent into banishment: a diligent search was made, not only after those who had been privy to the conspiracy, but after such as were only suspected of practising magic, or using magical remedies. Such numbers were daily accused and seized, that the public prisons could no longer contain them, and few of those who were apprehended, had the good luck to escape death or banishment. *Digenes*, formerly governor of *Bithynia*, was publicly executed; and *Salia*, treasurer of *Thrace*, fell down dead at the officer's feet who was to examine him, overcome, as was supposed, by an apprehension of the torture he was to undergo <sup>e</sup>. *Bassianus*, whom some writers suppose to have been the son of *Bassianus Caesar*, brother-in-law to *Constantine the Great* <sup>f</sup>, was saved by the powerful intercession of his relations, who were all persons of great distinction; but stripped of his estate, and all his effects. The two brothers *Eusebius* and *Hypatius*, brothers-in-law to *Constantius*, who had been consuls in 359. were accused of having aspired to the empire; and tho' the charge could not be proved, yet they were banished, and condemned to pay a large fine, but soon after recalled with great honour <sup>g</sup>. *Eutropius*, pro-

<sup>c</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 389.

<sup>d</sup> SOZOM. l. vi. c. 35. p. 694.

<sup>e</sup> AMMIAN. p. 390.

<sup>f</sup> CANGE Byz. fam.

<sup>g</sup> AMMIAN.

p. 392.

(O) As *Theodorus*, and the others concerned in this conspiracy, were pagans, *Libanius* endeavours to extenuate their crime; nay, he is not ashamed to tell us, that *Theodorus* was condemned unjustly (9), though both *Zosimus* (1) and *Ammianus* (2) own, that he aspired to the empire; that, by his own letters, he was convicted of treason; and that the emperor narrowly escaped being assassinated.

(9) *Liban.* *τ. it.* p. 69.

(1) *Zof.* p. 743.

(2) *Ammian.* p. 389.

consul of *Asia*, was accused of having been privy to the conspiracy of *Theodorus*; but the philosopher *Pasphilus*, who was brought as an evidence against him, having suffered all the torments cruelty itself could invent, without laying any thing to his charge, he was dismissed, but deprived of his employment, which was given to *Festus* the historian, who discharged it for the space of five years with the utmost cruelty. *Alypius*, formerly vicar of *Britain*, and employed by *Julian* in rebuilding the temple of *Jerusalem*, was accused with his son *Hierocles*, the disciple of *Libanius*, as a poisoner: the father was first of his estate, and banished; and the son condemned to death, but saved (as *Ammianus* writes, without explaining immediately any farther) by a favourable accident <sup>h</sup>.

BUT the most rigorous inquiries were made after the pagan philosophers, who were, generally speaking, addicted to the study of magic. The most considerable among them were publicly executed; to wit, *Hilarius*, who was burnt alive, *Patricius*, *Andronicus*, and *Gæranius*: *Maximus*, the famous

ended his life in a few days, without the intervention of the executioner <sup>i</sup>. *Zonaras* writes, that the philosopher *Iamblichus*, by a draught of poison, prevented his falling into the emperor's hands <sup>k</sup>. *Valens* expected, and greatly desired, to find *Libanius* in the number of the guilty; but nothing was alleged against him, tho', as to magical practices, he was, as he himself owns, not free from all guilt; but, as to the conspiracy of *Theodorus*, he solemnly protests, that he was altogether a stranger to it <sup>l</sup>. A diligent search was made, not only after magicians, but after all books treating of magic, which, where-ever discovered, were committed to the flames, with those in whose possession they were found. These inquiries extended to all the provinces subject to *Valens*; and from the most remote parts were daily brought to *Antioch* numbers of people to be tried as magicians, because books of magic had been found in their custody (P).

ON

<sup>h</sup> Idem, p. 390.  
<sup>k</sup> *ZONAR.* p. 28.

<sup>i</sup> Idem *ibid.* *EUNAP.* c. 5. p. 88, 89.  
<sup>l</sup> *LIB.* vit. p. 56, 57.

(P) *Ammianus* tells us, that the officers themselves, out of spite or malice, often conveyed privately among the other writings, some charm or incantment; upon which the persons, to whom they were supposed to belong, were immediately seized and

*Festus  
practises  
great cru-  
elties in  
Asia.*

ON this occasion *Festus*, proconsul of *Asia*, distinguished himself above the other ministers of the emperor's cruelty, torturing with the utmost inhumanity, and putting to death, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, such as were convicted, or only suspected, of having used any kind of charms or enchantments: he tortured the philosopher *Cætranius* till he expired, for no other crime but because in a private letter to his wife he had used a proverbial expression, which looked like a charm: he put to death a woman for pretending to cure agues by a charm, tho' she had before been sent for, with his knowledge and consent, to cure his own daughter, and had been, as we are told, attended therein with success: a young man being observed in a public bath to touch the marble with the fingers of both his hands, the one after the other, and then putting them to his breast, to repeat the seven vowels, which he fancied was a present remedy against a pain in the stomach, *Festus* caused him to be immediately seized, tortured, and executed <sup>m</sup>. At *Antioch*, a person being accused of having written a book of magic, found an opportunity of throwing it into the river before he was apprehended: but this did not save him; for tho' the book could not be produced against him, yet he was, after a short hearing, condemned, and publicly executed (Q).

THIS

<sup>m</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 390.

and condemned, and their estates confiscated. Hereupon persons of all ranks were filled with such dread and terror, that they burnt their libraries, lest, amongst their other books, any should be found unknown to them, treating of forbidden arts.

(Q) A few days after, St. *Chrysostom*, who relates this, and was then a youth, going with a companion to visit a church in the neighbourhood, found the book on the strand: his companion, not knowing what it contained, took it up; and, led by his curiosity, began to read it aloud; when they both perceived it was a book of magic, and at the same time observed, not

without dread and horror, a soldier at a small distance; so that they neither dared to tear it, nor throw it again, as they had designed at first, into the river, lest the soldier should suspect and seize them. However, *Chrysostom's* companion concealing the book with great care under his garments, they had both the good luck to escape without being searched; tho' every soldier was empowered to search all he met for books of magic and charms. Had the book been discovered, they must both have inevitably perished; but they found means of throwing it again into the river, without being observed (3). *Socrates* writes,

(3) *Chryf. in Act. bom. xxxviii. p. 342.*

tha

THIS year is likewise remarkable for the death of *Paras* king of *Armenia*, treacherously murdered by the *Romans*. He had in some degree submitted to the king of *Persia*, as we have observed above; but afterwards renewed, it seems, his alliance with the *Romans*, and was by them acknowledged king, since *Ammianus* gives him that title; but several persons, at the head of whom was count *Terentius*, having transmitted to court disadvantageous accounts of his conduct and administration, the emperor sent for him, as if he designed to advise with him about the prosecution of the *Persian* war. Upon his arrival at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, he was commanded to wait there till further orders; but, being in the mean time informed, that the emperor's design was to arrest him, and send another to be king of *Armenia* in his stead, he resolved to make his escape, with the assistance of three hundred of his own subjects, who persuaded him to it, and privately provided horses for that purpose. They set out in the dusk of the evening; but were soon pursued and overtaken by a whole legion, sent on purpose to prevent their escape. At their approach, *Paras* faced about, and charged them with such resolution, that they made more

*Paras king of Armenia detained at Tarsus. He makes his escape.*

that an oracle having answered those, who came to inquire, who should succeed *Valens*, that the first part of his name was *Theod*, the emperor, acquainted with that answer, caused not only *Theodorus* to be put to death, but all those whose names began with those letters, such as *Theodulus*, *Theodotus*, *Theodosius*, &c. among these was, according to that writer, one *Theodosiolus* or *Theodosius*, a Spanish lord of great distinction (4). *Ammianus* and *Zosimus* give us a very minute account of the other cruelties of *Valens*, without taking the least notice of this, which makes us question the truth of what *Socrates* writes. Be that as it will, the extraordinary severity which *Valens* exerted on this occasion against magicians, aruspices, astrologers, and

diviners of all denominations, is highly blamed, not only by the pagan, but even by the Christian writers (5). If *Valens* looked upon magic as a vain imagination, he ought not to have been thus alarmed; if he gave credit to their predictions, he could not, without being inconsistent with himself, strive to prevent their being accomplished; and truly, in spite of all his cruelties, he was succeeded by *Theodosius*, whose name began with the letters, which, if *Socrates* is to be credited, he so much dreaded. This fire, to use the expression of *Libanius* (6), continued raging till the emperor was diverted by another, which the *Goths* kindled three years after in *Thrace*.

(4) *Socrat. l. iv. c. 15. p. 229. ibid.*

(6) *Lib. vit. p. 58.*

(5) *Socr. l. vi. c. 35. p. 694. Socrat.*



haste to fly from him, than they had done to overtake him. After this he traveled night and day till he reached the *Euphrates*, which he passed upon barrels joined together, and pursued his journey with extraordinary expedition. But in the mean time the emperor, having notice of his escape, dispatched a thousand archers, under the command of two principal officers, to bring him back. These being well acquainted with the country, to which *Paras* was altogether a stranger, getting through by-ways before him, divided their forces, and seized on two passes, three miles distant from each other, through one of which they took for granted he would pass. But, being informed of his danger by a traveler, and conducted by him through by-paths and thick woods, he escaped the ambuscade, and got safe to his dominions, where he was received with inexpressible joy, while the *Roman* officers, who had long waited for him, were by all derided and ridiculed upon their disappointment. This incensed them to such a degree against *Paras*, that, in order to hasten his ruin, they made the credulous emperor believe, that the young prince was a famous magician, and knew how to consume and waste by degrees a man's body, tho' at never so great a distance. This so alarmed the emperor, that tho' *Paras*, forgetting the late affront, continued faithful to the *Romans*, yet his death was resolved on, and orders sent to *Trajan*, who commanded the *Roman* forces in *Armenia*, to dispatch him by private treachery, if he could not by open force.

Is treacherously murdered.

THE manner which *Trajan* chose to put this base and inhuman command in execution, was no less base and inhuman, than the command itself; for he, having gained the young prince's confidence, by frequenting his table, and producing counterfeit letters from *Valens*, filled with the most tender expressions of kindness, prevailed upon him to accept of an entertainment at his house, during which he caused him to be barbarously murdered by a ruffian hired for that purpose<sup>a</sup>. The death of *Paras* gave great uneasiness to *Sapor*, who had hoped to gain him over in the end to his interest. He was therefore no sooner informed of his fate, than he dispatched ambassadors to *Valens* with proposals for an accommodation. The remaining part of this year was spent in negotiations, but without success, the emperor, who was then at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army, being desirous of retrieving the glory of the *Roman* arms, and recovering the provinces given up by the treaty with *Jovian*. But in the mean time,

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxx. p. 412—415.

*Thrace* being threatened with a general invasion of the *Gothish* nation, he was obliged to conclude a peace with the *Persians*, but upon what terms we know not.

THE following year, 375. *Valens* was alarmed by an embassy from the *Goths*, who, being driven out of their own country by the *Hunns*, desired leave to settle in *Thrace*. But before we speak of that embassy, and the memorable events attending it, we must take a cursory view of what happened in the West after the death of *Valentinian*, who, as we have related already, died at *Bregetio* on the seventeenth of *November* of this year. He left two sons, to wit, *Gratian*, born in 359. *Gratian* and by his father created emperor on the twenty-fourth of *August* 367. and *Valentinian*, born in 371. As *Gratian* was at a great distance from the army when his father died, having been left, as we have observed above, at *Treves*, the great officers of the court, uncertain what such an extraordinary and unexpected accident might produce, especially among the *Gauls*, who served in the army, and were then ravaging the country of the *Quadi* beyond the *Danube*, dispatched a messenger with private intelligence of the emperor's death to *Merobaudes* their leader, who thereupon sent immediately out of the way, pursuant to his instructions, count *Sebastian*, an officer greatly beloved by the soldiery, and then marched back to the camp at *Bregetio*. Upon his arrival, it was resolved in a general council of all the chief officers, both civil and military, that *Valentinian*, the second son of the deceased emperor, then a child but four or five years old, should be declared emperor. He was therefore sent for without delay from a village, named *Murocineta*, about a hundred miles distant from *Bregetio*, and upon his arrival proclaimed emperor, with the usual solemnity, the sixth day after the death of his father. This step they took to prevent any sudden attack from the enemy, or mutiny in the army. They hoped, that *Gratian*, who was then but seventeen years old, and had already given proofs of an extraordinary mild temper, and an uncommon understanding, would acquiesce to the motives which had induced them to prefer his brother to the empire without his knowledge or consent.

*GRATIAN* at first complained of their taking such an extraordinary step before they had made him privy to it; but immediately confirmed their election, and ever after treated young *Valentinian* more like his child than his brother. *Victor* and

*Gratian* succeeds his father *Valentinian*.

*Valentinian* II. proclaimed emperor by the officers of the army.

Year of the flood 2825.

Of Christ 375.

Of Rome 1173.

° Idem, p. 433, 434. Zos. l. iv. p. 746. SOCRAT. l. iv. c. 31. p. 249. P. VICT. epit.

*Zosimus* <sup>a</sup> will have *Equitius* and *Merobaudes* to have been the chief authors of this election, which by *Ruffinus* is ascribed to *Probus* <sup>r</sup>. *Merobaudes* was, according to *Victor*, related to young *Valentinian*, probably by marriage; for he seems, so far as we can conjecture from his name, to have been a barbarian. The election being confirmed by *Gratian*, and soon after by *Valens*, the Western provinces were divided between the two brothers: young *Valentinian* had for his share *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and *Africa*; and *Gratian*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*. This division was made, not by *Gratian*, who was yet too young, as *Zosimus* pretends <sup>s</sup>, but by the great officers of the court. As they did not therein consult *Valens*, some misunderstanding arose between that prince and his nephews <sup>t</sup>. Notwithstanding this partition, *Gratian* alone governed the Western provinces to his death, *Valentinian* not having been capable of acting on account of his age, so long as *Gratian* lived. The first thing *Gratian* did after the death of his father, and the promotion of his brother, was to recall to court his mother *Severa*, who had been divorced and banished by *Valentinian*, and restore her to her former honours <sup>u</sup>.

THE following year, 376. *Valens* was consul the fifth time, <sup>v</sup> young *Valentinian* the first. This year *Gratian*, being informed of the unheard of cruelties practised by the famous *Maximinus* both in *Italy* and *Gaul*, caused him to be publicly executed; and named one *Antonius*, prefect of *Gaul*, in his room. *Simplicius*, who had been vicar of *Rome* in 374. and *Doryphorianus*, who had succeeded him in that office, underwent the same fate, being accused of the like crimes: the former was beheaded in *Illyricum*, and the latter put to a cruel death, at the instigation of *Severa*, says *Ammianus* in *Gaul*, whither he was conveyed from the *Tullian* prison in *Rome* <sup>w</sup>. As these three cruel and bloody magistrates had, with the utmost injustice, put a great number of senators to death, *Gratian*, by a declaration published this year, established the method of trying senators <sup>x</sup>, which was read by *Symmachus* in the senate on the thirteenth of *August* <sup>y</sup>. To the above-mentioned executions *St. Jerom* no doubt alluded, when he wrote, that this year several persons of distinction were executed <sup>z</sup>. *Maximinus*, *Simplicius*, and *Doryphorianus*, had long deserved the

*Maximinus, and his accomplices, put to death.*

<sup>a</sup> Zos. l. iv. p. 746.

ibid.

<sup>r</sup> EUNAP. legat. p. 19.

AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 366.

Theodof. p. 96.

in chron.

<sup>s</sup> RUF. l. ii. c. 12. p. 184.

<sup>t</sup> Chron. Alex. p. 704.

<sup>u</sup> Idem, p. 357.

<sup>v</sup> SYMM. l. x. ep. 2. p. 390, 391.

<sup>w</sup> Hier.

<sup>x</sup> Zos.

<sup>y</sup> Cod.

<sup>z</sup> Hier.

doom which at length overtook them, and died unlamented; but the death of the renowned *Theodosius*, one of the greatest officers and best men of his age, is a stain on the character of *Gratian* never to be effaced. Of his glorious exploits in *Britain* and *Africa*, we have already spoken in the reign of *Valentinian*; but, notwithstanding the eminent services he had rendered the empire, he was this year by an order from court beheaded at *Carthage*, after he had triumphed over *Firmus*, and with his prudence and industry restored *Africa* to its former tranquillity (R). *The celebrated count Theodosius unjustly put to death.*

His son, named likewise *Theodosius*, who, being duke of *Young Mæsia* in 374. had, with a courage and conduct above his years, defended that province against the incursions of the bar- *his retires to his native coun-*

(R) His death was owing, if *St. Jerom* (7), *Orosius* (8), and *St. Ambrose* (9), are to be credited, to the malicious suggestions of certain persons at court, who, envying him the mighty reputation he had deservedly acquired, filled the young prince's mind with jealousies and suspicions, and by that means compassed the ruin of a person worthy both for his valour, and unblemished conduct, of the greatest honours the emperor could confer upon him. He was, at his earnest request, baptized just before he died; so that his death was no less exemplary, than his life had been glorious (1). *Socrates* writes, as we have observed above, that, on occasion of the conspiracy of *Theodorus*, all those were by *Valens* put to death, whose names began with *Theod*; and among the rest of the names one *Theodosiolus*, who was, says he, a man of great courage, and descended from an illustrious family in *Spain*, meaning perhaps count *Theodosius*; at least *Baronius* (2,

*Jornandes* (3), who for the most part follows *Socrates*, and *Flethier*, try. in his life of the emperor *Theodosius*, are of that opinion. But *Theodosius* was put to death at *Carthage*, and not in the East, where *Valens* reigned. Besides, we cannot help looking upon the whole account of *Socrates* as a fable, to which he too easily gave credit, since neither *Ammianus* nor *Zosimus*, who seem to take particular pleasure in displaying the cruelties of *Valens*, make any mention of such a remarkable piece of cruelty as his putting several persons of distinction to death merely for the sake of their names. *Sozomen* indeed speaks of it, but as of a thing that was reported, perhaps because he had read it in *Socrates* (4). Be that as it will, statues, and other extraordinary nonours, were decreed to *Theodosius* some years after his death by the senate of *Rome*; and several inscriptions, setting forth his virtues and exploits, have reached our times (5).

(7) *Hier. chron.* (8) *Oros. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219.* (9) *Ambros. dia.*  
3. p. 125. (1) *Oros. ibid.* (2) *Baron. ad ann. 370.* (3) *Jor.*  
*de reg. succ. c. 40. p. 652.* (4) *Soz. l. vi. c. 35. p. 694.* (5) *Vide*  
*Rein. p. 326. Gruter. p. 412.*

barians, as we have related above, was obliged to yield to the storm, and retire to *Spain*, his native country, where he lived in a kind of exile, till he was recalled by *Gratian*, and raised to the empire. As *Ammianus* takes no notice of these remarkable executions, we cannot help thinking there is a chasm in this part of his history, the more, because he had promised elsewhere <sup>a</sup> to speak in a more proper place of the death of *Maximinus*, and his accomplices, of which, however, no mention is made in such of his books as have reached us; nay, we find nothing in them relating to the Western provinces, from the death of *Valentinian I.* that is, from the year 375. to 378 (S).

WHILE

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 366.

(S) This year *Valens* sent the celebrated philosopher *Themistius*, with the character of ambassador, to *Gratian*, then in *Gaul*; but what was the subject of his embassy, we know not. The philosopher, on his return to the East, came to *Rome*, complying therein with the request of *Gratian*, desiring the *Romans* might have the pleasure and honour of seeing so great a man (6). It was at *Rome*, and before the senate of that great metropolis, that *Themistius* pronounced an oration altogether unworthy of a philosopher, nay, of any person who pretended to the least gravity (7). However, he bestows great encomiums upon *Gratian*; extols his liberality, and generous temper; and observes, among other things, that the avaricious and cruel exactors of the old debts due to the exchequer were in the utmost confusion, because the instruments of their malice and cruelty had, by the prince's

orders, been consumed in the flames (8); alluding, no doubt, to what we read in *Ausonius*, to wit, that *Gratian* remitted whatever was due to the exchequer at the time of his father's death, and caused all the papers relating thereto to be burnt throughout the provinces that were subject to him (9). *Themistius* writes, that he found *Gratian* not far from the ocean (1); that is, in *Gaul*; for he was, as appears from the dates of several laws, during the months of *March*, *April*, *May*, and *September*, at *Treves*; and we have no proof of his being elsewhere this year. By a law dated from *Treves* the twenty-third of *May*, he raises the salaries of all public professors in the metropolitan cities of *Gaul*, especially in the most illustrious city of *Treves*, as it is styled (2). From this law some pretend to infer, that *Spain* and *Britain* were at this time governed, not by vicars, but pro-

(6) *Themist.* or. xiii. p. 163 — 168.(7) *Idem ibid.* p. 178.(8) *Idem**ibid.* p. 175.(9) *Auson.* ad. *Grat.* proconsul. p. 406, 407.(1) *Themist.**orat.* xiii. p. 163.(2) *Cod. Theod.* l. xiii. tit. 3. leg. 11. p. 39, 40.

consuls,

WHILE these things passed in the West, the *Goths*, being driven out of their own country by the *Hunns*, approached the banks of the *Danube*, to the number of two hundred thousand men; and, being admitted by *Valens* into *Thrace*, they made themselves masters of that province, as we shall relate at large in the history of that nation. As for *Gratian*,<sup>a</sup> he was on the twenty-seventh of *February* at *Treves*, where he had passed the winter, and on the twenty-eighth of *July* at *Mayence*, perhaps on some expedition against the *Germans* not mentioned in history; for *Ausonius* tells us, that he took some *Germans* prisoners, and brought them with him into *Gaul*.<sup>b</sup> He was returned to *Treves* on the seventeenth of *September*.<sup>c</sup> By a law dated the fifth of *March*, and addressed to *Cataphronus* vicar of *Italy*, he grants several exemption to the clergy, comprising under that name not only bishops, priests, and deacons, but likewise subdeacons, exorcists, readers, and janitors or doorkeepers.<sup>d</sup> A dreadful plague raged this year in most of the Western provinces, and swept off incredible numbers of people.<sup>e</sup> The following year 378. when *Valens* was consul the sixth time, and young *Valentinian* the second, the *Goths*, from *Thrace*, advanced into *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, committing every-where dreadful ravages; nay, they approached *Constantinople* itself, *The Goths* plundered the suburbs, kept the city for some time blocked up, block up and, in the end, gave the emperor a total overthrow. Of *Constantine* this defeat we shall give a particular account in the history of *nople*.

<sup>b</sup> *AUSON.* consul. p. 378. <sup>c</sup> *Cod. Theod. chron.* p. 97, 98. <sup>d</sup> *Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 24.* p. 56. <sup>e</sup> *AMBR.* in *Luc. xxi.* p. 203. *Biblioth. patr. tom. viii.* p. 579.

consuls, independent of the prefect of *Gaul*. However that be, it is certain, that some vicars were soon after re established in both provinces. By another law, dated the seventeenth of the same month, which was an answer to *Artemius* vicar of *Spain*, and several bishops, the emperor declares, that religious matters ought to be judged and decided on the spot by a synod of the diocese. By a diocese is meant the district within the jurisdiction of

a vicar. By a third law, addressed to *Nitentius*, *Gratian* forbids all heretics, especially the *Donatists*, to hold assemblies; and commands the places where they shall assemble to be confiscated, except the churches, which he orders to be restored to the catholics (3). From several monuments of this year it appears, that the emperor allowed more liberty to the pagans, than to the *Donatists*, *Arians*, and other heretics.

(3) *Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. 6.* p. 224, 225.

*The death of Valens.* the Goths. *Valens* himself perished on this occasion, as all authors agree, though they differ in their accounts of his death; for some write, that he was killed upon the spot; and others, that, being wounded in the field, and not in a condition to fly, he was carried to a countryman's house, which his attendants fortified against the barbarians, till they, not suspecting the emperor to be there, set fire to it, which consumed the house, and all who were in it, except a youth, who, having made his escape, first out of the flames, and afterwards from the enemy, who had taken him prisoner, gave the Romans an account of the emperor's unhappy end<sup>f</sup>. Both these opinions are related by *Ammianus*; and the former was adopted by *Libanius*, as more proper for a panegyric; but the latter, which is generally thought the most probable, by *Victor* <sup>g</sup>, *St. Jerom* <sup>h</sup>, *Ruffinus* <sup>i</sup>, *Orosius* <sup>k</sup>, *Zosimus* <sup>l</sup>, and *Socrates* <sup>m</sup> (T). Such was the end of *Valens*, after he had

<sup>f</sup> AMMIAN. p. 462.<sup>g</sup> VICT. epit.<sup>h</sup> HIER. chron.<sup>i</sup> RUF. l. ii. c. 13. p. 184.<sup>k</sup> OROS. l. vii. c. 33. p. 219.<sup>l</sup> ZOS. p. 750.<sup>m</sup> SOCR. l. iv. c. 38. p. 255.

(T) *Sozomen* (4) and *Philostorgius* (5) follow the same opinion; but add some circumstances, which seem quite improbable. *St. Chrysostom* speaks of the death of *Valens*, perishing in the flames, as a memorable instance of the vanity of all human grandeur (6). *Theodoret* follows the same opinion; but was certainly mistaken in supposing *Valens* not to have been present at the battle (7). *Ammianus* observes, that, before *Valens* left *Antioch*, it was become a common curse or imprecation among the inhabitants of that metropolis, *May Valens be burnt alive!* The same writer pretends that unhappy end to have been portended by several prodigies, as a punishment

inflicted upon him by Heaven, for having caused *Paras* king of *Armenia* to be inhumanly murdered, and for putting many innocent persons to death, on occasion of the conspiracy of *Theodorus* (8). The reader will find in *Zosimus* the description of a spectre, which, says he, was seen by *Valens*, and all his court, when he marched out of *Constantinople* against the Goths (9). To this perhaps *Ammianus* alludes in a passage, which seems to us very obscure (1). *Theophanes* takes notice of some other prodigies; and assures us, that some of the emperor's officers owned after his death, that he had suffered the aruspices to be consulted concerning the issue of this war (2).

(4) SOZ. l. vi. c. 47. p. 703.

(5) PHILST. l. ix. c. 17. p. 131, 132.

(6) CHRYS. ad vid. p. 464.

(7) THEOD. l. iv. p. 704.

(8) AMMIAN. p. 435.

(9) ZOS. p. 435.

(1) AMMIAN. p. 435.

(2) THEOPH. p. 55.

had lived about fifty years, and reigned fifteen, four months, and some days<sup>a</sup>.

HE was quite a stranger to every branch of literature, and *His character.* no better acquainted with the military art, than with the liberal sciences. He did not so much as understand the Greek tongue, though he had reigned so many years in the East among the *Greeks*. He found out no expedients of himself; but, when they were proposed by others, he had discernment enough to know which was the best and most proper<sup>o</sup>. He was naturally indolent and inactive, an enemy to all labour, and averse from business, which was owing to the easy life he had led, free from trouble, till he was created emperor. He was timorous to a great degree, and unwilling to expose himself to any danger. To this disposition most authors ascribe the extraordinary deference which he ever paid to his brother *Valentinian* P. *Themistius* commends his chastity<sup>q</sup>; and *Ammianus*, a writer no-way biased in his favour, does not reproach him with any kind of lewdness and debauchery. He was constant and faithful in his friendship, whereof several instances are related by *Ammianus*<sup>r</sup>. He raised such only of his relations as were persons of merit, and, generally speaking, had regard to nothing but merit in the disposal of employments<sup>s</sup>. He kept a watchful eye over his ministers, exacted the military discipline with great rigour, not suffering

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. lib. xxxi. p. 463, 464.

<sup>o</sup> Idem, p. 464.

THEMIST. orat. vi. p. 11. & orat. ix. p. 71.

<sup>p</sup> Idem ibid.

& VICT. epit. THEODOR. vit. patr. p. 815.

<sup>q</sup> THE-

MIST. orat. viii. p. 119, 120.

<sup>r</sup> AMMIAN. p. 464.

<sup>s</sup> Idem, p. 463.

*Ammianus*, and other writers, tell us, that near the place where the emperor died, was discovered, agreeable to a pretended prediction, the tomb of an ancient *Macedonian* captain, by name *Mimantus* (3). All authors agree, that neither his body, nor the least remains of it, were ever found; and that his memory was honoured by no funeral obsequies. Ecclesiastic writers look upon his death as a judgment

from Heaven, for his persecuting with great cruelty the catholics, and his encouraging the heresy of *Arius*, which flourished and increased in his reign, more than it had done under any of his predecessors. With him perished in the flames, according to the modern *Greeks*, his great-chamberlain, a zealous patron of the *Arians*, and an avowed enemy to the orthodox believers (4).

(3) *Ammian.* p. 465. *Zonar.* p. 27. *Cedren.* p. 314. *magn. Græc.* p. 29:

(4) *Menæa*



his soldiers to do the least injury to those through whose countries they marched, and shewed himself on all occasions ready to hearken to the complaints of his injured subjects <sup>t</sup>. He seems to have discharged the foreign guards, who had been employed by other princes as the ministers of their cruelty <sup>u</sup>. He was thoroughly acquainted with the state of his finances, and therefore did not suffer himself to be imposed upon, as most of his predecessors had done, by those who managed them <sup>v</sup>. Though he was quite unacquainted with the liberal sciences, yet he is said to have composed some speeches, with the assistance of one *Heliadorus*, a man of a mean descent, and infamous character, as we read in *Ammianus*, who complains of the emperor for obliging persons of the first rank to attend his funeral <sup>x</sup>. *Themistius* styles him the father of the provinces, by reason of the great care he took in easing them, by all possible means, of the heavy taxes with which they had been loaded by his predecessors <sup>y</sup>. *Ammianus* owns, that he could not with more care consult the good of his own family, than he did the welfare of all his subjects; and that the Eastern provinces had been under no prince happier, than under him <sup>z</sup>. However, all authors agree, that he had a strong bias to avarice and cruelty, which, joined to his jealous and suspicious temper, prompted him often to condemn innocent persons, and seize on their estates. The least suspicion of treason rendered him inexorable, says *Ammianus*, and his ears were open to all manner of accusations <sup>a</sup> (U).

*His issue.* He left two daughters behind him, *Carosa* and *Anastasia*; but all we know of them is, that *Procopius*, who became famous in the latter-end of the reign of *Theodosius*, married one of them, he being styled by *Zosimus* <sup>b</sup> and *Sozomen* <sup>c</sup> the son-in-law of *Valens*. What became of the empress *Albia Dominica*, after the death of her husband, we are no-where told. *St. Chrysostom*, writing about the year 381. observes, that the widow of an emperor, who had been banished by another prince, was then recalled by the mediation of many

<sup>t</sup> THEMIST. orat. x. p. 153.

<sup>u</sup> Idem, orat. xii. p. 155.

<sup>v</sup> Idem, orat. viii. p. 114.

<sup>x</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 392.

<sup>y</sup> THEMIST. orat. x. p. 129.

<sup>z</sup> AMMIAN.

l. xxxi. p. 464.

<sup>a</sup> Idem, p. 465.

<sup>b</sup> Zos. l. v.

p. 786.

<sup>c</sup> Soz. l. iv. c. 9. p. 649.

(U) All the ecclesiastic writers agree, that he allowed to the many sects that then prevailed, nay, even to the *Jews* and pa-

gans, the free exercise of their religion; but persecuted the catholics with the utmost cruelty.

persons

persons of distinction, who with much difficulty obtained that favour <sup>d</sup>. Most writers take the empress, of whom he speaks in that place, to have been the widow of the emperor *Valens*. But, as to the cause of her disgrace and misfortune, we are quite in the dark. With the death of *Valens*, *Ammianus Marcellinus* ends his history; but of him, and *Eutropius*, who wrote his abridgment of the *Roman* history in the reign of *Valens*, and by that prince's command, we shall speak in our note (W).

<sup>d</sup> CHRYS. ad vid. jun. p. 463.

(W) *Ammianus Matcellinus* was a native of *Antioch*, where his family made some figure (5). He served several years in the army, from the year 350. to 359. under count *Ursicinus*, partly in *Mesopotamia*, and partly in *Gaul*, in quality of *domesticus*, which was then an honourable post. He attended *Julian* in his *Persian* expedition, and was at *Antioch*, or in that neighbourhood, when the conspiracy of *Theodorus* was discovered in the reign of *Valens* (6). Afterwards he renounced the profession of arms, and retired to *Rome*, where he wrote his history, as appears both from the history itself (7), and from a letter which *Libanius* wrote to him from *Antioch* (8); while he was composing it. His twenty-sixth book was not ended before the year 390. and the twenty-second was written the year before (9). His work was divided into thirty-one books, and comprised the reigns of all the emperors, from *Domitian*, where *Suetonius* ends, to the death of *Valens*; but, of his thirty-one books, only the last eighteen, be-

ginning after the death of *Magnentius* in 353. have reached our times. Though he was a *Greek*, he chose to write in *Latin*; but his *Latin*, in the opinion of *Vossius*, speaks him both a *Greek* and a soldier (1). But his other good qualities make sufficient amends, says the same writer, for these faults; for he writes with great judgment, and seems to have been a sincere lover of truth (2). However, he plainly betrays a great zeal for the religion of the antient *Romans*, and no small partiality for those who countenanced it, especially for his hero *Julian*. In his history, he frequently makes long and tedious digressions on comets, and other things, which fall not within the province of an historian. In his accounts he is now-and-then somewhat confused, and often leaves out the most material circumstances of the facts he relates; which has induced some to believe, that his history is in several places maimed and imperfect. But, after all, without his history, we should have been quite in the dark with

(5) *Ammian.* l. xix. p. 144.

*l.* xxxi. p. 469.

p. 8, 9.

*ibid.*

(6) *Idem.* l. xxix. p. 387.

(8) *Ammian.* vit. p. 4—8.

(1) *Voss. hist. Lar.* l. ii. c. 9. p. 201,

(7) *Idem.*

(9) *Idem.*

(2) *Idem.*

respect to the most remarkable transactions of those times. Some epigrams by one *Ammianus* have reached our times; but, whether they were the work of the historian, is altogether uncertain. The reader will find several things relating to *Ammianus*, and his history, in the *prolegomena*, which Mr. *Valois* has prefixed to the last edition of the works of that historian at Paris in 1681. *Eutropius* wrote his abridgment of the Roman history in the reign of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, and inscribed it to the latter, having undertaken it at his request. He gives that prince the title of *Gothicus*, a plain proof, that he published his work after the year 369. in which *Valens* defeated *Atbanaric*, one of the kings or chiefs of the *Goths*. Mr. *Valois* styles him a polite and elegant writer; but *Vinetus*, who published his works in 1553. concludes from his style, that he was not a *Roman*, but a *Greek* (3). *Vossius*, too, finds fault with his style; but, upon the whole, commends his work, as an abridgment of the *Roman* history, done with great judgment (4). He is often copied by *St. Jerom* in his chronicle, and quoted by other *Latin* writers. His work seems to have been in great request among the *Greeks*; for two translations of it were done into that language, the one by *Pæranus*, and the other by *Capito*. The latter, who was by birth a *Lycian*, not only translated into *Greek* the abridgment of *Livy*, says *Suidas*, done by *Eutropius*, but wrote, besides, the history of

*Isauria* in eight books, and likewise that of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*. The translation of *Eutropius* by *Pæranus* was published among the other *Augustine* writers, by *Sylburgius* at *Frankfort* in 1590. *Sylburgius* is of opinion, that *Pæranus* was cotemporary with *Eutropius*. However that be, it is certain, that he often deviates both from the meaning of the original, and the truth of history (5). As for *Eutropius* himself, *Suidas* styles him an *Italian* sophist; and adds, that he published several other works (6). From his writings it does not appear, whether he professed the Christian religion, or no. He was present, according to *Codin*, at the laying the foundations of *Constantinople*, and left behind him an account of the origin of that city (7). If what that author writes be true, *Eutropius* must have been very young at that time. He attended *Julian* in his expedition into *Persia* (8). He seems to have been of the senatorial order; for, at the head of his work, he is distinguished with the title of *clarissimus*, which was peculiar to senators. In the reign of *Valentinian*, and before the year 376. died, according to *St. Jerom*, *Aquilius*, or *Acilius Severus*, a native of *Spain*, who wrote the history of his own life in prose and verse, under the title of *catastrophe*. He was descended from another *Severus*, to whom *Lactantius* inscribed two books of his letters. *St. Jerom* places him among the ecclesiastic writers (9); but his work has been long since lost.

(3) *Eutrop.* p. 557.  
*Græc.* p. 63.

(4) *Voss.* *bist. Lat.* c. 8. p. 198.  
(6) *Suid.* p. 1099.

(8) *Eutrop.* p. 589.

(9) *Hier.* *vir. illustr.* c. 111,

(5) *Eutrop.*  
*antiq. Constantinop.* p. 17.

## C H A P. IV.

*The History of the Eastern and Western Empire, from the Death of Valens, to the Division of the Empire.*

GRATIAN, alarmed at the danger that threatened the Eastern provinces, over-run by the barbarians, resolved to march in person to the assistance of his uncle, as soon as the season would permit; and in the mean time ordered part of the forces he had with him in Gaul to hasten into *Illyricum*, and, joining the troops quartered in that province, to enter *Thrace*, and reinforce the army which *Valens* had sent thither. This the Germans called *Lentenses*, whose country bordered upon *Rætia*, no sooner understood, than, by an open breach of the treaty which they had but lately concluded with *Gratian*, they passed the *Rhine* upon the ice, to the number of forty thousand men, and upwards; and, entering Gaul, began to commit dreadful ravages in the neighbourhood of that river. Hereupon the emperor recalled the troops which he had ordered to march into *Illyricum*, and sent them, reinforced with those that were left in Gaul under the conduct of count *Nannianus*, and *Mallobaudes* king of the *Franks*, who served in the Roman army in quality of *comes domesticorum*, to drive back the *Lentenses*, whose numbers increased daily, the *Romans*, who guarded the banks of the *Rhine*, having, through fear of the barbarians, abandoned their stations. The two generals, though at the head of an handful of men, gave them battle in the neighbourhood of *Argentaria*, which most geographers take to have stood where the present city of *Colmar* stands. The *Romans* at first gave ground, being overpowered with numbers; but in the end gained a complete victory, and made such a dreadful havock of the enemy, that, out of such a prodigious multitude, scarce five thousand had the good luck to make their escape, thirty thousand of them being killed upon the spot, and the rest either slain in the pursuit, or taken prisoners. Their king *Triarius*, the chief author of the war, was in the number of the slain (A).

AFTER 2726.  
Of Christ 378.  
Of Rome 1126.

<sup>a</sup> AMMIAN. lib. xxxi. p. 453, 454. VICT. epit. HIER. in chron.

(A) *Orosius* writes, that *Gratian* was present at the battle; and that, depending upon the assistance of heaven, he attacked the

They submit to  
Gratian.

AFTER this victory, *Gratian* passed the *Rhine* at the head of his army; and, entering the enemy's country, shut them up on all sides among the barren mountains, to which they had fled with their families; and by that means reduced them in a short time to such streights, that they were forced to submit to the terms the conqueror thought fit to prescribe; one of which was, that they should deliver up their youth to serve in the *Roman* army, which they did accordingly. Thus were the *Romans* greatly reinforced by this new accession of strength, and at the same time that inconstant and faithless nation put out of a condition of raising new disturbances in the emperor's absence. In this expedition, *Gratian* gave signal proofs of his courage, prudence, good-nature, and generosity; which gained him the esteem and affection of all who served under him<sup>b</sup>. He immediately wrote to *Valens*, acquainting him with his victory, and begging him not to hazard a battle till he had joined him, which he assured him would be very soon. But *Valens*, now jealous of the reputation of his young nephew, which he thought eclipsed his own, and desirous of equaling his exploits against the *Germans*, resolved to give battle before his arrival, that he might enjoy, without a partner, the glory of the victory, which he looked upon as certain.

Gratian  
marches to  
the assistance  
of his  
uncle.

In the mean time, *Gratian* having sufficiently provided for the security of *Gaul*, began his march, and with great expedition advanced to *Arbor Felix*, now *Arbon*, on the lake of *Constance*, and from thence to *Lauriacum*, now *Lork*, in *Austria*, on the *Danube*, between the *Traun* and the *Ens*. There he embarked part of his troops on the *Danube*, and marched by land with the rest to *Bononia* in *Lower Dacia*, and from thence to *Sirmium*, where he staid but four days, though he was then ill of an intermitting fever. From *Sirmium* he pursued his march along the *Danube* to a fort in the same province, called *Castra Martis*. In his march, some of his men,

<sup>b</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 455.

the enemy, though greatly superior to him in number (1). But *Ammianus* only writes, that *Gratian* advanced to support his generals (2). This battle was not

fought before the month of *May*; for, on the twenty-second of *April*, the emperor was still at *Treves*, as appears from a law bearing that date (3).

(1) *Oris.* l. vii. c. 32. p. 219.

(3) *Cod. Theod. chron.* p. 98.

(2) *Ammian.* l. xxxi. p. 453, 454.

who had straggled from the army, were intercepted, and cut off, by the *Alans*. From *Castra Martis*, he dispatched *Richomerus*, his *comes domesticorum*, to acquaint *Valens*, that he was at hand, and earnestly intreat him in his name not to engage the numerous forces of the enemy till his arrival. But *Valens*, hastening the battle, that his nephew might have no share in the victory, was utterly defeated, and perished, with two-thirds of his army, in the manner we have related above. The day after the battle, the *Goths*, informed by a deserter, that *Valens* had left many persons of great distinction in *Adrianople*, and that the imperial treasure was lodged there, invested the place; but, being repulsed with great slaughter, quite strangers to the art of besieging towns, they dropped the enterprize; and, marching towards *Perinthus* or *Heraclea*, laid waste that fertile country, and then advanced to *Constantinople*, hoping to make themselves masters of that stately metropolis, and of the immense wealth lodged in it. But the *Saracens*, whom *Mavia* their queen had sent to the assistance of the *Romans*, and who were more dextrous at sudden onsets than regular engagements, having in several sallies cut off great numbers of the *Goths*, the rest thought it advisable to break up the siege, and retire from the neighbourhood of that city.

*Valens gives battle, and is defeated and killed before his arrival. The Goths besiege the vain Adrianople and Constantinople.*

THE remaining part of this year they spent in ravaging, without opposition, *Thrace*, *Scythia*, *Mæsia*, and even *Illyricum*, as far as the *Julian Alps*, which part that province from *Italy*. The neighbouring barbarians, namely the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians*, entered the *Roman* territories at the same time, putting all to fire and sword, and surpassing the *Goths* themselves in the unheard-of cruelties they practised<sup>1</sup>. *St. Jerom* gives us a pathetic account of the calamities suffered at that time by the subjects of the empire. "The whole country, (says he), from *Constantinople* to the *Julian Alps*, has been swimming these twenty years in *Roman* blood: *Scythia*, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Dardania*, *Dacia*, *Thessalonica* (or rather *Thessaly*), *Achaia*, both *Epirus's*, *Dalmatia*, both *Pannonia's*, are filled with *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, *Quadians*, *Alans*, *Huns*, *Vandals*, *Murcomans*, &c. whose avarice nothing has escaped, whose cruelty has been felt by persons of all ranks, ages, and conditions. How many eminent persons of both sexes, how many sacred virgins, have been outrageously insulted, and hurried into captivity! Bishops have been inhumanly massacred, with their clergy; churches pulled down, the reliques of the holy martyrs dug up, and the sacred altars

*Dreadful ravages committed by the Goths, and other barbarians.*

<sup>1</sup> AMMIAN. p. 456—458. & lib. xx. p. 160. l. xxxi. p. 469. Zos. l. iv. p. 751.

<sup>2</sup> Idem,

All the  
Goths put  
to the  
sword in  
the East.

“ turned into mangers. The downfall of the *Roman* empire  
“ is at hand <sup>e</sup>. The cities of *Illyricum*, which suffered most  
on this occasion, were *Petavio* and *Mursia*; the former is  
said to have been betrayed to the barbarians by *Valens*, whom  
the *Arians* had attempted to raise to that see <sup>f</sup>. As there were  
great numbers of *Goths*, who served in the *Roman* armies,  
quartered in the forts and cities of *Asia*, *Julius*, who com-  
manded in that province, apprehending they would rise and  
join their countrymen, if they should move that way, by  
private letters sent to the governors of the cities where they  
were quartered, ordered them all to be massacred at the same  
time. This severe, but perhaps necessary, order was put in  
execution without the least noise or disturbance, and *Asia* de-  
livered from the danger it had just reason to apprehend; for  
*Zosimus* assures us, that the *Goths* only wanted an opportunity  
to revolt, and treat the *Romans* as they were treated by  
them &c.

Gratian  
sends for  
Theodo-  
sius, &c.

WE left *Gratian* on the frontiers of *Thrace*, ready to enter  
that province, and join *Valens*; but he no sooner heard the  
news of his death, and of the great loss the *Romans* had suf-  
fained in the fatal battle of *Adrianople*, which were brought  
to him by *Victor*, who had had the good luck to escape the  
general slaughter, than he marched back to *Sirmium*, to deli-  
berate there on the most proper measures to be taken in so  
critical a conjuncture. After a short stay at *Sirmium*, he  
marched, at the head of all the forces he could assemble, to  
*Constantinople*, to secure that metropolis; and in the mean  
time, considering with himself how many brave officers had  
perished in the present war, and how much he stood in need  
of an able and faithful general, he sent for young *Theodosius*,  
who, after having given signal proofs of his courage, conduct,  
and experience, in military affairs, had, upon the death of  
his father, retired to *Spain*, his native country, to avoid, as  
we have related above, the storm that threatened him. *Theo-*  
*dosius* complied with the emperor's command; and, quitting  
his retirement, hastened into *Illyricum*, where he was received  
by *Gratian* with the greatest demonstrations of kindness and  
esteem, and soon after sent, at the head of a considerable army,  
against the *Sarmatians*, who were in full march to join the  
*Goths*: but *Theodosius*, falling upon them, cut the greater  
part of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to repass the *Dan-*  
*nube*. The victory he gained on this occasion was so complete,  
that the emperor could not believe the account which *Theodo-*  
*sus* himself gave him of it upon his return to court, till he

who gains  
a complete  
victory  
over the  
Sarma-  
tians.

<sup>e</sup> HIER. epist. 3. p. 26.

<sup>f</sup> AMBROS. epist. 1. p. 167.

<sup>e</sup> ZOS. p. 752. AMMIAN. p. 469.

was informed of the truth by persons sent on purpose to view the field of battle <sup>h</sup> (B). From *Constantinople* the emperor returned to *Sirmium*, and passed the winter there. As he was a zealous catholic, he no sooner saw himself, by the death of *Valens*, master of the East, than he recalled, and restored to their sees, the orthodox bishops, who had been banished by *Valens*; and, by an edict, granted an intire liberty of conscience to Christians of all denominations, except the *Manichees*, the *Photinians*, and the *Eunomians*, whom he would not suffer to have any churches. This edict put a stop to the persecution which the *Arians* had raised, and carried on with great cruelty, against the catholics, during the whole reign of *Valens*. *Gratian*, notwithstanding his zeal for the orthodox faith, did not think it adviseable for the present to meddle any farther with religious affairs, through fear of raising new disturbances, which, in the present distracted state of the empire, might have been attended by dangerous consequences. This law, granting liberty of conscience to all Christians, seems to have taken place only in the East, where the catholics did not enjoy it before; for, by another law enacted this very year, and addressed to *Flavianus* vicar of *Africa*, he absolutely condemns the *Donatists*, orders their churches to be delivered up to the catholics, and declares, that he will suffer no other doctrine to be taught or held, except that which is agreeable to the gospel, to the faith of the apostles, and to the tradition of the church.

WHILE he resided at *Sirmium*, surrounded on all sides by the barbarians, he named *Aufonius* and *Olybrius* consuls for the ensuing year. He wrote to *Aufonius*, who had been his preceptor, a most obliging letter, acquainting him with his promotion, and at the same time sent him the consular robe, that which the emperors wore when they triumphed. As *Valens* died without issue male, *Gratian*, by his death, became sole master of the empire; but, not thinking himself, being then only in the twentieth year of his age, equal to so great a burden, especially at so critical a conjuncture, when the *Goths*, were

<sup>b</sup> THEODORET. lib. v. c. 5. p. 710.  
p. 381.

<sup>1</sup> **Avson. conf.**

(B) To this victory, and the other which *Gratian* had gained this year over the *Germans* before he left *Gaul*, *Aufonius* no doubt alluded, when he wrote, that the emperor, in one and the same year, appeased the troubles on the *Rhine* and the *Danube* (4).

(4) *Aufon. conf.* p. 378.



*Huns, Alans, Sarmatians, and Quadians*, had broken into the empire on one side, and the *Alemans*, and other *German* nations, were ready to invade it on the other, he resolved to take a colleague capable of easing him of part of his burden, and extricating the state out of the difficulties under which it laboured. Young *Valentinian* shared indeed with him the title, but not the authority, of emperor, he being then but seven, or, at most, eight years old. Without any regard, therefore, to his own relations, or rather looking upon those, to use the expression of *Themistius*, as his nearest relations, who were best qualified for so great a trust, he determined to assume *Theodosius* for his partner in the supreme power; a person of most extraordinary accomplishments, and no less admired by all on account of his exemplary piety, than for his prudence, his experience in war, and the mighty exploits he had already performed <sup>k</sup>.

He raises  
Theodo-  
sius to the  
empire;  
Year of  
the flood  
2727.  
Of Christ  
379.  
Of Rome  
1127.

and com-  
mits the  
Eastern  
provinces  
to his care.

PURSUANT to this resolution, he declared him emperor at *Sirmium* on the nineteenth of *January* of the ensuing year 379. while *Ausonius* and *Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Olybrius* were consuls. It was with the utmost difficulty that *Gratian* prevailed upon him to accept, says *Pacatus*, what others sought with so much ambition, and employed the most unlawful means to attain. He refused, continues the same author, what others looked upon as the greatest happiness, in such manner as evidently shewed, that he accepted it by mere constraint <sup>l</sup>. After *Gratian* had, to the general satisfaction both of the people and soldiery, declared him emperor with the usual solemnity, he committed to his care the *East*, *Thrace*, and the rest of the provinces, which had been governed by *Valens*, reserving for himself only *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*; for *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and *Africa*, were held by his brother *Valentinian* <sup>m</sup> (C).

THEODOSIUS,

<sup>k</sup> THEMIST. OR. xiv. p. 182.

<sup>l</sup> PACAT. p. 253, 254.

<sup>m</sup> THEODOR. l. v. c. 6. p. 711. Zos. p. 746.

(C) *Sozomen* writes, that, to the *East*, *Gratian* added *Illyricum* (5); which, if true, must be understood of the east part of *Illyricum*; for the west part was always held by the princes of the *Western* empire, who till this time had been ma-

sters of both. *West-Illyricum* comprised both *Pannonia's*, the one and the other *Noricum*, *Dalmatia*, and *Savaria*, which we take to be the province that was for some time known by the name of *Valeria*. That *Gratian* kept these provinces, is past dispute

(5) *Soz.* l. vii. c. 4. p. 707.

THEODOSIUS, whom *Gratian* raised to the empire, was, according to most authors, a native of *Cauca* in *Galicia*, which city still retains the same name; but *Marcellinus*, in his chronicle, supposes him to have been born in *Italica* near *Seville*, the birth-place of the emperor *Trajan*; and both that writer and *Claudian* reckon him among the great men of the *Ulpian* family, from which *Trajan* was sprung<sup>n</sup>. *Theodosius* resembled that prince, according to *Victor*, both in the features of his face, and the virtues of his mind; but was a stranger to the vices of *Trajan*, such as drunkenness, incontinence, and ambition<sup>o</sup>. He was the son of *Thermantia*, and the celebrated *Theodosius*, who conquered a new province in *Britain*, overcame *Firmus* in *Africa*, and was deservedly accounted the greatest commander of his age<sup>p</sup>. But his triumphs and great reputation having raised him many enemies at court, he was executed at *Carthage* in the year 376. the second of *Gratian's* reign, as we have related above (D). The emperor himself was

<sup>n</sup> MARCELL. chron. p. 98. CLAUD. p. 40.  
p. 546, 547. <sup>p</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxviii. p. 368.

<sup>o</sup> VICT.

(6). *East-Illyricum* consisted of *Macedon*, the one and the other *Epirus*, *Thessaly*, *Achaia*, *Crete*, both *Dacia's*, *Upper Mæsia*, *Dardania*, and *Prævalitana* (7).

(D) *Victor* tells us, that the name of the emperor *Theodosius's* father was *Honorius* (8); but he is therein contradicted by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and all the other writers. Both the emperor and his father, in most ancient coins, bear the prænomen of *Flavius*, which, after *Constantine's* time, became common to those who had none of their own: whence some authors conclude, and perhaps not improbably, that the family of *Theodosius* made no great figure before that prince's reign; and that *Claudian* and *Victor* only flattered him in deriving his pedigree from *Trajan*.

*Pacatus* observes, that he was a native of *Spain*, as well as *Trajan* and *Adrian*; but takes not the least notice of his being of the same family, which we can scarce believe he would have omitted, had *Theodosius* been allied to those two great princes. He had, according to *Victor*, only one brother, and a sister, whose children he brought up with the same care as he did his own (9). *St. Ambrose* and *Symmachus* suppose him to have had several brothers (1). One of his brothers, by name *Honorius*, had by his wife *Maria*, whom *Claudian* styles one of the most illustrious women *Spain* ever produced, two daughters, *Thermantia* and *Serena*, of whom the latter was married to the famous *Stilicho*, and the former to another general,

(6) *Cod. Theod. lib. xi. tit. 13. p. 100.* *lib. xiii. tit. 1. leg. 11. p. 14.*  
(7) *Notit. c. 3. p. 6.* (8) *Vict. p. 546.* (9) *Idem, p. 547.*  
(1) *Ambros. epist. 17. p. 214. Sym. l. x. epist. 57. p. 459.*

was born in the year 346. so that he was advanced to the empire in the thirty-third year of his age<sup>1</sup> (E). He served under his father in *Britain*, when he was yet very young<sup>2</sup>; and, being soon after created duke of *Mæssa*, he gained a memorable victory over the *Sarmatians* in 374. being then only eighteen years old<sup>3</sup>.

He with-  
draws to  
Spain.

AFTER the death of his father, he withdrew to *Spain*, to avoid the storm which threatened him, too; and there he retired life, employing his time partly in reading, and partly in works of agriculture, till he was recalled by *Gratian* in 373. and declared emperor<sup>4</sup>. He was then married to *Flaccilla*, called by most of the *Greek* writers *Placilla*, and by some *Placidia* (F); and had by her at least three children; to wit, *Arcadius*, born about the year 377. during his father's retirement; for he was thirty when he died on the first of *May* 408. *Honorius*, born in 384. and a daughter named *Pulcheria*, born before the year 379. since *Theodosius* had then, according to *Claudian*<sup>5</sup>, several children (G).

THE joy which the news of *Theodosius*'s promotion gave to all the subjects of the empire, was equal to the mighty opinion they entertained of his justice, integrity, moderation, and abilities in war; and truly, though commendations in the mouth

<sup>1</sup> THEODOR. l. v. c. 5. p. 710.    <sup>2</sup> Zos. p. 760.    <sup>3</sup> AM-  
MIAN. l. xxix. p. 410.    <sup>4</sup> AMBROS. sermo de divers.  
p. 125. VICT. p. 546.    <sup>5</sup> CLAUD. de laud. Stil. p. 194.

whose name is not mentioned (2). *Eucherius*, whom we shall see consul in 381. is supposed to have been another of the emperor's brothers (3).

(E) We are told, that he was called *Theodosius*, not only because his father had been so named, but because both his parents were commanded in a dream to give him that name, signifying, according to the import of the *Greek* word *Theodosius*, that the child was in a particular manner the gift of God (4).

(F) She is thought to have been the daughter of *Antonius*,

who, after having been prefect of *Italy* and *Gaul* in 376. and the two following years, was raised to the consulship in 382 (5). She was a native of *Spain* (6), and sister to the mother of *Nebrius*, who married *Savina*, the daughter of *Gildo* a *Moorish* prince, and count of *Africa* (7). *Nebrius* was proconsul of *Asia* in 396. but died soon after; for *Savina* was a widow, when St. *Jerom*, who had lived in great intimacy with the father of *Nebrius*, wrote to her in 400 (8).

(G) To these some add, and,

(2) CLAUD. de laud. Stil. p. 194. CANGE RYZ. fam. p. 75.    (3) The-  
mist. or. xvi. p. 203.    (4) VIT. p. 46.    (5) Cod. Theod. tit. 6.  
p. 350.    (6) CLAUD. ibid. p. 193.    (7) Hier. ep. 9. p. 73.  
(8) Idem ibid.

among

mouth of a poet are of no great weight, yet we cannot help thinking with *Claudian*, that the empire, without the assistance of *Theodosius*, would never have recovered its former lustre, but rather become a prey to the barbarians <sup>w</sup>. But to return to *Gratian* : He seems to have continued some months at *Sirmium*, after the promotion of *Theodosius* <sup>x</sup>; nay, *Socrates*, though in this place somewhat confused, tells us, that he gained considerable advantages over the barbarians, who surrounded him on all sides; and soon after set out for *Gaul*, upon intelligence, that the *Germans* were up in arms, and ready to break into that province <sup>y</sup>. He was at *Aquileia* in the beginning of *July*, and in the latter-end of the same month at *Milan* <sup>z</sup>, where he contracted great intimacy with *St. Ambrose*, to whom he ever after shewed the highest respect and veneration, as appears from a letter he wrote to him with his own hand, which, in our opinion, deserves less to be admired for the elegance of the style, than for the pious and truly Christian sentiments it contains. It was at his request that *St. Ambrose* wrote, though unwilling to engage in religious debates, his excellent treatise on faith, in which he proves the Divinity of the Son, and another proving the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. The pious emperor was so well pleased with these two pieces, that he immediately ordered a church to be delivered up to the catholics, which he had sequestered at *Milan* in 380. with a design, as was thought, to give it to the *Arians*, out of complaisance to his mother-in-law *Justina*. At the same time, revoking the law by which he had granted, the preceding year, liberty of conscience to all sects, he published another, forbidding all heretics, especially the rebaptizers, to preach their tenets, or to hold assemblies, in any part of the empire. This law is dated from

*Gratian  
returns to  
Gaul.*

<sup>w</sup> *CLAUD. consul. Hon. c. 4. p. 40, 41.*      <sup>x</sup> *AUSEN. ep. 2. p. 5, 6.*      <sup>y</sup> *SOCR. l. v. c. 6. p. 260.*      <sup>z</sup> *Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 100.*

among the rest, *St. Ambrose* (9), and *Themistius* (1), a third son, named *Gratian*. They do not tell us whether he was the son of *Flaccilla*, or *Galla*, the emperor's second wife, of whom hereafter; but *Gregory of Nyssa* writes in express terms, that the emperor had by *Flaccilla* only

three children; to wit, two sons, and one daughter (2). Besides *Gratian*, who died before his father, the emperor had by *Galla* the celebrated *Placidia*, mother to *Valentinian III.* and another son; but the mother died in childbirth, and the child with her (3).

(9) *Ambros. serm. de divers. p. 122. Nyss. in funere Flaccillæ, p. 533.*

(1) *Themist. p. 477.*  
(3) *Zos. l. iv. p. 777.*

(2) *Greg.*

*Milan*, the third of *August* of the present year 379. and was, no doubt, owing to the zeal of *St. Ambrose*. *Gratian* left *Milan* soon after; and, passing through *Rhætia*, the province of the *Sequani*, and *Germania Prima*, repaired to *Treves*, where he was on the fourteenth of *September* <sup>a</sup>, and perhaps before; for he is said to have marched with incredible expedition, and to have surprised the people of *Gaul* with his unexpected arrival <sup>b</sup>. He passed the winter at *Treves*, and consequently was in that city when *Ausonius*, upon the expiring of his consulship, pronounced the oration which has reached our times, thanking the emperor for that and the other honours he had conferred upon him <sup>c</sup>. This year we find the *Lombards*, whom we shall see, two hundred years hence, masters of *Italy*, first mentioned in history.

The Lombards.

The deplorable state of the Eastern provinces.

WE left *Theodosius* at *Sirmium*, where he had been declared emperor on the nineteenth of *January* of this year 379. He was surrounded on all sides by numberless multitudes of barbarians, who, after the defeat and death of *Valens*, scoured the neighbouring countries without restraint, destroying all with fire and sword. *Dacia*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*, were already lost. The *Goths*, the *Taifali*, the *Alans*, and the *Hunns*, were masters of the greatest part of these provinces, and had ravaged and laid waste the rest: the *Armenians*, *Iberians*, and *Persians*, were likewise up in arms, and ready to take advantage of the present distracted state of the empire <sup>d</sup>. "What evils (says *Gregory Nazianzen*) have we not seen, or heard of? Whole countries have been destroyed with fire and sword; many thousand persons of all ranks and ages have been inhumanly massacred; the rivers are still dyed with blood, and the ground covered with heaps of dead bodies. Let us not ascribe the calamities we suffer to the cowardice of our soldiers, who have conquered the world; our sins, and the *Arian* impiety, which has so long prevailed, are the only cause of our misfortunes <sup>e</sup>." The few soldiers, who had survived the late defeat, struck with terror and dismay, kept within the cities and strong-holds of *Thrace*, without daring so much as to look abroad, much less to make head against the victorious enemy, who moved about the country in great bodies <sup>f</sup>. *Gratian*, in all likelihood, gave the new emperor some troops; it is at least certain, that he left with him two officers of great distinction, to wit, count *Ricomar*, a *Frank* by nation, and *Majorianus*, who commanded the troops of *Illyricum* under

<sup>a</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 100.

<sup>b</sup> Auson. conf. p. 411.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>d</sup> THEMIST. or. xvi. p. 207.

<sup>e</sup> GREG.

Naz. or. xiv. p. 214.

<sup>f</sup> THEMIST. ibid. p. 180.

*Gratian*,

*Gratian*, and was by *Theodosius* raised to the post of general both of the horse and foot. Both these officers distinguished themselves under *Theodosius* in a very eminent manner, and gained great advantages over the *Goths* <sup>e</sup>.

*THEODOSIUS*, leaving *Sirmium* soon after the departure of *Gratian*, repaired to *Thessalonica* the capital of *East-Illyricum*, which *Gratian* had yielded to him, as we have observed above<sup>b</sup>, and was still there on the seventeenth of *June* <sup>1</sup>. During his stay in that metropolis, the chief cities of the East sent deputies to him, congratulating him upon his accession to the sovereign power, and craving his protection. At the head of the deputies from *Constantinople* was the celebrated orator *Themistius*, who, in a speech which he pronounced on that occasion, begged the emperor to confirm the privileges granted to that great metropolis by his ancestors. The emperor received them all in a most obliging manner, promising to redress, as far as in him lay, the evils of which they complained <sup>k</sup>. Having reinforced his army with new levies, and made other preparations for war, during his stay at *Thessalonica*, he took the field, probably about the end of *June*; for, on the seventh of *July*, he was at *Scupi* in *Dardania*, and, on the tenth of *August*, at a place called *Vicus Augusti* <sup>l</sup>, the situation of which is unknown to geographers. Several battles were fought this year, of which we can scarce give any account; for our best guide, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, fails us here; and other authors are so obscure in their accounts, so inconsistent with each other, and often with themselves, that we can scarce depend upon any thing they relate (H). All

*The chief cities in the East send deputies to Theodosius.*

we

<sup>e</sup> SIDON. car. v. p. 312.

<sup>b</sup> Zos. l. iv. p. 751.

<sup>1</sup> Cod.

Theodof. chron. p. 99.

<sup>k</sup> THEMIST. or. xiv. p. 180—183.

Zos. l. iv. p. 751.

<sup>l</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 100.

(H) *Idatius* (4), *Prosper* (5), and *Orosius* (6), tell us, that many great battles were fought, and as many signal victories gained by *Theodosius*. On the other hand, *Zosimus* mentions but one battle, which he describes at large; but, as he studies on all occasions to detract as much as he can from the glory of *Theodosius*, he ascribes the signal victory

that was gained, not to him, but to one *Modares*, a prince of royal extraction among the *Goths*, who had lately taken part with the *Romans* (7). *Zosimus*, prompted by his blind zeal for the worship of the idols, omits no opportunity of inveighing against a prince who completed, as we shall see, the ruin of idolatry, which other princes had suffered out of policy,

(4) *Idat. chron. fast.*

(5) *Prosper. chron.*

(6) *Oros. l. vii.*

c. 34. p. 220.

(7) *Zos. l. iv. p. 751, 752.*

we know for certain is, that part of the *Goths* submitted to *Theodosius*, and the rest withdrew from *Thrace*. In this, at least, all authors are unanimous. The emperor, having thus restored *Thrace* to its former tranquillity, returned in the latter-end of the autumn to *Thessalonica*, and there took up his winter-quarters.

THE following year 380. the two emperors were consuls, *Gratian* the fifth time, and *Theodosius* the first. The former, after having passed the winter at *Treves*, from which place we find two laws, dated the sixth and fifteenth of *February*, set out early in the spring for *Italy*, and was on the fourteenth of *March* at *Aquileia*, and at *Milan* on the twenty fourth of *April*. From *Milan* he advanced to *Sirmium*, and continued till the end of the summer, partly in the neighbourhood of that city, and partly in *Pannonia*<sup>m</sup>. *Theodosius* was seized in the month of *February* of this year with a dangerous malady; and this was what obliged *Gratian* to quit *Gaul*, and hasten into *Illyricum*, lest the neighbouring barbarians should lay hold

*Gratian*  
returns to  
*Illyricum*,

<sup>m</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 102—104.

or had not been able utterly to extirpate. We ought to be very cautious in giving credit to what that writer relates to the prejudice of a prince, against whom he betrays on all occasions an inveterate hatred, and insurmountable dislike. As to *Modares*, by whose conduct *Thrace* was delivered, according to that writer, from ruin and destruction, he was a man of great address, intrepidity, and experience in war. *St. Gregory Nazianzen* wrote some letters to him, wherein he extols his piety, and recommends to him the peace and tranquillity of the church (8); whence we may conclude him to have been, not only a Christian, but a catholic. *Prosper* tells us, that *Theodosius* not only overcame the *Goths* in several pitched battles, but forced them to repass the *Danube*, and by that means delivered *Thrace* from the insupportable yoke under which it groaned (9). Great numbers of them took part with the *Romans*, after having surrendered to the emperor some of the chief men among them as hostages. Thus *Prosper*, *Zosimus* (1), and *Sozomen* (2). However, it is no easy matter to determine whither those retired who repassed the *Danube*, since their own country was possessed by the *Huns*, who had driven them out. The operations of this campaign are by some authors confusedly related, and only hinted at by others; and therefore we have not been able to give any distinct account of them.

(8) *Greg. Naz. epist.* 135. 136. p. 864.  
p. 756.

(2) *Soz. l. vii. c. 4. p. 707*

(9) *Prosper. chron.*

(1) *Zos.*

of that opportunity to break into *Thrace*<sup>a</sup>. As the *Goths* were still in arms, and threatened to pass the *Danube*, *Gratian*, and concludes a treaty with the *Goths*, during the malady of his colleague, proposed, and concluded a treaty of peace with them, which, however advantageous to their nation, was confirmed by *Theodosius* upon his recovery<sup>o</sup>. One of the articles of this treaty was, if *Zosimus* is to be credited, that the *Goths*, who served in the *Roman* armies, should be at liberty to quit the service when they pleased, provided they found others to substitute in their room<sup>p</sup>. As for *Theodosius*, being seized in the beginning of this year with a dangerous malady, as we have hinted above, he demanded with great earnestness the sacrament of baptism; which he received with exemplary piety at the hands of *Ascolus* bishop of *Thessalonica*, after having carefully informed himself of the faith that prelate professed. Finding him to be both orthodox in his belief, and blameless in his manners, the pious emperor immediately sent for him to court; was baptized by him; and from that instant, the violence of the malady abating, he began to recover<sup>q</sup>. Soon after, the emperor gave a signal proof of his zeal for the orthodox faith, by the famous law for the eradication from *Thessalonica* the twenty-eighth of February of the present year 380. In that law *Theodosius* declares, that he will have all his subjects, without exception, to adhere to the faith which the church of *Rome* had received of *St. Peter*, which was taught by *Damasus* bishop of that city, and by *Peter* bishop of *Alexandria*, a man of great sanctity; that is, that they must all acknowledge and confess the Divinity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; that those who held this doctrine, should be deemed Christian catholics: but, on the contrary, such as rejected it, should be treated as heretics, and infamous persons; their conventicles should not be called churches, and they themselves should undergo those punishments, which were due to their wickedness, from the imperial authority, and divine justice, it being a crime, and a sacrilege, to depart from the true faith through contempt, or even out of ignorance. Thus this memorable law, which was addressed to the people of *Constantinople*, and to the prefect *Eutropius*, with orders to send it into all the provinces, and cause it to be every-where observed by the subjects of the empire. To this law *St. Austin*, no doubt, alluded, when

<sup>a</sup> JORNAND. rer. Goth. c. 27. p. 619.  
chron.

<sup>p</sup> Zos. lib. iv. p. 756.

<sup>o</sup> PROSPER.

epist. 21. p. 229. Soz. p. 707. Aug. civit. Dei, lib. v. c. 26. p. 64.

<sup>q</sup> AMBROS.



Several  
laws of  
this year.

he wrote, that *Theodosius*, upon his accession to the empire, by a law full of mercy and justice, curbed the fury of the wicked, and relieved the church, long oppressed by the protection given by *Valens* to the *Arians*. Besides this, the emperor published several other laws this year, tending to the reformation of manners; to wit, one dated the twenty-seventh of *March*, forbidding all capital tryals during the forty days preceding *Easter*, that is, during *Lent*; another of the eighteenth of *December*, prohibiting, under severe penalties, widows to marry during the time of mourning for their deceased husbands, which was by this law extended from ten months to a whole year; several laws against informers, who were to be punished with death, if they were found to have informed thrice, though their informations had always proved true. By a law dated the sixteenth of *November*, the emperor declares it unlawful for any one to beg the estates of such persons as were condemned for treason; adding, Whereas the importunity of such petitioners often wrests from the prince what he ought not to grant, his rescript in their favour shall be of no force; and such as shall by that means have obtained the confiscated estates, shall be punished as transgressors of the laws. These estates he will have the prince grant merely of his own motion. Under other princes, the estates of persons condemned for treason were frequently granted to those who had accused them; which proved encouragement to informers; but this, and the other laws of *Theodosius*, put a stop to their vile practices. By former laws, the estates of such as had been banished, or executed, fell to the exchequer; but *Theodosius*, by two laws of this year, dated the seventeenth of *June*, orders the estates of the former to be divided between the exchequer, and the criminal, or his children; and those of the latter to be left intire to their children or grandchildren. We are not told what induced the emperor to be more indulgent to the children of those who were executed, than to the children of such as were only banished. In cases of treason, only one sixth of the criminal's estate was to be left to his children, whether he was banished or executed. The emperor published several other laws this year, which are so many instances of his good-nature, his application to business, and his care of the public welfare.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treaty which the *Goths* had concluded with *Gratian* during the malady of *Theodosius*, that prince had no sooner left *Illyricum*, to return to *Gaul*, than the *Goths* they passed the *Danube*, under the conduct of *Fritigern*, *Alatheus*, and *Saphrax*; and, breaking into *Thrace* and *Pannonia*, advanced as far as *Macedon*, destroying all with fire and sword.

sword<sup>r</sup>. *Zosimus* writes, that they laid waste *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, and penetrated as far as *Achaia*, without meeting with the least opposition<sup>s</sup>. *Theodosius*, having in the mean time drawn together his troops, took the field; and, coming up with the enemy on the frontiers of *Macedon*, thought it adviseable not to venture an engagement with forces so much superior to him in number; but to harass them, by cutting off their parties, and intercepting their convoys. The *Goths*, apprised of his design, attacked the *Roman* camp in the dead of the night, made themselves masters of it, cut most of *Theodosius*'s men in pieces, and would have taken the emperor himself prisoner, had he not saved himself by a speedy flight, while the *Goths* were busied in plundering the tents<sup>t</sup>. Thus *Zosimus*. But *Idatius*<sup>u</sup>, *Marcellinus*<sup>v</sup>, *Gregory Nazianzen*, who was then at *Constantinople*<sup>x</sup>, and *Philostorgius*<sup>y</sup>, an *Arian* writer, and consequently no-way partial to *Theodosius*, assure us, that the emperor gained a complete victory over the *Goths*; *Theodosius* and that, upon his return to *Constantinople*, which happened, *sius de-* according to some, on the seventeenth, according to others, *seats the* on the twenty-fourth of *November*, he entered that metropo- *Goths*. lis in triumph. *Jornandes*, who omits no opportunity of setting forth the exploits of his *Goths*, takes no notice of their pretended victory over *Theodosius*. Besides, *Gregory Nazianzen* describes his triumphal entry into *Constantinople*, of which he was an eye-witness; and adds, that he well deserved that honour, for having checked the fury of the barbarians, who, confiding in their numbers, and natural fierceness, had ventured to engage him<sup>z</sup>. The next consuls were *Fl. Syagrius* and *Fl. Eucherius*, uncle, as is supposed, to *Theodosius*. *Gratian* was this year, as appears from the dates of several laws, at *Milan* on the twenty-ninth of *March*; at *Aquileia* on the twenty-second of *April*, and eighth of *May*; and at *Treves* on the fourteenth of *October*. He returned to *Aquileia* on the twenty-sixth of *December*, and seems to have passed the winter in that city<sup>a</sup> (I). As to the affairs in the East, *Theodosius* continued

<sup>r</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 27. p. 649.<sup>s</sup> Zos. p. 756.<sup>t</sup> Idem, p. 757.<sup>u</sup> IDAT. fast.<sup>v</sup> MARCEL. chron.<sup>x</sup> GREG. NAZ. car. i. p. 20.<sup>y</sup> PHILOST. l. ix. c. 19.

p. 133.

<sup>z</sup> GREG. NAZ. car. i. p. 20, 21.<sup>a</sup> Cod.*Theod. chron.* p. 104, 105.

(I) *Valentinian* had introduced the custom of setting yearly at liberty some criminals, on occa- sion of the festival of *Easter*. This custom *Gratian* confirmed by a law addressed to *Antidius*

vicar

All the churches delivered up to the catholics.

continued at *Constantinople*, at least to the nineteenth of *July*. During his stay in that metropolis, he published a law dated the tenth of *January*, forbidding heretics of all denominations to hold assemblies in cities, and commanding the churches throughout the empire to be immediately delivered up to the catholics. The execution of this memorable law was committed to *Sapor*, one of the greatest generals of his time, who was sent into the several provinces, with orders everywhere to drive out the heretics, and put the catholic pastors in possession of the churches the sectaries had usurped. *Sapor* met no-where with the least difficulty in the execution of his commission, except at *Antioch*, where the catholics were divided among themselves <sup>b</sup>. *Philostorgius* writes, that the *Arians* were not only driven from the churches, but from the city of *Constantinople* <sup>c</sup>.

Athanasius recurs to Theodosius, dies, and is interred at Constantinople.

Year of the flood 2729.  
Of Christ 381.  
Of Rome 1129.

THIS year *Athanasius*, the most powerful of all the *Gothish* princes, who had maintained a three years war with *Valens*, as we have related above, being driven out by a faction at home, took refuge in the *Roman* territories, notwithstanding his pretended oath never to tread on *Roman* ground; and, coming to *Constantinople*, was there received with great marks of friendship by *Theodosius*, who went out to meet him, and attended him, and his numerous retinue, into the city on the eleventh of *January* of the present year. But *Athanasius* died soon after, to wit, on the twenty-fifth of the same month; and *Theodosius* caused him to be buried after the *Roman* manner, with such pomp and solemnity, that the *Goths*, who had attended him in his flight, astonished at the magnificence of the funeral, returned home, resolved never to molest the *Romans*; nay, out of gratitude to the emperor, who had thus honoured the memory of their deceased prince, they took upon them to guard the banks of the *Danube*, and prevented the *Romans* from being attacked on that side <sup>d</sup> (K). A few days after

<sup>b</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. l. vi. tit. 5. leg. 6. p. 117, 118. THEODORET. lib. v. c. 2. p. 706.  
<sup>c</sup> PHILOST. lib. ix. c. 19. p. 522.  
<sup>d</sup> Zos. l. iv. p. 758, 759. OROS. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220.

vicar of *Rome*; but excludes from such indulgence all criminals guilty of treason, parricide, murder, adultery, rapes, incest, magic, all false coiners, and such as had

been pardoned before. This law was read at *Rome* on the twenty-first of *July* of this year 381 (3).

(K) *Orosius*, writes, that the

(3) Cod. Theod. chron. tit. 38. leg. 6. p. 275.

and the arrival of *Athanasius* at *Constantinople*, and before his  
the philosopher *Themistius* pronounced his fifteenth  
oration in the palace before the emperor, in which he ob-  
serves, among other things, that *Theodosius*, who was then in  
the third year of his reign, had granted innumerable favours,  
but had not yet condemned one person to death. The  
pious emperor, no less desirous to heal the divisions that rent  
the church, than to redress the abuses which prevailed in the  
state, summoned this year, in the month of *May*, the second  
general or *ecumenical* council, which was held at *Constanti-*  
*nople* by all the bishops of his dominions. While the council  
was assembling, the emperor published a law dated the second  
of *May*, depriving such as had renounced the Christian reli-  
gion to embrace paganism, of the right of disposing of any  
thing by will. By a law dated the eighth of the same  
month, he extends that penalty to the *Manichees*, whose  
estates he declares confiscated, unless their children should  
embrace the true religion; in which case they were to enjoy  
the inheritance of their parents. In a council held before  
the emperor on the twenty-ninth of *June*, *Theodosius* de-  
clared, that, the respect due to the priesthood not suffering  
bishops to be summoned to the public courts as witnesses, they  
were by the laws exempted from the obligation of appearing  
there. By another law dated the nineteenth of *July*, he  
forbids the *Eunomians* and *Arians* to build churches, either in  
the cities, or in the country; and declares the places where  
they shall have preached, or performed any other function,  
confiscated. All these laws are dated from *Constantinople*;  
but two others of the twenty-first of *July*, from *Heraclea* in  
*Thrace*, whither the emperor had advanced against such of  
the barbarians as were still in arms. *Zosimus* tells us, that,

The second  
ecumeni-  
cal council.

Several  
laws of  
Theodo-  
sius against  
heretics.

*THEMIST.* orat. xv. p. 185—190.

*SOCR.* lib. v.

p. 264.

*Cod. Theod.* l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 1. p. 293.

*Idem.* tit. 5. leg. 7. p. 120.

*Idem.* l. xi. tit. 39. leg. 8.

p. 327.

*Idem.* tit. 1. leg. 3. p. 9.

*Cod. Theod.*

chap. p. 105.

emperor's generous behaviour to  
*Athanasius* made such a deep im-  
pression on all the *Goths*, na-  
tally, that, charmed with his  
virtues, and singular good nature,  
they renounced all farther thoughts  
of war, and submitted to the laws  
of the empire. (4). The same  
thing is confirmed by *Idatius* and  
*Marcellinus*; but this did not  
happen till the third of *October*  
of the following year, as we shall  
relate hereafter.

(4) *Orig.* *Evil.* c. 12. p. 228.

The Scyri  
and Car-  
podacæ  
defeated  
by Theo-  
dosius.

having demanded assistance of *Gratian*, that prince sent him a considerable body of troops commanded by *Baudo* or *Bauto*, and *Arbogastes*, who were both *Franks*, but experienced officers, and greatly attached to the empire. The former was father to *Eudoxia* the wife of *Arcadius*, and maintained a correspondence by letters with *Symmachus*<sup>m</sup>. Of the latter we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Upon the arrival of these two renowned commanders, the *Goths*, who were ravaging *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, retired with great precipitation into *Thrace*; but, not being able to subsist in that province, which they themselves had laid waste the preceding year, they were forced to sue for peace, and submit to *Theodosius*<sup>n</sup>. Thus *Zosimus*, detracting, according to his custom, as much as he can, from the glory of *Theodosius*. However, he owns, that the emperor gained a complete victory over the *Scyri* and *Carpodacæ*, who had, jointly with the *Hunns*, broken into the empire; and that he obliged them to repass the *Danube*<sup>o</sup>. We find the *Scyri* frequently mentioned amongst the northern barbarians; but of the *Carpodacæ* no farther notice is taken in history. This campaign ended, it seems, in *September*; for, on the fifth of that month, the emperor was at *Adrianople*, and on the twenty-eighth at *Constantinople*, where he continued the remaining part of the year<sup>p</sup>.

A law of  
*Gratian*  
against  
beggars.

THE following year, 382. when *Antonius*, called also by some *Antoninus*, and supposed to have been father-in-law to *Theodosius*, was consul with *Syagrius*, the neighbouring barbarians broke into *Italy*; but were soon driven back by *Gratian*, who passed the greatest part of this year at *Milan*, or in that neighbourhood, watching their motions<sup>q</sup>. From some laws published in the month of *September* of this year, it appears, that the emperor was forced to raise new levies, and demand extraordinary subsidies, for the defence of *Rætia* and *Illyricum*. A law dated the fifteenth of *December* informs us, that persons of fortune were obliged to supply the army with horses<sup>r</sup>. As *Rome* was infested by multitudes of beggars, *Gratian*, by a law dated the twentieth of *June*, orders *Severus*, prefect of the city, to seize such of them as were capable of earning their livelihood by working, and to bestow them upon those who shall have informed against them, either as slaves, if they were such by condition, or to be employed the remaining part of their lives, if they were free-born, in tilling their grounds, and in other works of agriculture<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> Zos. lib. iv. p. 757. SYMM. lib. iv. epist. 15, 16. p. 150.

<sup>n</sup> Zos. ibid. p. 758. <sup>o</sup> Idem, p. 759. <sup>p</sup> Cod. Theodof. chron. p. 105. <sup>q</sup> Idem, p. 106. <sup>r</sup> Cod. Theod. l. ii. tit. 4. leg. 3. p. 149. <sup>s</sup> Idem, l. xiv. tit. 18. p. 256, 257.

By another law, dated the eighteenth of *August*, he suspends, for the space of thirty days, the execution of all criminals, reckoning from the day they received sentence. By another *He causes* law, he ordered the altar of *Victory*, which stood in the place <sup>the altar</sup> where the Roman senate assembled, to be removed, and declared the revenues belonging to it confiscated <sup>to be re-</sup> (L). At the <sup>moved out</sup> same time *Gratian* declared void and null all the privileges and exemptions granted by other emperors to the pagan pontiffs, or <sup>of the se-</sup> to the *Vestal* virgins, ordering the officers of the revenue to <sup>nate.</sup> seize on the lands, which, for the future, should be bequeathed to them, or their temples. The pagan senators sent deputies, at the head of whom was *Symmachus*, to try whether they could prevail upon the emperor to revoke these laws; but *Gratian* would not so much as admit them to his presence <sup>u</sup>.

THE heretics met with no less severe treatment in the East <sup>Laws of</sup> from *Theodosius*, than the pagans in the West from *Gratian*; *Theodo-* for, by a law dated the last of *March*, he declared such of the <sup>sus against</sup> *Manichees*, as were then known by the names of *Encratice*, <sup>heretics.</sup> *Saccosori*, and *Hydroparastatæ*, that is, the *Continent*, the *Sack-bearers*, the *Water-drinkers*, guilty of death, encouraging all to inform against them, and likewise against such as, in the celebration of *Easter*, differed as to the day from other Christians: these he likewise pronounced guilty of death <sup>w</sup>. All the laws enacted this year by *Theodosius* are dated from *Constantinople*; which gives us room to believe, that he continued in ~~the~~ city without taking the field, the *Goths* having, by their deputies, offered to submit to him, as we have related above. As they had been driven out of *Macedon*, and shut up in *Thrace*, where they could not subsist, *Theodosius*, not caring to drive them to despair, received their deputies in a very obliging manner; and, as they could not return to their own <sup>The Goths</sup> country, which was held by the *Huns*, upon their laying <sup>submit to</sup> down their arms, he gave them leave to settle in *Thrace* and *Theodo-* *Masia*, which two provinces were almost intirely dispeopled <sup>sus.</sup> by the frequent incursions of the neighbouring barbarians, and the late wars. The emperor exempted them from all the tributes and taxes that were paid by the other subjects of

<sup>†</sup> Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. 16. leg. 10. p. 298. <sup>•</sup> AMBROS.  
ep. 11. p. 195. SYMM. l. x. ep. 54. p. 455, 456. <sup>w</sup> Cod. Theod.  
l. xiv. tit. 10. leg. 1. p. 208. & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 9. p. 124.

(L) This altar had been removed by *Constantius*, when he came to *Rome* in 357. but re-established by *Julian* in 361. and suffered to continue there by *Valentinian*, who allowed to all his subjects the free exercise of what religion they liked best.

the empire \*. This was in all likelihood one of the articles on which they submitted. Great numbers of them entered into the *Roman* service; but formed a separate body, and were commanded by officers of their own nation, which proved the source of many evils; but, as they were well acquainted with the avarice, injustice, and cruelty of the *Roman* officers, they refused to put themselves into their power, and insisted upon their continuing united, in order to secure themselves against such insults as they had reason to apprehend, when dispersed among the *Roman* troops (1).

THE next consuls were *Fl. Merobaudes* the second time, and *Flavius Saturninus*. *Gratian* was, from the twenty-ninth of *January* of this year 383, to the second of *May*, at *Milan*; at *Padua* on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of the same month; and at *Verona* on the seventeenth of *June* (N). This year is remarkable for a dreadful famine

\* *THEMIST.* orat. xvi. p. 199.    *Cod. Theod. chron.* p. 108, 109.

(M) *Zosimus* does not forget to blame the conduct of *Theodosius*, and his want of foresight, in this particular (5); but *The-mistius*, in a speech which he pronounced before the emperor himself, tells him, that he gained by his indulgence and good-nature, the barbarians, whom he was not, perhaps, in a condition to conquer by force of arms (6). The *Goths*, therefore, were not yet so far weakened, as to submit to what terms the emperor thought fit to impose upon them (7).

(N) He published several excellent laws this year, and, among the rest, one dated the nineteenth of *January*, revoking all the privileges and exemptions granted to particular persons, to the prejudice of the body to which they belonged (8); another dated the twenty-seventh of *February*, inflicting severe penalties on such as should conceal

deserters or robbers (9); a third, condemning informers to such punishments as were due to the crimes of which they accused others, when they could not make good the charge (1); a fourth, forbidding any deference to be paid to such orders as tribunes, secretaries, counts, or any other persons, however dignified and distinguished, should pretend to have received from the emperor by word of mouth (2): the former of these two laws is dated the twenty-seventh of *May*, and the latter the seventeenth of *June*. By a law dated the twenty-second of *May*, he declares those incapable of disposing of their estates by will, who shall renounce the Christian religion to embrace paganism, *Judaism*, or the execrable tenets of the *Manichees*. Those by whom they shall have been seduced, are subjected to the same penalty (3).

(5) *Zos.* p. 758.    (6) *The-mist.* orat. xvi. p. 211.    (7) *Idem.* p. 212.  
(8) *Cod. Theod.* l. xi. tit. 13, p. 300.    (9) *Idem.* l. ix. tit. 29. leg. 2. p. 222.  
(1) *Idem.* tit. i. leg. 14. p. 19.    (2) *Idem.* l. ii. tit. 3. leg. i. p. 27.    (3) *Idem.* l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 3. p. 205.

that raged in *Rome*, but more on account of the disturbances that were raised in the state by *Maximus*, and put an end to the life and reign of the excellent emperor *Gratian* (O). That usurper, seeing *Theodosius* raised to the empire, says *Zosimus*, while he could not attain to any creditable employment, prompted by jealousy and envy, began to foment the aversion of the *Roman* soldiers from *Gratian*, whom they looked upon as too great an encourager of foreigners; inasmuch that, in the end, they revolted, declared *Maximus* emperor, and, at the usual solemnity, gave him the purple and diadem. He pretended, that he was allied to *Theodosius*, and that it was with his participation and consent he had taken upon him the sovereignty (P). *Orosius* styles him a man of courage, and worthy of the empire, had he attained it by lawful means<sup>a</sup>; and *Salpiti*us speaks of him as one, who, except this usurpation, deserved in every other respect to be esteemed and commended<sup>b</sup>. *Gregory* of *Tours* writes, that before his usurpation, he had gained several signal victories in *Britain*<sup>c</sup>; and some modern authors, that he drove the *Scots* quite out of the island<sup>d</sup>. But neither is consistent with what we have related above out of *Zosimus*.

<sup>a</sup> Zos. p. 760. <sup>b</sup> Oros. l. vii. c. 34. p. 320. <sup>c</sup> Sulp. Sev. l. ii. c. 7. p. 290. <sup>d</sup> Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. l. i. c. 43. p. 30. Vide Uss. eccles. Brit. antiq. p. 592.

(O) That usurper, named *Magnus Clemens Maximus*, was by birth a *Briton*, as a learned modern writer pretends to gather from *Socrates* (4); but, in our opinion, that author speaks of the place where he began to reign, and not of the place of his nativity (5), as does likewise *Gildas* (6). *Pacatus*, who flourished in those times, assures us, that he was a stranger in *Britain*, and had been banished into this island (7). *Zosimus* writes, that he was a native of *Spain* (8); which is not improbable, since it is certain, that he pretended to be allied to *Theodosius*. He

was brought up, says *Pacatus*, in the family of *Theodosius* as a servant, and employed in the meanest offices (9). *Zosimus* pretends, that he served in *Britain* with *Theodosius*, who, as we have observed above, attended his father into this island in the year 368.

(P) Thus *Zosimus*. But *Salpiti*us *Severus* (1), and *Orosius* (2), tell us, that the soldiers, mutinying, forced him to accept the purple. The authority of these two writers, of whom the former flourished at that very time, and the other soon after, is of great weight with us.

(4) Usser. eccles. Britan. antiq. p. 299.

(6) Gild. de excid. Britan. c. 10. p. 117.

p. 760. (9) Pacat. p. 264.

p. 208.

(2) Oros. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220.

(5) Vide Socr. l. v. c. 11. p. 270.

(7) Pacat. p. 263. 269. (8) Zos.

(1) Sulp. Sev. vit. S. Martin. c. 23.



He passes  
over into  
Gaul.

Gratian  
abandoned  
by his ar-  
my,

MAXIMUS at first was supported only by a small number of the inhabitants of this island; but others flocking to him from all parts of *Britain*, he found himself, in a very short space, at the head of a numerous army, which, without loss of time, he transported into *Gaul*; and, landing at the mouth of the *Rhine*, he prevailed upon the neighbouring provinces to revolt from *Gratian*, and join him, not so much by force of arms, as by art and address<sup>e</sup>; extending, says *Gildas*, by lyes and perjuries, the empire<sup>f</sup>. *Gratian* was then making war upon the *Germans* called *Juthongi*; but he no sooner heard of the arrival of the usurper in *Gaul*, than he hastened to *Treves*, to put a stop to his farther progress. On his march, great numbers of his troops, gained over by the emissaries of *Maximus*, abandoned him, to take part with the usurper. However, thinking himself still a match for *Maximus*, he left *Treves*, went in quest of his enemy, and offered him battle<sup>g</sup> (Q). *Gratian's* army was commanded by *Merobaudes*, and count *Balio*, an officer of known valour and fidelity<sup>h</sup>. Some authors write, that a battle was fought near *Paris*<sup>i</sup>. But *Zosimus* tells us, that the two armies continued for five days together in the presence of each other, without any action, except; empty skirmishes, in which no great advantage was gained at either side; but that, in the end, the troops of *Gratian*, provoked at his shewing so much favour, and giving the preference, to foreigners, as if he chiefly relied on their courage and fidelity, shamefully deserted him, and went over to *Maximus*. *Gratian*, seeing himself thus betrayed and abandoned, fled towards the *Alps*, attended only by three hundred horsemen; and, having got into *Lyons*, after he had been refused admittance into other cities, he was

<sup>e</sup> Zos. l. iv. p. 760.

<sup>f</sup> GILD. excid. Brit. c. 10, 11, p. 117.

<sup>g</sup> SOCR. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. SOZ. l. vii. c. 13. p. 720. Zos. p. 760 <sup>h</sup> PROSP. p. 267. AMBROS. ep. 56. p. 320, 321. <sup>i</sup> PROSP. Tyro. chron.

(Q) *Baronius* writes, that *Gratian*, finding himself abandoned by his own troops, had called the *Huns* and *Alans* to his assistance, and that his army consisted chiefly of those barbarians (3). The learned *Usher* was once of the same opinion (4); but afterwards retracted it (5); *St. Ambrose*, on whose authority it was grounded, speaking in the letter quoted by *Baronius* (6), not of *Gratian*, but of *Valentinian II*.

(3) *Baron. ad ann. 383. ibid. p. 1058.*

(4) *Uss. Brit. eccles. antiqu. p. 590.*

(6) *Ambros. ep. 56. p. 320.*

(5) *Idem*

there

there taken prisoner, and soon after put to death <sup>k</sup> (R). Thus *and put to* died *Gratian* in the flower of his age, having lived only *death at* twenty-four years, and three or four months, and reigned, Lyons. from the time he had been crowned emperor, sixteen years, Year of the flood 2711. and one day; but, from the death of his father, only seven Of Christ 383. it seems, before him <sup>n</sup>, as did likewise his wife *Constantia*, Of Rome 1451. whose *and* brought this very year to *Constantinople*, according to *Iulius*, and the chronicle of *Alexandria*, on the thirty-first of *August*, and interred on the second of *December*. *Gratian* was, not long before his death, married to his second wife *Læta* <sup>o</sup>, to whom, as well as to her mother, by name *Pissamine*, *Theodosius* allowed a yearly pension, to support them according to their rank, which they employed in

<sup>k</sup> OROS. l. vii. c. 34. p. 220. HIER. chron. p. 26. AMBROS. psal. lxi. p. 746. <sup>l</sup> SOCR. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. MARCELL. chron. <sup>m</sup> AUG. civit. Dei, l. v. c. 25. AMBR. de fid. l. i. c. 20. <sup>n</sup> THEODOR. l. v. c. 12. p. 722. <sup>o</sup> SOZ. l. vii. c. 13. p. 721.

(R) That he was put to death *dragathius*, starting out of the at Lyons, all authors agree, <sup>c. 34.</sup> seized him, and soon after <sup>p. TUR.</sup> to death. This account cannot be reconciled with what we read in St. Ambrose, a contemporary writer; to wit, that *Gratian* was betrayed by a person whom he had trusted with intire provinces: that, being by the traitor invited to a banquet, he refused at first to comply with the invitation, suspecting some treachery; but, being, in the end, deceived by false oaths, and feigned protestations, he came to the banquet; but was murdered, as he withdrew, by those who had feasted with him (9). These circumstances are not mentioned by historians; only *Orosius* and *Marcellinus* write, that he was surprised by the craft and artifice of *Maximus*, and soon after put to death (1).

(7) SOCR. l. v. c. 11. p. 270. (8) SOZ. l. vii. c. 13. p. 721.  
 brof. psal. lxi. p. 848, (1) OROS. p. 220. Marcell. chron.

relieving the poor of *Rome*, while that city was besieged by *Alaric* in the year 408<sup>p</sup>. The death of *Gratian* was no sooner known at *Milan*, than *St. Ambrose*, who had lived in great intimacy with him, and was, as appears from his works, deeply affected with the loss of such an excellent and inimitable prince, as he styles him, set out in great haste from that city to demand his body of *Maximus* in the name of *Valentinian*. But the usurper refused it to him, pretending, that the transporting of his ashes would serve only to increase the grief of the soldiery<sup>q</sup>. However, they had brought to *Milan*, and interred there near *Valentinian II*.

*His character.*

As for his character, all writers, whether Christians or pagans, agree, that he was endowed with every good quality that can be desired in a prince, extolling with one voice his modesty, his justice, his moderation, and desire of doing good to all, in which he seemed to place his chief happiness. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, though a zealous pagan, writes, that he would have equalled the greatest princes of antiquity, had he lived longer; but, at the same time, blames him, as being too much addicted to hunting, and other diversions; which may be justly attributed to his youth, and for which he would, in all likelihood, have made ample amends by applying seriously to business in his riper years. *St. Ambrose*, *Theodoret*, *Ruffinus*, *Aufonius*, and *Zosimus* himself, give us a great idea of his piety, in which he surpassed all the princes who had reigned before him, *Constantine* himself not excepted. *St. Ambrose*, in his answer to a letter the emperor had written to him, gives him the title of *most Christian*<sup>r</sup>. The many laws he enacted in favour of the catholics, are so many instances of his zeal for the orthodox faith. Though none of the Christian princes his predecessors had scrupled to assume the habit of high pontif of the pagans, yet when it was, according to custom, brought to him, he rejected it, saying, that it was not consistent with the principles of the Christian religion to wear that habit (S).

*I. said to be the first who rejected the title of high pontif.*

MAXIMUS

<sup>p</sup> Soz. l. vii c. 13. p. 721. Zos. l. v. p. 815  
psal. lxi. p. 849. <sup>r</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxvii. p. 344.  
AMBROS. de fid. p. 110.

<sup>q</sup> AMBROS.  
<sup>r</sup> AM-

(S) Thus *Zosimus* (2); but it will be no easy task to prove, that either *Constantine* after his conversion, or any other Christian prince, ever assumed the habit or title of *pontifex maximus*, though the latter was commonly given to them by the pa-

(2) Zof. l. iv. p. 761.

gans,

MAXIMUS was no sooner informed of the death of *Gratian*, than he took his son *Flavius Victor* for his colleague in declares the power he had usurped, and gave him, though then only his son an infant, the title of *Augustus*, as we read in *Victor* the his- *Victor his* torian<sup>c</sup>; which is confirmed by some antient inscriptions<sup>u</sup>, colleague. though *Zosimus* gives him only the title of *Cæsar*<sup>v</sup>. The usurper fixed the seat of his empire at *Treves*, and extended his wings, to use the expression of *Gildas*<sup>x</sup>, over *Spain* and *Britannia*, bringing master, according to *Zosimus*<sup>y</sup>, of all the coun- whose and *Gallician*, in the division of the western pro- vince, to be reserved for his own share. We do not find, that *Put* *Me-* he put any of *Gratian*'s favourites to death, except *Merobau-* *robaudes*, the consul of this year, and *Balio*, or, as some stile him, *and Balio* *Vallio*, one of the best officers of his age: their only crime to death. was their inviolable attachment to *Gratian*, by whom they had been raised, for their eminent services, to the greatest offices in the state<sup>z</sup>. *Merobaudes* received orders from the tyrant to dispatch himself; which he did accordingly, to avoid a more ignominious death<sup>a</sup> (T). As *Maximus* had brought over

<sup>c</sup> VICT. p. 546.<sup>u</sup> REIN. p. 326.<sup>v</sup> ZOS. p. 770.<sup>x</sup> GILD. excid. Brit. c. 10. p.<sup>y</sup> ZOS. p. 766.<sup>z</sup> PACAT.

p. 267. AMBROS. ep. 56. p. 326.

<sup>a</sup> PACAT. ibid.

gans, and even to *Gratian* himself (3). The pagan priests, adds *Zosimus*, finding the emperor would not accept either of the habit or title of high-pontif, the chief man among them uttered these memorable words; "If the prince will not be stiled " *pontifex maximus*, *Maximus* " will soon become *pontifex* (4);" foretelling, that *Maximus* would be raised to the empire. But this pretended prediction, or, as we may call it, pun, was, without all doubt, invented after the revolt of *Maximus*.

(T) *Pacatus* writes, that *Balio* was strangled in his own house by the *Britons*, who served under *Maximus* (5); but from St. Am-

brose it appears, that the usurper had commanded him to be conveyed to *Chalons* on the *Saone*, to be there burnt alive; but that he, by a violent death, prevented the execution of so cruel a sentence (6). *Prosper*, in his chronicle, writes, that *Gratian* was betrayed by *Merobaudes*; but is therein contradicted by all other writers, and the death of that brave officer sufficiently clears him from so black an aspersión: whence in the chronicle of *Prosper*, some, instead of *Merobaudes*, read *Mellobaudes*; for *Mellobaudes*, king of the *Franks*, served under *Gratian* in quality of comes *domesticorum* (7); and treachery was in those days the

(3) *Grat.* p. 360. *Baron. ann.* 512.(4) *Zof. l. iv. p. 761.*(5) *Pacat.*

p. 267.

(6) *Ambrosj. ep. 56. p. 321.*(7) *Vide Vahf. rer. Fran.*

l. ii. p. 59.

over with him into *Gaul* the flower of the *British* youth, and the *Roman* soldiers quartered in the island, the country remained by that means exposed to the incursions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who, meeting with little opposition, over-ran the northern parts, committing every-where dreadful ravages (U). Of  
*Ausonius*,

peculiar character of that nation. *Maximus* commanded count *Narjes* likewise, and *Leucadius*, governor of a province, to be put to death for their attachment to *Gratian*; but was prevailed upon by the famous *St. Martin* to spare them (8). *Paulinus Diaconus*, in his life of *St. Ambrose*, tells us, that that prelate was sent into *Gaul* to propose an accommodation between *Maximus* and young *Valentinian*; on which occasion he treated the usurper as one cut off from the communion of the church, exhorting him to atone, by a sincere repentance, for the enormous crime he had committed in imbruing his hands in the blood of an innocent prince, his lawful sovereign: the same author adds, that other bishops, more complaisant, flocking from all parts to the tyrant's court, by their low and shameful flatteries, lulled him asleep in his wickedness (9).

(U) The *Romans* now-and-then sent over troops to drive them back into their own country; but they constantly returned, and continued thus harassing the *Roman* provinces till the arrival of the *Angles* and *Saxons*, who made themselves masters of that part of the island which is now known by the name of *England*, about the middle of the fifth century (1). Those *Britons* who attend-

ed *Maximus* into *Gaul*, never returned to their native country; but are supposed to have settled in *Armorica*, which was allotted to them by *Maximus*, and, from its new inhabitants, called *Britannia*, now *Bretagne* (2). Colonies are said to have been sent from this island into *Bretagne* at three different times; to wit, in the reign of *Constantius Chlorus*, the father of *Constantine the Great*, during the usurpation of *Maximus*, and when the *Angles* made themselves masters of this island (3). The antients mention the latter, but take no notice of the other two colonies; which gives us room to question the truth of what the moderns have written on that head. *Constantius*, who in the end of the fifth century, wrote the life of *St. Germain* of *Auxerre*, calls *Bretagne*, *Armorica* (4); but *Sidonius* of *Clermont*, who flourished about the same time, speaks of *Britons* inhabiting the country that borders on the *Loire* (5); nay, amongst his letters, we find one to *Riotham* their king (6). That the *Britons*, who went over with *Maximus*, settled in *Armorica* among the natives of the country, is not affirmed by any antient historian; but may be looked upon as a conjecture not altogether improbable; but that they, driving out the antient proprietors, made themselves ab-

(8) *Sulp. dialog.* iii. c. 15. p. 321.

(1) *Gild.* c. 11. p. 117.

p. 421.

(6) *Idem*, l. iii. ep. 9. p. 73, 74.

(9) *Paul. Diac. vit. Ambros.* p. 82, 83.

(2) *Idem ibid.* *Usser.* p. 199, 200.

(3) *Usser.*

(4) *Surius*, 31 *Jul.* p. 366.

(5) *Sidon.* l. i. ep. 7. p. 16.

*Ausonius*, who was preceptor to *Gratian*, we shall speak in our note (W). *Theodosius*, who had never stirred this year from *Constan-*

solute masters of the country under the conduct of their leader *Conan Meriadoc*; \* and, wanting women, had recourse to *Dianotus*, or *Diodochus*, king of *Cornwall*, who sent them his own daughter, by name *Ursula*, with one thousand one hundred young women of quality; and sixty thousand of an inferior rank, is now deemed an arrant fable, even by the *Roman-catholic* writers. Had the *Britons* wanted women, they would, without all doubt, have kept those of the country, when they drove out the men. Besides, it is altogether improbable, that *Cornwall* was so stocked with women, as to spare 61,100 virgins. The fleet, fraught with these unhappy virgins on board, is supposed to have been driven by a storm to the mouth of the *Rhine*, and to have sailed up that river to *Cologne*, where they fell into the hands of the barbarians, who fought for *Gratian* against *Maximus*, and were by them either put to death, or carried into captivity. *Ursula* is still revered in the church of *Rome* as a saint; but the number of one thousand one hundred virgins, said to have suffered martyrdom with her, has been, not many years since, left out of the *Roman breviary*.

(W) *Decius*, or rather *Decimus Magnus Ausonius*, was a native of *Bordeaux*. He tells us, that he was descended of a noble

family (7): however, his father, who was a native of *Bazas*, and lived at *Bordeaux*, followed the profession of physic, till his son procured him the rank and title of honorary prefect of *Illyricum*. He practised gratis, and was generally esteemed a man of learning; but, what may seem strange, was better acquainted with the *Greek* than the *Latin* tongue. He died in 377. at the age of eighty-eight or ninety (8). *Cæcilius Argiculus Arborius*, uncle to *Ausonius* by the mother, was born in *Autun*, and descended of an illustrious family; but his father and uncle being proscribed in the reign of *Gallienus* and *Aurelian*, he was obliged to abandon his country, and retire to *Bayonne*, where he married *Æmia Corinthia Maura*, descended of a good family; and had by her one son, named *Æmilius Magnus Arborius*, and three daughters, *Hilaria*, *Dryadia*, and *Æonia*. *Arborius* was a celebrated professor of eloquence; *Hilaria* professed virginity, and became famous for her virtue; *Dryadia* was betrothed, but died a little before the celebration of her nuptials; *Æonia* was mother to *Ausonius*. *Julia Cataphronia*, the sister of *Julius Ausonius*, our author's father, embraced the state of virginity, and lived to a great age (9). As for *Ausonius* himself, he studied rhetoric under his uncle *Arborius* at *Toulouse*,

(7) *Auson. grat. aët. pro consul. p. 389. p. 359—350.*  
*æar. 17. p. 160.*

(8) *Idem, parent. i. idyl. 35.*  
*(9) Idem, parent. iv. p. 106—109. Profess. Burdey.*

*Constantinople*, or the neighbourhood of that metropolis, was no sooner informed of the death of *Gratian*, than he drew together

where *Arborius* taught about the year 325. before he was invited to *Constantinople* by *Constantine*: he studied likewise at *Bourdeaux* under *Minervius*, *Nepotianus*, and *Staphylus*, professors of grammar and rhetoric (1). When he had ended his studies, he first pleaded at the bar, and afterwards taught grammar and rhetoric; which profession he followed for the space of near thirty years, till he was by *Valentinian I.* appointed preceptor to his son *Gratian* in 367. whom he attended into *Germany* the following year 368 (2). He had, soon after, some employment at court, with the title of *comes* or count, and was, by degrees, raised to the first offices in the state. *Valentinian* made him *quaestor*, and had even promised him the consulship (3). After the death of *Valentinian*, *Gratian* raised him to the high station of *praefectus pratorio*, first of *Italy* and *Africa*, and afterwards of *Gaul*. He was *praefect* of *Gaul*, and likewise consul, in 379 (4). He was, it seems, at *Treves* when *Gratian* was killed (5); but soon after retired to *Guienne* (6). In a letter to *Paulinus* about the year 392. he describes the place where he then led a retired life (7), which is supposed to have been in *Saintonge*. He professed, without all doubt, the Christian

religion; but his writings are, even in the opinion of *Scaliger*, altogether unworthy of the Christian name, being filled with pagan expressions, and the most bare-faced obscenities, in which, perhaps, he surpasses the most infamous among the pagan poets. As for his stile, it is commended by some, and found fault with by others. The reader will find the different opinions of critics concerning his writings in *Baillet* (8). His works, which give some light to history, are the epigrams he wrote on the professors of *Bourdeaux*, his verses on the chief cities of the empire, and the speech in which he returned thanks to *Gratian* for the honour he had done him in raising him to the consulship. He wrote verses on all the emperors who had reigned till his time, and likewise consular tables, extending to the year 382. or 383 (9). But the latter work has been long since intirely lost, and of the former only a small part has reached us. His poem on the *Moselle* was greatly esteemed by *Syzmachus* (1), and is still looked upon by the best judges as his masterpiece (2). Some ascribe to him, but without sufficient ground, the distichs that pass under the name of *Cato* (3). The emperor *Theodosius*, who had a particular esteem for him,

(1) *Vorsus in eldar. urb. p. 208. epist. p. 457. idyl. p. 367. Prof. ff. Burdig. car. 12, 25. p. 156, 169.* (2) *Idyl. 31. p. 367. epist. 4. p. 423.* (3) *Idem grat. ad. pro cons. p. 378.* (4) *Idem ibid. p. 391.* (5) *Idem, epist. 9. p. 443.* (6) *Idem epist. 18. p. 463. idyl. 31. p. 435.* (7) *Idem, epist. 23. p. 485.* (8) *Baillet jugemens des savans, p. 466 — 472.* (9) *Auson. p. 136, 199, 375.* (1) *Sym. l. i. epist. 8. p. 9.* (2) *Vide Baillet, p. 472.* (3) *Psyl. poet. Lat. c. 4. p. 55.*

together all his forces, with a design to march against the usurper, and prevent him from seizing on *Italy* and *West-Illyricum*,

wrote to him with his own hand, demanding his works (4). *Aufonius* and *Symmachus* lived in great intimacy, as appears from their letters to each other (5). *Gratian*, out of gratitude to his preceptor, not only preferred him to the greatest employments of the state, but likewise raised most of his relations. His father was by him honoured, as we have hinted above, with the title of prefect of *Illyricum*, before the year 379. for in that year he died, being then in the eighty-eighth or ninetyeth year of his age (6). *Sanctus*, who married his wife's sister, was made governor of *Britain* (7). *Paulinus*, son-in law to his sister *Dryadia*, was raised to the government of the province of *Tarraco* in *Spain*, and the husband of his other niece by the same *Dryadia*, to great employments (8). *Arboreus*, prefect of *Rome* in 380. is supposed to have been his nephew by the same sister (9). *Aufonius* married *Atufia Lucana Sabina*, the daughter of *Attufius Lucanus Talisius*, one of the chief citizens of *Bordeaux*; and had by her two sons, to wit, *Aufonius* and *Hesperus*, and one daughter, whose name is not mentioned in history. *Aufonius* died in his infancy; but *Hesperus* was prefect of *Africa* in 376. of *Italy* in 378. and the same year prefect of *Gaul* with his father. The

daughter of *Aufonius* was married first to *Vallatinus Euromius*, who died when he was yet very young, though he had been already governor of a province in *Illyricum*, and afterwards to *Thalassus*, who was proconsul of *Africa* in 378. She had one son by *Euromus* or *Euromius*, and several children by *Thalassus*, of whom the eldest was named *Aufonius* (1). *Symmachus* mentions a son of *Thalassus*, to whom the senate had, at his request, granted some favours (2). *Aufonius* had taken care to instruct his daughter in the liberal sciences (3). His wife *Sabina* died in the twenty-eighth year of her age (4); and *Aufonius* composed her epitaph thirty-six years after (5). He wrote his consular tables, and some other historical pieces, for the use and instruction of his son *Hesperus*, whom he commends as a young man of extraordinary parts, and naturally more grave and composed than himself (6). *Hesperus* married the daughter of *Severus Censor Julianus*, and *Pomponia Urbica*, who was descended of an illustrious family, and had by her at least three children, of whom the youngest, named *Pastor*, died when he was but a youth: of *Paulinus*, his eldest son, surnamed *the Penitent*, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. From the poem he wrote on his repentance, and

(4) *Aufon.* p. 1. (5) *Sym. l. i. epist.* 8. p. 9. ep. 26. p. 22. ep. 31. p. 23. (6) *Aufon. idyl.* 30. p. 358, 359. parent. i. p. 102. (7) *Idem.* parent. xviii. p. 123. (8) *Idem ibid.* p. 123, 129. *idyl.* 30. p. 258. (9) *Idem.* parent. p. 121. (1) *Idem ibid.* p. 119. *Idyl.* 30. p. 358. *Sym. l. i. ep.* 19. p. 17. (2) *Sym. l. v. ep.* 56. p. 2-8. (3) *Aufon. idyl.* 32. p. 264, 265. (4) *Idem.* parent. p. 114. (5) *Idem ibid.* p. 113. (6) *Aufon.* p. 79. *idyl.* 32. p. 362.



*Illyricum*, belonging to young *Valentinian*. But, in the mean time, *Maximus* having assured him by his deputies, that he had no design upon the dominions of *Valentinian*, but that he would suffer him peaceably to reign in *Italy*, *Africa*, and *Illyricum*, *Theodosius* thought it adviseable to put off his journey into the West <sup>b</sup>. Not long after, *Maximus* sent his great chamberlain to *Theodosius*, not to make an apology, says *Zosimus* <sup>c</sup>, for the murder of *Gratian*, but to propose an alliance with the emperor against the common enemies of the empire; and, in case he rejected that friendly offer, to denounce war against him. *Theodosius*, not thinking the glory that might accrue to him from revenging the death of *Gratian* a sufficient motive for entering into a war, which he foresaw would be attended with great evils, and perhaps with the ruin of the empire, the neighbouring barbarians being ready to invade it on all sides, hearkened to the proposals of *Maximus*; and, acknowledging him, in the end, for his colleague, sent *Cynegus*, then comes *Iargitionum*, and afterwards prefect of the East, into *Egypt*, with orders to proclaim *Maximus* there, and to cause his image to be set up in *Alexandria* <sup>d</sup> (X). In the very beginning of the present year 383. that

Maximus  
proposes an  
alliance  
with The-  
odosius,

who ac-  
knowleges  
him for  
his col-  
league.

<sup>b</sup> THEMIST. OR. XVIII. p. 220. <sup>c</sup> ZOS. I. IV. p. 764. <sup>d</sup> Idem, p. 761.

stiled *eucharisticon*, it appears, that his father was first vicar of *Macedon*, where *Paulinus* was born in 376. and afterwards proconsul of *Africa*, which employment he held for the space of twenty-eight months (7).

(X) *Zosimus* in this place writes, that *Theodosius* only pretended to be reconciled with *Maximus*, to divert him from surprising young *Valentinian*, who was not in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy; and elsewhere (8) blames him for observing the treaty he concluded with the usurper, when he ought, both in policy and honour, to

have made war upon him. *Pacatus* tells us, that, when *Maximus* revolted, *Theodosius* was engaged in a war on the most distant confines of the East (9), perhaps with the *Saracens*; for he is said by *Marcellinus* (1) to have overcome them about the beginning of his reign; and *Libanius* writes, that the news of a victory gained this year by *Richomer* was received with great joy by the inhabitants of *Antioch* (2). The *Hunns*, likewise called *Ephthalites*, whose country bordered on *Persia*, as appears from *Procopius*, are said to have broken into *Mesopotamia* about this time, and to have even laid

(7) *Paulin. eucb.* p. 284, 286. p. 263. (1) *Marcel. chron.*

(8) *Zos. l. iv. p. 768.* (2) *Liban. wit. p. 67.*

(9) *Pacar.*

that is, on the sixteenth, or, as others will have it, on the nineteenth of *January*, *Theodosius* had declared his son *Arcadius* emperor<sup>e</sup>. The ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp at the palace of *Hebdomon*, distant seven miles from *Constantinople*. *Arcadius* was then about six years old; for at the time of his death, which happened on the first of *May* 408. he was, according to *Socrates*, in the thirty-first year of his age<sup>f</sup>. As for *Valentinian II.* who possessed the western provinces of *Illyricum*, with *Italy* and *Africa*, while *Maximus* held *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, he was at this time but twelve, or at most thirteen years old; and the great disturbances which his mother *Justina* raised, by espousing with too much warmth the cause of the *Arians*, give us room to believe, that she reigned in her son's name. Under her *Probus*, who had been consul in 371. and prefect of *Illyricum* and *Italy* in 368. had the chief direction of affairs<sup>g</sup>; but, in all matters of moment, the young prince had recourse to *Theodosius*<sup>h</sup>; nay, *Orosius* looks upon *Theodosius* as sole emperor, after the death of *Gratian*, of the Western, as well as the Eastern provinces<sup>i</sup>.

*Arcadius*  
declared  
emperor.

THE next consuls were *Richomer* and *Clearchus*. The former was of the royal blood of the *Franks*, had been comes domesticorum under *Gratian*, and was left by that prince with *Theodosius*, when created emperor (Y). This year *Proculus*,  
count

<sup>e</sup> IDAT. MARCEL. PROSP. chron.

<sup>f</sup> SOCR. l. vi. c. 21.

p. 332. <sup>g</sup> SOCR. l. v. c. 11. p. 270 SOZ. l. vii. c. 13. p. 720.

<sup>h</sup> AMBROS. ep. 11. p. 195. <sup>i</sup> OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220.

siege to *Edeffa*; which obliged *Theodosius* to send part of his forces to the relief of that city (3). No wonder, therefore, that the emperor, at this juncture, chose rather to receive *Maximus* for his partner in the empire, than, by rejecting his proposals, to kindle a war in the very bowels of the empire, which, in all likelihood, would have proved fatal to both parties. The wars we have mentioned were managed by his generals; for the emperor himself, as we have observed above, continued

the whole year at *Constantinople*, or in that neighbourhood.

(Y) In a law of the year 391. he is styled general of the horse and foot (4). He was a pagan, but a man of great integrity, valour, and experience in war, as appears from the several letters which *Symmachus* wrote to him (5). He is, by some authors, called *Ricimer*, and by others *Richimer* and *Ricomar*. *Gregory* of *Tours* speaks of one *Richimer*, the father of *Theodemir*, king of the *Franks* (6), whom some authors, whose opinion is not ill-

(3) Sur. 15 Novemb. p. 342.

(4) Cod. Theod. chron. p. 123.

(5) Sym.

l. iii. ep. 59. 61. p. 129. & ep. 54, 56, 69, &c.

(6) Greg. Tur. hist. Franc.

l. ii. c. 9. p. 64.

count of the East, being accused of extortion, and several outrages committed by his orders at *Daphne* near *Antioch*, was ignominiously deposed, and obliged to abscond, till the rage of the multitude was appeased<sup>k</sup>. *Icarius*, the son of *Theodorus*, who had conspired against *Valens*, was appointed count of the East in his room; which office he discharged with great rigour and severity, not sparing even the public magistrates, whom he put to the rack, in defiance of the laws, says *Libanius*<sup>l</sup>, which had been but lately published; that is, of the laws dated the twenty-sixth of *April* 380. and thirty-first of *July* 381<sup>m</sup>. This year a famine, attended, as usual, with a dreadful plague, raged in *Antioch*, and most other cities of *Syria*. The plague soon ceased; but the famine continuing, *Libanius*, in the name of the people of *Antioch*, had recourse to *Icarius*, intreating him to relieve, by some means or other, the poor, who had flocked from all parts to that metropolis, and were daily perishing in great numbers with hunger. But *Icarius*, without being in the least affected with their calamity, returned no other answer, than that they were abhorred, and justly punished, by the gods<sup>n</sup>. This occasioned great disturbances in *Antioch*, which, however, were appeased without bloodshed. The same year *Theodosius*, resolving utterly to extirpate the idolatrous worship of the pagan gods, enacted several laws, forbidding all his subjects, on pain of death, or perpetual banishment, to offer sacrifices to idols; to consult aruspices; or diviners of what denomination soever; or to practise any of those ceremonies, which had been forbidden by his Christian predecessors<sup>o</sup> (Z).

A famine  
in Syria.

The cruelty  
of Ica-  
rius.

Laws  
against  
idolatry.

THIS

<sup>k</sup> Liban. vit. p. 68. & orat. xx. p. 471. <sup>l</sup> Idem, orat. xx. p. 464. <sup>m</sup> Cod. Theod. tit. 4. p. 435. <sup>n</sup> Liban. vit. p. 68. & orat. xx. p. 471. <sup>o</sup> Cod. Theod. tit. 9. p. 267. & l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 18. p. 203. & tit. 10. leg. 7. p. 266.

grounded, take to be the consul of this year 384. *Clearchus*, his colleague, had been proconsul of *Asia* in 364. and afterwards prefect of *Constantinople*, in which employment he was succeeded this year by the philosopher *Themistius*, who, on that occasion, made a short speech in commendation of *Theodosius*, who had raised him to that dignity (7).

(Z) *Zosimus* tells us, that *Theodosius* proclaimed war against the gods; that he attacked them in their temples; that he proceeded with such severity against those who worshipped them, that no one dared to own he believed there were gods, or could, with safety, lift up his eyes to heaven, and adore the stars that shine there (8). *Libanius* writes,

(7) *Themist.* orat. xviii. p. 213.

(8) *Zos.* p. 158.

that

THIS year the emperor published a law, forbidding the Theodormarriages of cousin germans, which had been always deemed *for-lawful*

that on a certain occasion, standing in need of the assistance of the gods, he had recourse to their altars; but, not daring to implore their protection, or shed a tear before their statues, he only bewailed within himself his unhappy condition (9). It was on occasion of the above-mentioned laws, that *Libanius* made his famous speech in defence of the temples, wherein he inveighs with great bitterness against the monks; blames the conduct of *Constantine the Great*; extols *Julian*; and ends his speech with threatening, that the country-people, who were more attached to the religion of their ancestors, than the inhabitants of the cities, will, if further provoked, take arms, and defend them by force (1). The attachment of the country-people, or inhabitants of villages, called by the *Latins pagani*, to their idols and temples, gave rise to the denomination of *paganus* or *pagan*, which began about this time to be given to all who worshiped idols. *Libanius* in that speech, often addresses himself to *Theodosius* as present; but nevertheless, we cannot persuade ourselves, that he had the boldness to pronounce it before so religious and zealous a prince. It ought, in our opinion, to be looked upon only as a declamation, delivered not in the presence of the emperor, but perhaps of his own scholars, and other pagan auditors. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the

pious emperor was so far from yielding to the arguments which the pagan sophist alleged in favour of his idols, that, on the contrary, having appointed *Cynegius* this very year prefect of the East, he strictly enjoined him to shut up all the temples within his jurisdiction. *Cynegius* executed his orders with such zeal and fidelity in the East, properly so called, that he was soon after sent by the emperor for the same purpose into *Egypt*, where, by breaking in pieces the idols, by prohibiting all manner of idolatrous worship, and by shutting up the temples, in such a manner that no one could have access to them, he, in a short time, utterly abolished the very remains of idolatry in a country, which, for many ages, had been, above all others, addicted to superstition (2). The zeal which he exerted, on this occasion, for the true religion, procured him after his death, which happened in 388. the honour of being interred in the church of the *Apostles* at *Constantinople*, the burying-place of the emperors (3); whence his ashes were conveyed the ensuing year by his wife *Acania* into *Spain*, probably the place of his nativity (4). He was *comes largitionum* from 381. to 383. when he was made prefect of the East, in which office he continued till his death; that is, to the year 388. in which he died, being then consul with the emperor *Theodosius* (5). *Libanius*

(9) *Lib. vit.* p. 63. (1) *Idem, orat. pro temp.* p. 17—62. (2) *Zof. l. iv. p. 762.* *Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. 10. leg. 15. p. 434.* *Idem. chron.* (3) *Zof. p. 769.* (4) *Idem. fast.* (5) *Zof. l. iv. p. 762.* *Cod. Theod. chron. p. 111.*

*birds, under* lawful among the Romans, and no one had ever looked upon *severe pe-* as incestuous. However, *Theodosius* not only prohibited such *penalties,* marriages, but, by the same law, commanded the contracting *the mar-* parties to be burnt alive, their estates to be confiscated, and *riages of* their children to be deemed illegitimate <sup>P (A)</sup>. At the same *cousin-ger-* time, and under the same penalties, *Theodosius* revived the *mans.* antient law, forbidding the marrying of nieces, which he extended to the niece of a first wife <sup>9</sup>. By another law of

this year, dated the twenty-first of January, he ordered *Cynegius* to make a diligent search after the *Eunomian*, *Macedonian*, *Arian*, and *Apollinarian* bishops and clergy in *Constantinople*, and to drive them all, without exception, out of the city <sup>1</sup>. By a third he forbids the *Jews* to buy Christian slaves; and allows all Christians the liberty of setting free such slaves as they shall have purchased <sup>2</sup>. *Theodosius*, as appears from the dates of his laws, passed most part of this year at *Constantinople*; and there received a solemn embassy sent to him by the king of *Persia*, to solicit, or rather to buy, a *peace*, with rich presents, and to excuse, says a panegyrist <sup>3</sup>, *by the king* by his submission, all the evils, which, till that time, the *of Persia*; Romans had suffered from the *Persian* nation. They had lost their great king *Sapor II.* who died about the year 379. after the flood

2732. <sup>P</sup> Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 3. p. 297. <sup>9</sup> Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12. leg. 3. p. 297. <sup>1</sup> Idem, l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 13. 384. p. 129. <sup>2</sup> Idem, l. iii. tit. 1. leg. 5. p. 246. <sup>3</sup> PACAT. p. 263. Of Rome

1132. himself, notwithstanding his zeal for idolatry, could not help commending him as a magistrate of an unblemished character (6); and *Theodosius*, in a law addressed to him in 385. says, that his justice and equity were known and applauded by all the world (7). It is surprising, that *Baronius* should confound the prefect *Cynegius* with another of the same name, who in 401. was sent by *Arcadius* to demolish the temple of *Marnas*, and other temples in the city of *Gaza*.

(A) *Arcadius* softened the rigour of this law by another dated the twenty sixth of November 396. whereby he exempts the trans-

gressors from the penalties inflicted on them by the law of *Theodosius*; but nevertheless declares such marriages unlawful and incestuous, and the children incapable of receiving the least legacy from their parents (8). In 405. he intirely revoked the law of his father, declaring the marriages of cousin-germans absolutely lawful (9). This revocation was not received in the West till the time of *Justinian*, who caused it to be put into his code; by which means it became general, and such marriages were celebrated without restraint or scruple in the West, as well as in the East.

(6) Liban. de ingred. adjudices, p. 100. p. 21. (8) Idem; tit. i. p. 297. (9) Cod. Just. l. v. tit. 4. leg. 19. p. 419.

THE emperor, soon after his return to *Constantinople*, He married to his second wife *Galla*, sister to *Valentinian II.* and *ries Galla* daughter to *Valentinian I.* by the empress *Justina*. He had by her a son called *Gratian*, who died before his father, and a daughter, named *Galla Placidia*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reign of her brother *Honorius*, and her son *Valentinian III* <sup>1</sup>. As for *Valentinian*, he was at *Milan* on the eighteenth of *January*; at *Ticinum* or *Pavia* on the fifteenth of *February*; at *Aquileia* on the twentieth of *April*; at *Milan* during the months of *June* and *July*; at *Aquileia* on the third of *November*; and again at *Milan* on the eighteenth of the same month, and on the third of *December* <sup>m</sup> (E).

<sup>1</sup> PHILOST. l. x. c. 7. p. 139.  
p. 115—117.

<sup>m</sup> Cod. Theod. chron.

emperor ordered them to be set at liberty, and, having made them rich presents, gave them leave to return to their own country, hoping by that means to gain the good-will of the barbarians, says *Zosimus*, to entice them into his service, and to employ them in the war against *Maximus*, for which he was then making great preparations underhand (5). All other writers suppose *Theodosius* to have commanded his troops in person; nay, *Claudian* tells us, that he engaged *Odotheus* himself, who was killed in the battle (6).

(E) *Baronius* produces a letter written this year by *Valentinian* to *Sallust* prefect of *Rome*, injoining him to rebuild the church of *St. Paul* in the neighbourhood of that city, and to enlarge it, by taking in, with the consent of the senate and people of *Rome*, part of the public road: he commands him to acquaint the senate, and the Christian people, with the orders he had received, and

to follow in every thing the directions of the venerable bishop of that city (7). *Prudentius* describes the church of *St. Paul* placed on the *Ostian way*, or the way leading to *Ostia*, and tells us, that it was built by an emperor, which *Baronius* understands of the emperor who reigned in *Prudentius*'s time, and thence concludes, that the above-mentioned church was finished by *Honorius* (8). That it was finished in the reign of *Honorius*, is certain, not from the words of *Prudentius* quoted by *Baronius*, but from an antient inscription, which informs us at the same time, that it was begun by *Theodosius*, perhaps when he came to *Rome* in 398. and embellished by his daughter *Placidia*, in the time of *Leo the Great*, bishop of *Rome* (9). However, it is manifest from the code (1), that *Valentinian* issued orders this year 386. for the building of that church, tho' the work was not begun till the reign of *Honorius*.

(5) *Zos. l. iv. p. 759—762.*  
386. (8) *Idem ibid.*  
*chron. p. 383.*

(6) *Claud. conf. Hon. 4. p. 55.*  
(9) *Gruter. p. 1170.*

(7) *Baron.*  
(1) *Cod. Theod.*

THE next consuls were the emperor *Valentinian* the third time, and *Eutropius*, who had been proconsul of *Asia*, and afterwards prefect of the East. In the very beginning of this year 387. *Theodosius* published a law, addressed by way of letter to all the cities of the East, injoining the magistrates to honour the solemnity of *Easter*, by setting at liberty such as, on the approach of that great festival, they should find in their prisons, unless they had been confined for enormous crimes. It was on this occasion that the emperor uttered those memorable words; *I wish it were in my power to restore life to the dead* <sup>n</sup>. This year *Theodosius* finding the exchequer quite drained, and being on the other hand obliged to celebrate, according to custom, the fifth year of the reign of his son *Arcadius*, to which he added, it seems, the solemnity of the tenth year of his own reign, tho' he was then only in his ninth, an extraordinary tax was laid on the people to defray that expence <sup>o</sup>; for we are told, that, on such occasions, each soldier received five pieces of gold <sup>p</sup>. Most cities submitted chearfully to this burden; but the people of *Antioch*, complaining of it as an unreasonable oppression, crowded to the house of *Flavianus* their bishop, as soon as the edict was published, to implore his protection; but, not finding him, they returned to the forum, and would have torn the governor of the city in pieces, had not the officers, who attended him, with much difficulty, kept back the enraged multitude till he made his escape. Being thus prevented from venting their fury upon him, they fell upon the emperor's statues, broke some of them in pieces, and dragged others, with the statues of his two sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, of the late empress *Flaccilla*, and of his father *Theodosius*, through the chief streets of the city, uttering the whole time most injurious and abusive reflections against their persons <sup>q</sup>. Having thus demolished most of the emperor's statues, they set fire to the house of one of the principal citizens, to whom they bore some grudge; and would have committed other disorders, had they not been dispersed by a body of archers, who, by wounding only two of the rabble, struck terror into all the rest. The governor, hearing the archers were come, shewed himself to the multitude, and, with an air of authority, commanded them to disperse, and retire to their houses. Thus was the sedition quelled at once; and the city restored by noon to its former tranquillity <sup>r</sup>.

THE two persons, who had been wounded by the archers, being taken, informed against their accomplices, who were

<sup>n</sup> CHRYS. tom. i. orat. vi. p. 84.

<sup>o</sup> LIBAN. orat. xxiii.

p. 526. <sup>p</sup> AMMIAN. p. 314, 315.

<sup>q</sup> LIBAN. orat. xxi.

<sup>r</sup> Idem, orat. xiv. & xxiii. p. 396. 415.

A sedition  
at Anti-  
och;

which is  
appeased,  
and the  
authors of  
punish-  
ed.

having lived and reigned seventy years. The ambassadors were sent, not by him, as *Pacatus* seems to suppose <sup>u</sup>, but by *Sapor III.* who reigned in *Persia* this year 384. *Orosius* writes, <sup>with</sup> that a treaty was concluded between the *Persians* and *Romans*, <sup>whom he</sup> in virtue of which the whole East still enjoyed a profound <sup>concludes a</sup> tranquillity at the time he was composing his history; that is, <sup>treaty.</sup> about the year 416 w. The articles of this treaty are not mentioned by any historian; but from a law of *Theodosius*, dated the fourteenth of *June* 387. and addressed to *Gaddanes*, *satrapa* or governor of *Sophene*, it appears, that the authority of the *Roman* emperors was acknowledged in that province, which, by most geographers, is placed to the south of *Armenia*, and is reckoned by some historians, one of the five provinces which *Jovian* yielded to the *Persians*. While the *Persian* ambassadors were still at *Constantinople*, a second son was <sup>Honorius</sup> born to the emperor in that city on the ninth of *September*. <sup>born.</sup> *Theodosius* gave him the name of *Honorius*, to honour in his son, says the poet *Claudian*, the memory of his brother <sup>z</sup>, distinguished him with the title of *nobilissimus*, or most noble, and named him consul for the year 386 y.

THE same year, the *Sarmatians* having made an irruption into the dominions of *Valentinian*, he dispatched one of his generals, not named in history, against them, who drove <sup>The Sarmatians</sup> them back with great slaughter, and took many prisoners, <sup>defeated</sup> who were all sent to *Rome*, to be either massacred in the <sup>by the</sup> shews of gladiators, or destroyed by the wild beasts. The <sup>troops of</sup> emperor, in the letter which he wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the success that had attended his arms, bestowed the highest encomiums on the general who commanded on that occasion <sup>Valentinian.</sup>. As for *Valentinian* himself, he continued the whole year, as appears from his laws, in *Italy*; for, during the months of *March* and *April*, he was at *Milan*; at *Aquileia* in the month of *September*; and again at *Milan* in *October*, and the two remaining months of the year <sup>a</sup>. By a law dated the twenty-second of *March*, which was this year *Good-friday*, he commanded all the prisoners, who were not charged with the enormous crimes mentioned in the law, to be set at liberty, in honour of the approaching great festival b. This year died *Vettius Agorius Prætextatus*, a person greatly <sup>Prætextatus diss.</sup> commended and extolled, as one of the most deserving men of his age, by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who wrote his history about this time, by *Zosimus*, *Symmachus*, *Libanius*, and, in general, by all the pagan writers; for he was not only a pagan

<sup>u</sup> PACAT. p. 263. <sup>w</sup> OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. <sup>x</sup> CLAUD. de Ser. p. 194. <sup>y</sup> SOCR. l. v. c. 12. p. 271. THEOPH. p. 59.

<sup>z</sup> SYMM. l. x. ep. 61. p. 461. <sup>a</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 112.

<sup>b</sup> Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 7. p. 276, 277.



Symmachus made prefect of Rome.

himself, but augur, high-pontif of *Vesta* and the *Sun*, and the head, as we may stile him, of the pagan superstition (B). About this time *Symmachus* was appointed prefect of *Rome*, in which employment he acquitted himself with great reputation, and procured a law from the emperor, moderating the

(B) He was by *Julian* made proconsul of *Achaia* in 362. by *Valentinian* I. prefect of *Rome* in 367. and afterwards prefect of *Italy* and *Illyricum*; in which employments he acquitted himself so as to be at the same time feared and beloved. *Ammianus* writes, that, from his youth, he excelled in every virtue becoming a man of his rank; that he revived the gravity and probity of the antient *Romans* (1). *Zosimus* calls him a man of an unblemished character, and proposes him as a pattern to be imitated by all governors of provinces, and other magistrates (2). *Macrobius* supposes the banquet of the learned men, which is the subject of his *Saturnalia*, to have been celebrated at the house of *Prætextatus* (3). *Symmachus* looked upon him as in every respect the best, or, at least, as one of the best men of his age. He tells us, among other things, that he accepted no legacies, but constantly yielded to the children or relations of the testator, whatever was bequeathed to him; that he was no less affected with the misfortunes of others, than with his own; and that such as possessed estates adjoining to his in the disputes which arose between him and them, concerning the limits of their lands, would admit of no other judge but himself; so great was the opinion

they had of his integrity (4). In the many letters which *Symmachus* wrote to him, and, after his death, to the emperors concerning him, he extols his wisdom, integrity, modesty, moderation, and humanity to all, even his most inveterate enemies (5). He came this year to *Rome*, and entered that metropolis in a kind of triumph, being attended by all the magistrates, by the nobility and the people; and, repairing, amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude, to the capitol, pronounced there an elegant oration in praise of *Valentinian* (6). He was then consul elect; but before he entered upon that new office, he was snatched away by a natural, but sudden death, to the inexpressible grief of the *Roman* people. The senate erected several statues to the honour of a person, who lived; to use the expression of *Symmachus*, even after his death, in the memory of all good men (7). *St. Jerom*, who was then at *Rome*, compares the death of *Prætextatus*, whom he stiles a sacrilegious idolater, with that of the holy abbess *Lea*, who died a few days after him (8). *Prætextatus* was no friend to the Christians; but used to say, by way of raillery, that he would readily embrace their religion, provided they would make him bishop of *Rome* (9).

(1) *Ammian.* l. xxii. p. 210. & l. xxvii. p. 399.

(3) *Macrobi.* l. i. c. 1. p. 162.

(5) *Idem.* l. x. ep. 34. p. 417.

(6) *Idem.* l. x. ep. 37. p. 424.

(7) *Idem.* l. x. ep. 23, 24, 25. p. 415.

(8) *Idem.* l. x. ep. 23, 24, 25. p. 415.

(2) *Zos.* l. iv. p. 735.

(4) *Symm.* l. i. ep. 38—49. p. 29.

(5) *Idem.* l. x. ep. 34. p. 417.

(6) *Idem.* l. x. ep. 37. p. 424.

(7) *Idem.* l. x. ep. 23, 24, 25. p. 415.

(8) *Idem.* l. x. ep. 23, 24, 25. p. 415.

expences of the new consuls, prætors, and quæstors. The consuls used, agreeably to a custom which then prevailed, to send rich presents to their friends, and to all persons of distinction; and the prætors and quæstors to expend immense sums in the public sports, which they were bound to exhibit. The value of the presents to be given by the consuls, and the sums to be laid out in the public shews by the two other magistrates, were fixed by this law, and those declared infamous, who should solicit an exemption from it <sup>c</sup>.

THIS year a famine being apprehended in *Rome*, by reason of the scarcity of corn in *Africa*, which used of late years to supply that metropolis, *Theodosius*, at the request of *Symmachus*, delivered the *Roman* people from the danger that threatened them, by sending them great plenty of grain from *Egypt* *supplies Rome* and *Macedon*. For this seasonable supply, *Symmachus* returned *with corn*. thanks, not only to *Theodosius*, but to count *Ricomar*, and likewise to *Rufinus*, who, it seems, made already some figure in the emperor's court <sup>d</sup>. The great power he afterwards acquired there, no way redounds to the honour of *Theodosius*. The following year 385. when *Arcadius* and *Bauto* were consuls, *St. Austin*, then professor of rhetoric in *Milan*, pronounced, on the first of *January*, a panegyric on the two new consuls <sup>e</sup>. *Bauto* was by nation a *Frank*, and had been sent by *Gratian* in 381. to the assistance of *Theodosius*; but, returning afterwards into the West, he served *Valentinian II.* with great fidelity. *Valentinian* passed the first six months of this year at *Milan*, and the rest either at *Aquileia* or *Verona* <sup>f</sup>. That he enacted this year several excellent laws in favour of the church, yet he suffered his mother *Justina* to persecute and oppress the catholics, because they would not yield the great church of *Milan* to the *Arians*, whom she countenanced and protected <sup>g</sup>. *Theodosius* continued all this time at *Constantinople*, where a dangerous conspiracy was formed against him; but discovered a little before it was to be put in execution. Most of the conspirators were apprehended, tried, and sentenced to death; but *Theodosius* generously forgave them, and would not allow any inquiries to be made after their accomplices, tho' some persons, in whom he reposed great confidence, were suspected to be in that number <sup>h</sup>.

NOT long after, died at *Constantinople* the emperor's daughter, *Pulcheria*, who was soon followed by the empress *Flaccilla*. *The death of Pulcheria, and her mother* Flaccilla, her mother, to the great grief of *Theodosius*, who was a no less tender father than husband. The empress died at *Scot-*

<sup>c</sup> SYMM. ep. 21. p. 402. & cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 382. 384.

<sup>d</sup> SYMM. l. iii. ep. 55. 82. p. 127. 138.

<sup>e</sup> AUG. contra lit.

Petilian, l. iii. c. 25. p. 131.

<sup>f</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 114.

<sup>g</sup> SOCR. l. v. c. 11.

<sup>h</sup> THEMIST. orat. xix. p. 231.

minum in *Thrace*, where she was drinking the waters for the recovery of her health ; but her body was brought back to *Constantinople*, and interred there with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. *Gregory of Nyssa*, who was then at *Constantinople*, pronounced her funeral oration, as he had done some time before that of her daughter *Pulcheria* <sup>i</sup> (C). The next consuls were *Honorius*, styled in the *fasti* *vobilissimus puer*, and *Evodius*, perhaps the prefect of *Gaul* under *Maximus*. This year *Theodosius* continued at *Constantinople* till the third of *September*, when he is supposed to have left that metropolis, in order to march against the *Greuthongi*, who were ready to pass the *Danube*, and break into the empire, under the conduct of *Odotheus*, whom *Claudian* honours with the title of king <sup>k</sup>. The barbarians were attacked, and utterly defeated, by the two emperors *Theodosius* and *Arcadius*, who returned to *Constantinople*, leading with them an incredible number of captives, and entered that city in triumph on the twelfth of *October* (D).

*Theodosius gains a great victory over the Greuthongi.*

THE

<sup>i</sup> GREG. NYSS. de Pul. p. 516. & de Flaccill. p. 528. <sup>k</sup> CLAUD. conf. Hon. 4. p. 55.

(C) The fathers of the church, who lived in that age, bestow upon her the highest encomiums ; and the pagan writers themselves cannot forbear extolling her piety, moderation, and other virtues (1). The *Greeks* honour her as a saint, and celebrate her feast on the fourteenth of *September*, perhaps the day on which she died (2).

(D) Thus *Idatius* in his *fasti*, and *Marcellinus* in his chronicle (3). *Claudian* likewise speaks of a victory gained this year by the two emperors over the *Greuthongi* (4). But *Zosimus*, to rob *Theodosius* of the glory of this, as he does of most other victories, ascribes it to *Promotus*, who commanded in *Thrace*, in quality of general of the foot. According to his account, *Promotus* sent into the enemy's camp some persons,

who, pretending to be deserters, undertook to conduct the barbarians over the river, and to betray the *Roman* commander, and his army, into their hands. *Odotheus*, not suspecting any treachery, suffered himself to be conducted by them ; but, in the mean time, *Promotus*, informed by his emissaries of the enemy's design, received them so briskly, while they expected to meet with no opposition, that great numbers of them were driven back into the *Danube*, and drowned, and the rest either taken prisoners, or cut in pieces. After this, *Promotus* attacked and made himself master of their camp, in which he found a great booty, and an incredible multitude of women and children, whom he immediately sent to *Theodosius* ; but the

(1) *Themist. orat.* xix. p. 221. *orat.* xviii. p. 225. *Græc.* 14. *Sep.* p. 209. *Œ Gange Byz. sam.* p. 70. p. 6.

(4) *Claud. conf. Hon.* 4. p. 55.

(2) *Vide men. mag.* (3) *Idem.* p. 61. *Marcell.*

all by different ways put to death by the governor of the city : *The cruelty of the governor towards the citizens of Antioch* some were beheaded ; others exposed to the wild beasts in the theatre, and some burnt alive : he did not even spare the children, who had insulted the emperor's statues ; and caused several persons to be executed, who had been spectators only of the injuries offered them \*. While the cruel governor was thus proceeding with inexorable severity against the unhappy *Antiochians*, almost without distinction of guilty or innocent, a report was spread, that a body of troops was at hand, with orders to plunder the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. Hereupon that populous metropolis of *Syria* was at once turned into a desert, the citizens abandoning, in the utmost terror and confusion, their dwellings, and retiring with their wives and families to the neighbouring mountains and deserts. As that report proved groundless, some returned to their native country ; but the far greater part, dreading the cruelty of the governor, and the just resentment of the emperor, kept themselves concealed in the neighbouring cities, or amongst the rocks and mountains (F). In the mean time, *Theodosius*, being informed of what had passed at *Antioch*, and particularly of the insults offered to his statues, and to those of his father, of the late empress, and of his children, was provoked to such a degree, that, in the first transports of his passion, he commanded the city to be laid in ashes, and the inhabitants, without distinction of sex or age, to be put to the sword †. This shews, that he was naturally choleric, and apt, when in a passion, to enter into the most violent measures. His indignation seemed to him the more just, as he had favoured that city above all the rest ; for he had designed to reside some time there, as *Valens* had done, and had with that view built a magnificent palace at *Daphne*, and

*Theodosius highly provoked against the city of Antioch.*

\* CHRYS. homil. iii. p. 49. THEOD. l. v. c. 19. p. 731. LIB. p. 397.

† CHRYS. ep. ad Cel. hom. vii. p. 207. THEOD. l. v. c. 19. p. 731.

(F) To those who returned, *St. Chrysostom* preached some of those inimitable homilies, which have reached our times, and are wonderfully adapted to stir them up to repentance, and to make them look upon the danger that threatened them, as drawn down upon them from Heaven by their sins (2). The eloquence and zeal

of the preacher, joined to the apprehension they were under of the effects of the emperor's indignation, wrought a great change in that licentious and dissolute people, as appears not only from *St. Chrysostom* himself (3), but from *Sozomen* (4), and even from *Libanius* (5).

(2) *Vide Chrys. hom. ii. p. 169. hom. xi. p. 127. hom. vi. p. 86. hom. iv. p. 54.*

(3) *Idem, p. 169.*

(4) *Soz. l. i. c. 23. p. 741.*

(5) *Lib. or. xiv. p. 413.*

another in the old city, besides several other structures, with which he had at a great expence embellished that metropolis <sup>u</sup>. But nothing incensed him so much against that ungrateful city, as their having outrageously insulted even the dead <sup>w</sup>, that is, his father, and the empress *Flaccilla*. However, as his wrath soon asswaged, he revoked the order he had given, and contented himself for the present with causing the public baths, the theatre, and the circus, to be shut up, with degrading the city from the rank of a metropolis, and subjecting it as a common village to its rival *Laodicea* <sup>x</sup>. A certain quantity of bread was there daily distributed amongst the poor, as at *Rome* and *Constantinople*; and of this largess too the emperor thought fit to deprive them <sup>y</sup>.

*Appoints judges to try and punish offenders.*

THESE punishments *Theodosius* inflicted on the *Antiochians* in general; but at the same time he dispatched *Cæsarius*, *magister officiorum*, and *Ellebichus*, *magister militum*, or general, with full power to try and punish such as had been concerned in the late riot <sup>z</sup> (G). As the two judges approached the city, all the people went out to meet them, and were received by them, especially by *Ellebichus*, in a very obliging manner; which allayed in some degree their fears. The next morning the two commissioners, having placed guards in the several quarters of the city, to restrain the people from assembling, summoned all the members of the senate or public council to their lodging, examined them concerning the late riot, heard with great patience what they alleged in their own defence, and in that of their fellow-citizens; and, after various inquiries, dismissed them, highly satisfied with the treatment they had found, especially from *Ellebichus*, who could not refrain from tears, when they, throwing themselves at his feet, implored his protection.

<sup>u</sup> THEOD. I. v. c. 18. p. 731. & c. 19. p. 733.

<sup>w</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>x</sup> CHRYS. OR. XII. p. 137. LIB. OR. XVII. p. 197. THEOD. I. v. c. 19. p. 731.

<sup>y</sup> LIB. p. 408

CHRYS. OR. XVII. p. 195.

(G) *Ellebichus* was a man of an unblemished character, and is said to have squared all his actions by that golden and truly Christian rule, *Do as you would be done by* (6). *Gregory Nazianzen* wrote a letter to him, intreating him, by their antient friendship, to discharge a reader from the service, and assuring him, that, by so doing, he would draw down the blessing of Heaven upon his arms, in a war of which he had the whole management (7). *Cæsarius*, his colleague in this commission, at this time *magister officiorum*, was prefect of *Constantinople* in 365. prefect of the East in 395. and consul in 397 (8). He is commended by *Sozomen* and *Libanius* as a man of great integrity, and one who never promised what he did not design to perform (9).

(6) LIB. OR. XXIII. p. 529. THEOD. I. v. c. 19. p. 731.

(7) GREG. NAZ. EP. 123. p. 857.

(8) COD. THEOD. I. ix. c. 2. p. 802. LIB. OR. XXII. p. 518.

The compassion and good-nature he shewed on this occasion revived in a manner the whole city ; their fears began to abate, and joy appeared in every face.

BUT the scene soon changed ; for *Ellebichus*, having caused *Ellebichus*, one great numbers of persons of all ranks to be seized in the night- chus, one time upon private informations, repaired early next morning of the to the place where justice was usually administered ; and, or- judges, dering the prisoners to be brought in chains before his tribunal, proceeds sentenced such of them to death as owned their crime, and with the utmost severity. and ordered those who denied it to be cruelly racked, without shewing the least pity or compassion, as if he had changed his nature. Those, who had seen him the day before, could scarce persuade themselves he was the same man ; for, not satisfied with causing persons of the first quality to be racked and tortured like so many slaves, he uttered dreadful menaces against the whole city, threatening to lay it in ashes, and put the inhabitants, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, to the sword, unless they redeemed themselves and their children from impending ruin, by a timely discovery, not only of the authors and ringleaders of the late treasonable and wicked attempts, but of all who had been any-way concerned in them. *St. Chrysostom*, who was an eye-witness of all that passed, so far as his tenderness and compassion for the unhappy sufferers would allow him, gives us a lively, but dreadful description of this scene of horror, which he compares to that of the last day, when all distinction of birth, wealth, and rank, will cease, and every one be punished or rewarded according to his deserts<sup>a</sup>. Multitudes were dragged in chains from every quarter of the city to the tribunal of the inexorable judges, who, unmoved with their tears, and deaf to the intreaties of their relations, after a short hearing, either sentenced them to death, or ordered them to be racked till they owned themselves guilty, and discovered their accomplices. *St. Chrysostom* mentions a lady of the first quality, who, seeing her son apprehended by an officer on horseback, laid hold of his bridle, and suffered herself to be dragged in that manner through the streets to the tribunal, where, with her hair dishevelled, and bathed in tears, she threw herself at the feet of *Ellebichus* ; but he, deaf to all intreaties, pursued his inquiries with such rigour, as threw the whole city into the utmost confusion. *St. Chrysostom*, who, with some others *St. Chry-* of the sacerdotal order, was admitted into the hall, where some the her- the criminals were examined and tortured, exerted all his mits obtain a respite for such as were condemned. eloquence to move the judges to compassion ; and was therein seconded by the hermits, who were very numerous in the

<sup>a</sup> CHRYS. ORAT. xiii. p. 147—150. & ORAT. xxii. p. 252.

neighbourhood of *Antioch*, where they led a retired life amongst the adjacent mountains ; but, quitting their solitude, they had flocked to the city on this extraordinary occasion, to comfort with their presence the disconsolate citizens, and try whether they could raise any sentiments of humanity or commiseration in the hearts of their judges.

ONE *Macedonius*, an anchoret, universally esteemed and revered for his sanctity, distinguished himself above the rest ; for meeting *Ellebichus* and *Cæsarius* on horseback in the forum, laying hold of one of them by his garment, he commanded them both, with an air of authority, to dismount. As neither of them knew him, they were not a little surprised, that a person, in appearance, so mean and contemptible, should dare to speak to them in such a stile ; but they were no sooner informed who he was, than, dismounting from their horses, they threw themselves at his feet ; when the holy anchorer addressing them in the *Syriac* tongue, “ The emperor,” said he, “ however distinguished by his imperial dignity, is still a man ; and therefore ought to consider his nature, as well as his rank. Those whom he commands, are of the same nature with himself, and the images of the Supreme Being : let him therefore take care not to provoke the Almighty, by destroying the living images of the divine nature, for an affront offered to the inanimate representations of his body. Other statues may be easily raised to him in the room of those that have been demolished ; but he, notwithstanding his boasted power, is not able to make the least reparation for a single life, which he has once taken away <sup>b</sup>.” We are told, that both *Ellebichus* and *Cæsarius* heard these words, which were interpreted to them in *Greek*, with the greatest respect and veneration, and immediately acquainted the emperor with what they had heard <sup>c</sup>. The judges having, at the request of the ecclesiastics and hermits, agreed to suspend the execution of the criminals, till the emperor’s further pleasure was known, such as had been found guilty were conducted under a strong guard to the public prison, and the rest dismissed. Amongst the former were all those who composed the senate or council, that is, all the chief men in the city, whose estates were immediately seized, together with their houses and effects, their wives and children being driven out by the officers of the revenue, and obliged to lie in the streets, their friends and nearest relations fearing, lest, by harbouring them, they should be involved in the ruin of their husbands and fathers <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> CHRYS. orat. xiii. p. 193, 194. THEODOR. l. v. c. 19. p. 731, 732. <sup>c</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>d</sup> Idem, p. 517.

THE hermits, having thus obtained of the judges a reprieve for the criminals, did not doubt but they should prevail upon the emperor to pardon them. In order to this, they resolved to repair without delay to *Constantinople*, and throw themselves at the prince's feet; but *Ellebichus* and *Cæsarius*, affected with their zeal, and unwilling they should expose themselves to the fatigue and inconveniencies of so long a journey, advised them rather to draw up a memorial in behalf of the unhappy citizens, and took upon themselves to present it to the emperor. The hermits followed their advice, and, leaving the memorial in their hands, returned the same day to their mountains and deserts. Upon their departure, it was agreed between *Ellebichus* and *Cæsarius*, that the former should remain at *Antioch*, and the latter carry the memorial to the emperor. Accordingly *Cæsarius* set out that very evening, and pursued his journey with such expedition, that the sixth day about noon he reached *Constantinople*, distant about five hundred miles from *Antioch*. In the mean time *Ellebichus* caused those who had been condemned to be removed from the public prison to a more convenient place, allowing them the liberty of taking the air in the gardens belonging to it, and seeing their friends and relations. St. *Chrysostom* let no day pass without visiting them, in order to bring them, while thus kept in suspense between hope and fear, to an untire resignation to the will of the Almighty, in whom alone he daily exhorted them to place their confidence.

THE *Antiochiâns*, dreading the effects of the emperor's Flavianus resentment, had sent, a few days after the riot was committed, *Flavianus*, bishop of the place, to intercede with *Theodosius* in their behalf. *Flavianus* had met *Ellebichus* and *Cæsarius* on the road, who acquainted him with the commission they were going to execute at *Antioch*. The holy bishop, in hearing it, burst into tears; but nevertheless pursued his journey, still hoping he should be able to soften the good-natured emperor into compassion. The day after his arrival at *Constantinople*, he appeared at court; but, in order to move the emperor to compassion, stood at a distance from him, silent, and bathed in tears, as if he dared not look up, or approach him. But the emperor no sooner observed him, than he flew to him, not to upbraid him for undertaking the defence of the rebellious city, but to justify his own conduct, and complain to him of the ungrateful return the *Antiochiâns* had made for the many favours he had heaped upon them.

\* CHRYS. orat. xvii. p. 195.

† LIB. orat. xxii. p. 518.

& orat. xxii. p. 533.

‡ Idem, orat. xxii. p. 535.

§ CHRYS.

orat. xvii. p. 204.



*Flavianus*, bursting into tears, answered, that the severest punishment he could inflict upon them was too mild and gentle, for the enormous crimes they had committed, and their undutiful return to so indulgent a prince; but at the same time he told him, that to forgive one's enemies was a duty incumbent upon every Christian; that, from his pardoning such enormous offences, great glory would redound to the religion he professed; that the *Jews*, *Greeks*, and *Barbarians*, would admire and extol the purity of its morals, &c. He added, that now an opportunity offered of making himself a lasting instance to all posterity of humanity and good-nature; and seasonably put him in mind of the order he had issued this very year, commanding all prisoners to be set at liberty against the solemnity of *Easter*, and of the memorable words he uttered on that occasion; to wit, *I wish, if were in my power to recall the dead from their graves, and restore them to life!*

*Theodosius grants Chrysostom*, made so deep an impression on the mind of the emperor, that he could not refrain from tears, nor forbear crying out, that he pardoned the ungrateful city, and restored the inhabitants, however guilty, to his favour. Thus *St. Chrysostom* <sup>i</sup>. But *Libanius* <sup>k</sup> and *Theodoret* <sup>l</sup> tell us, that the emperor, though greatly softened by the speech of *Flavianus*, yet did not grant a general pardon till the arrival of *Cæsarius*, who, presenting to him the memorial of the hermits, and at the same time pleading with great energy in favour of the unhappy city, which, he said, had been already sufficiently punished, prevailed upon him to grant a general pardon. He therefore wrote a letter to the citizens of *Antioch*, shewing, that it was not without reason he had treated them with so much severity, after they had, in such an outrageous manner, insulted his deceased father and wife. He added, that, as his anger, however just, was soon appeased, he pardoned all without exception, whether condemned to death or banishment, restored to them their estates, their shews, baths, theatres, and territory, and to their city the privileges and rights of a metropolis. He concluded with expressions of the deepest concern for the death of those who had been condemned by the governor, and executed without his knowledge. This letter the emperor delivered to *Flavianus*, that he might have the honour of carrying the joyful tidings to the disconsolate city; but the holy bishop, impatient to put an end to the affliction of his people, yielded that honour to another, whom he thought capable of performing the journey with more expedition. It

and restores to the city all its privileges.

<sup>i</sup> *CHRYS.* orat. xx. p. 226—233.

<sup>k</sup> *LIB.* orat. xxii.

p. 519.

<sup>l</sup> *THEODOR.* l. v. c. 19. p. 732.

is more easy to conceive than express the joy which the arrival of the messenger caused in *Antioch*. *St. Chrysostom*, to whom we refer our readers, describes at large what passed on this occasion, and concludes with these words: *Let the pagans be ashamed, or rather instructed; and, learning our philosophy of an emperor, and a bishop, renounce their errors, and embrace a religion which encourages and produces such eminent virtues* <sup>m</sup>.

WHILE these things passed in the East, the boundless ambition of *Maximus* raised far greater disturbances in the West; *invades* for that usurper, not satisfied with the provinces which had been held by *Gratian*, passed this year the *Alps* on a sudden, with a design to seize on *Valentinian's* share too; and, meeting with no opposition, marched straight to *Milan*, where *Valentinian* usually resided. The young prince, not finding himself in a condition to make head against him, fled first to *Aquileia*, and from thence, being closely pursued by *Maximus*, to *Theffalonica*, with his mother *Fustina*, and the prefect *Probus*, to implore the protection and assistance of *Theodosius* <sup>n</sup>. That pious prince, in a letter which he wrote to *Valentinian*, in answer to one he had received from his mother *Fustina*, told him, that he was not at all surpris'd at the progress *Maximus* had made, nor at the bad success that attended his affairs, since the tyrant had protected, and he persecuted, the orthodox faith; for *Valentinian*, as we have hinted above, had not only embraced the doctrine of *Arius*, but persecuted the orthodox prelates, and driven several of them from their sees, being induced thereunto by his mother *Fustina*, a most zealous *Arian*. Soon after, *Theodosius* removed from *Constantinople*, attended by several members of that senate, to *Theffalonica*, in order to comfort with his presence the young prince, who had taken refuge in his dominions. Upon his arrival, he repaired to the palace where *Valentinian* was lodged; and, after having assured him, that he was resolved to employ all the forces of the East in his defence, he prevailed upon him to renounce the *Arian* impiety, as the only obstacle to the success which they might expect from Heaven <sup>o</sup>. *Suidas* relates the discourse which *Theodosius* made on that subject <sup>p</sup>. *Zosimus* writes, that, in a great council held at *Theffalonica*, all the counsellors to a man were of opinion, that war should be forthwith declared against *Maximus*; but that *Theodosius*, foreseeing and dreading the evils inseparable from a civil war, sent first ambassadors to the tyrant, seriously exhorting him

who induces him to renounce the doctrine of *Arius*.

<sup>m</sup> CHRYS. ORAT. XX. p. 234. <sup>n</sup> ZOS. l. iv. p. 667. THEODOR. l. v. c. 14. SOZ. l. vii. c. 14. p. 721. <sup>o</sup> THEODOR. p. 724. <sup>p</sup> SUID. p. 347.

to restore to *Valentinian* the usurped provinces, and content himself with *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, which had been yielded to him by himself and *Valentinian* <sup>q</sup>.

*MAXIMUS* would not, it seems, hearken to any proposals; for this very year he laid siege to *Aquileia*, which he reduced, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the inhabitants, as he did *Quaderna*, *Bononia*, *Mutina*, *Rhegium*, *Placentia*, and several other cities in *Italy*; and, he was the ensuing year acknowledged in *Rome*, and in all the provinces of *Africa* <sup>r</sup>.

*Theodosius* therefore, finding a war inevitable, spent the remaining part of this, and the first months of the following year 388. when he was consul the second time with *Cynegius*, in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. His army consisted chiefly of *Goths*, *Huns*, *Alans*, and other barbarians, whom he was glad to take into the service, to prevent their raising disturbances on the frontiers. He appointed *Promotus* general of the horse, and *Timasius* of the foot; and, having committed the government of the Eastern provinces to such persons as, he knew, would, in his absence, consult the welfare of his subjects, and maintain the public tranquillity, he set out from *Thessalonica* in the beginning of the summer, marching with great expedition through *Illyricum*, with a design to surprise *Maximus*, who had not yet taken the field, but continued, without the least apprehension of danger, in *Aquileia*. *Andragathius*, one of the usurper's generals, a man of great courage and experience in war, had been appointed to guard the passes of the *Julian Alps*; but, a report being spread, that *Theodosius* designed to pass the *Ionian* sea, and invade *Italy*, he was ordered to quit those passes, and to man with the utmost expedition what ships he could, in order to intercept the emperor in his passage. Thus was *Maximus* deprived of the assistance of that excellent commander, and of the flower of his troops, who were employed in manning the fleet which *Andragathius* assembled, pursuant to his orders, on the coast of the *Ionian* sea. In the mean time *Theodosius*, entering *Pannonia*, advanced to *Sciscia*, now *Seisse*, before the enemy had the least notice of his approach. However, the general, who commanded the troops of *Maximus* in that neighbourhood, having drawn them together with incredible expedition, fell upon *Theodosius* as he was passing the *Save*; but his army was utterly defeated, and he himself drowned in the river <sup>s</sup>.

*Theodosius marches against*

*The army of Maximus defeated.*

<sup>q</sup> Zos. lib. iv. p. 768.  
PACAT. p. 275. Zos. p. 769.  
AMB. ep. 17. p. 215.

<sup>r</sup> AMBROS. ep. 17. p. 215.  
<sup>s</sup> Zos. l. iv. p. 769, 770.

FROM *Sciscia* the emperor advanced to *Petovio*, now *Pettau*, on the *Drave*; where he was met by *Marcellinus*, the brother of *Maximus*, at the head of an army far more numerous than his own. However, the emperor offered him battle, which he readily accepted; but was utterly defeated, though his men fought with extraordinary courage and resolution. We are not told that *Maximus* was present at either of these battles; but he must have at least advanced to support his generals; for both *Pacatus*<sup>†</sup> and *St. Ambrose*<sup>‡</sup> write, that, after his forces were twice defeated, he fled, with the troops that attended him, and with the remains of his shattered army, to *Aquileia*, whither *Theodosius* pursued him, having sent *Arbogastes* before to invest the place, and prevent the tyrant from making his escape. *Zosimus* writes, that the emperor, arriving soon after, took the town by assault<sup>¶</sup>; and *Socrates*, that it was delivered up to him by the soldiers of *Maximus*<sup>\*</sup>. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the tyrant was seized, according to some, by his own men, according to others, by the soldiers of *Theodosius*, who had entered the city, and dragged in chains to the emperor, encamped about three miles from the city. *Theodosius* reproached him with the death of *Gratian*, and his unbounded ambition, which had prompted him to murder one brother, and drive the other out of his dominions. As *Maximus* was, or at least pretended to be, touched with remorse for the crimes he had committed, and publicly owned he had no claim or title to the power he had usurped, *Theodosius* began to look upon him with an eye of compassion; which those about him observing, and fearing he might pardon him, they removed him out of the emperor's sight, and, without waiting his orders, struck off his head<sup>γ</sup>. He was executed at a place about three miles distance from *Aquileia*, on the twenty-seventh of *August*, according to *Socrates*<sup>z</sup>; or on the twenty-eighth of *July*, as *Idatius* will have it<sup>β</sup> (H).

*Theodosius gains a second victory.*

*Maximus taken,*

*and beheaded.*

Year of the flood

2736.

MAXIMUS Of Christ

388.

<sup>†</sup> PACAT. p. 270—275.

<sup>‡</sup> AMBR. p. 214.

<sup>¶</sup> ZOS. Of Rome

p. 770.

<sup>\*</sup> SOCR. l. v. c. 14. p. 273.

<sup>γ</sup> SOCRAT. 1136.

*Zos. ibid.* PACAT. p. 279.

<sup>z</sup> SOCR. p. 273.

<sup>β</sup> IDAT. ~~~~~

chron.

(H) *St. Ambrose* writes, that *Franks*, and *Theodosius* (1). Those *Maximus* was at the same time two nations had broken into defeated by the *Saxons*, the *Gaul*, as appears from *Gregory*

(1) *Ambros. ep. 17. p. 215.*

Victor the  
son of Ma-  
ximus ta-  
ken in  
Gaul, and  
put to  
death.

Theodo-  
sius uses  
the victory  
with great  
clemency  
and mode-  
ration.

MAXIMUS had left his son *Victor*, whom he had declared *Augustus*, in *Gaul*, to awe the inhabitants of that province during his absence. Against him *Theodosius* dispatched *Arbogastes*, who took him prisoner, after having dispersed the troops that attended him, and put him to death<sup>b</sup>. *Zosimus* calls him a youth; but all other writers stile him an infant. *Andragathius*, hearing of the defeat and death of *Maximus*, as he was cruising in the *Ionian* gulf, threw himself headlong into the sea, and was drowned, choosing that kind of death, to prevent a more ignominious one, which, as *Gratian* had been seized and murdered by him, he had reason to apprehend<sup>c</sup>. *Orosius* writes, that he was overcome in battle<sup>d</sup>; and *St. Ambrose*, that he had joined *Maximus* before his defeat, and perished soon after<sup>e</sup>. Thus ended a war, which at first threatened the empire with endless calamities; and the glory which *Theodosius* acquired by his victory was greatly heightened by his moderation and clemency in the use of it; for, immediately after the death of *Maximus*, he published a general amnesty, and was so far from persecuting the friends and relations of the usurper, that he would not even suffer them to be reproached with their rebellion. No man was banished, says *Pacatus*, no man's estate was confiscated; and those who deserved, and would have suffered, the most cruel death under any other prince, were dismissed by *Theodosius*, without so much as hearing from him an angry word<sup>f</sup>. Those who had with most warmth espoused the tyrant's cause, were allowed to return unhurt, continues the same author, to their wives and children, to enjoy their estates unmolested, and with them the same rank, dignity, and honours, by which they had been distinguished before the rebellion<sup>g</sup>. The wife

<sup>b</sup> Zos. l. iv. p. 770. VICT. p. 545. PROSP. p. 515. <sup>c</sup> Zos. VICT. PROSP. *ibid.* <sup>d</sup> OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. <sup>e</sup> AMBROS. ep. 17. p. 214. <sup>f</sup> PACAT. p. 281. <sup>g</sup> *Idem*, p. 282.

of *Tours* (2), under the conduct of *Genobaud*, *Marcomir*, and *Sunnio*; and, having ravaged the country bordering on the *Rhine*, were preparing to repass that river with an immense booty, when *Nannius* and *Quentinus*, two of *Maximus's* generals, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces.

*Quentinus* followed the *Franks* across the *Rhine*, which he passed near the present city of *Nuys*; but, as he was not acquainted with the country, most of his men were cut off by the enemy in the woods and marshes, and the rest obliged to save themselves by a shameful and precipitate flight (3).

(2) *Creg. Turon. bist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 58, 59. p. 59, 60.*

(3) *Idem ibid.*

and daughters of *Maximus* had been taken, and confined in a public prison, by some of the emperor's officers; which the good-natured prince no sooner knew, than he ordered them to be set at liberty, settled a considerable pension upon them, and charged one of their kinsmen to take care, that no one injured or insulted them <sup>h</sup>. But what *St. Ambrose*, and *Zosimus* himself, most of all admired in *Theodosius*, was, his not only restoring to *Valentinian* his own share, when no one was in a condition to dispute with him the possession of the whole empire, but his generously relinquishing to him *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, which, before the revolt of *Maximus*, had been held by his brother *Gratian*. He was satisfied, says *St. Ambrose*, with the good he had done, without reaping any advantage from it for himself, though no one could have blamed him, had he retained some of those provinces, considering the immense charge he had been at in restoring the young prince to the quiet possession of the rest <sup>i</sup>. As *Justina* the mother of *Valentinian* died about this time, *Theodosius*, during the three years he continued in the West, governed in the name of that prince, who was, at the death of his mother, scarce seventeen years old, and consequently not yet equal to so great a burden <sup>k</sup>.

WHILE *Theodosius* was pursuing the war in *Illyricum*, a report was spread at *Constantinople*, that his army was cut off, and he himself in great danger of falling into the hands of the usurper. Hereupon the *Arians*, whom he had highly disobliterated, by driving them from their churches in 380. as we have related above, rising in the night-time, set fire to the house of *Nestarius* the orthodox bishop of *Constantinople*, who perished in the flames, and committed several other disorders. But by the news of the intire defeat of the usurper being brought soon after to that metropolis, the *Arians*, dreading the effects of the emperor's indignation, had recourse to the clemency of *Arcadius*, whom *Theodosius* had left at *Constantinople* in setting out for the war; and the young prince not only forgave them himself, but prevailed upon his father to confirm the pardon which he had granted them <sup>l</sup>. The emperor was still at *Aquileia* on the twenty-second of *September*; but on the tenth of *October* at *Milan*; where he seems to have passed the winter <sup>m</sup>. Being informed, while he resided in that city, that the Christians had burnt a synagogue of the *Jews*, and a temple of the pagans, at *Callinicum* in *Mesopotamia*, he condemned

<sup>h</sup> AMBR. epist. 17. p. 215. <sup>i</sup> Idem, p. 216. <sup>k</sup> RUFFIN. 1. ii. c. 17. p. 185. <sup>l</sup> SOCR. lib. v. c. 13. p. 272. SOZ. 1. vii. c. 14. p. 722, 723. <sup>m</sup> COD. THEOD. l. xv. tit. 14. leg. 6. p. 409. & leg. vii. p. 410.

the bishop of the place to rebuild the synagogue at his own expence, and ordered all those who had been any-ways concerned in either of these riots, to be punished with the utmost severity. But St. *Ambrose*, thinking a prince, who had lately overlooked far greater disorders in the *Arians*, ought not to exert so much rigour against an orthodox bishop, and his people, wrote to him from *Aquileia* in their favour; and, upon his return to *Milan*, persuaded the emperor, by a speech which he pronounced before him in the great church, to revoke the order he had given <sup>a</sup>.

*A deputation from the senate of Rome, for restoring the altar of Victory.* ABOUT the latter-end of this year, the senate of *Rome* dispatched deputies to *Theodosius*, earnestly intreating him to give them leave to restore to its former place the altar of *Victory*, which had been removed by *Gratian*. The emperor seemed at first inclined to grant them their request; but was in the end persuaded by St. *Ambrose* to deny it. However, *Symmachus*, the chief of the deputies, a man universally esteemed for his eloquence, and greatly beloved by the pagans, in regard of his zeal for the antient religion of the *Romans*, in a panegyric which he pronounced soon after on *Theodosius*, re-

*Their request rejected, and Symmachus banished, but recalled.* renewed the same request in the name of the senate; which so provoked the emperor, that he immediately ordered him to come down, and to be put that instant into a chariot, in order to be conveyed into banishment, forbidding him, under the severest penalties, ever to come within an hundred miles of *Rome* <sup>o</sup>. The emperor's indignation seemed the more just, as *Symmachus* had been but very lately pardoned by him, while accused by his enemies of treason, in having pronounced a panegyric during the war on the usurper *Maximus*. However, as *Theodosius* was never more ready to pardon, than when he seemed most provoked, the friends of *Symmachus* no sooner spoke in his behalf, than the emperor recalled him, restored him to his former rank, and, to convince the world, that he retained no ill-will to him, raised him two years after to the consular dignity <sup>p</sup>.

*Several laws of this year, especially against heretics.* THIS year *Theodosius* enacted several laws against heretics, to wit, one dated the second of *March*, forbidding them, especially the *Apollinarians*, to hold assemblies, to have bishops or clergy, to live in cities, to appear at court, or to present any petition to the emperor <sup>q</sup>. The same prohibition was

<sup>a</sup> AMBROS. apol. 17, 18. vit. p. 83, 84.

<sup>o</sup> SOCRAT.

lib. v. c. 14. p. 273. PROSP. de promiss. lib. iii. c. 38. p. 149.

<sup>p</sup> AMBROS. sermo de divers. iii. p. 118. SYM. l. ii. ep. 30, 31. p. 74. ep. 61. 63. p. 89, 90. & l. v. ep. 15. p. 191.

<sup>q</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. v. leg. 14. p. 130.

renewed by another law, dated the fourteenth of *June* <sup>r</sup>. By another enacted two days after, all public disputes concerning religion were forbidden under the severest penalties <sup>s</sup>. A law, dated the twenty-ninth of *February*, declares all marriages between *Jews* and *Christians* unlawful, and subjects the contracting parties to the punishments due to adultery; another, addressed to *Cynegius*, forbids any one to marry his brother's wife, or his own wife's sister <sup>t</sup>. The same prohibition had been made by *Constantius* in 355 <sup>u</sup>. *Theodosius*, who was still at *Milan* on the twenty-second of *May*, left that city soon after, and repaired to *Rome* with young *Valentinian*, and his son *Honorius*, whom he had sent for from *Constantinople*, after the defeat of *Maximus*. He entered that metropolis in triumph on the thirteenth of *June*; and a few days after *Latinus Pacatus Drepanius*, an orator of *Gaul*, pronounced his panegyric in the senate, the emperor himself being present. The orator takes notice of his liberality towards the people on that occasion, of his affability and condescension, not only in viewing the rarities of the city, but in entering the houses of private persons, which won him the hearts of the *Roman* people <sup>x</sup>. The poet *Claudian* tells us, that at *Rome* he received ambassadors sent by the king of *Persia*, to treat with him about a peace between the two empires <sup>y</sup>.

Theodosius goes to Rome.

Year of the flood 2839.  
Of Christ 389.  
Of Rome 1187.

To *Theodosius's* journey to *Rome* was owing, according to *Prudentius* <sup>z</sup>, the conversion of the senate and people of that city to the Christian religion; not that he used any violence, says that writer, for he indifferently raised pagans and Christians to the first employments in the state <sup>a</sup>; but so great was the force of his example, that few, either in the senate, or among the people, were so attached to their errors, as to withstand it. *Prudentius* mentions several illustrious families converted, on this occasion, to the true religion; to wit, the families of the *Paulini*, of the *Bassi*, of the *Annii*, and of the *Gracchi*, at that time the most antient and noble family in *Rome*. The people, continues that writer, flocked to the *Lateran* church, to receive there the sacred sign of the royal chrism, and to the *Vatican*, to visit the ashes of the father of the faith; meaning, we imagine, *St. Peter*, who was then supposed to have planted the faith in *Rome*. The idols, says

Endeavours to abolish idolatry in that metropolis.

<sup>r</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 15. p. 131.

<sup>s</sup> Idem, tit. 4.

leg. 2. p. 100.

<sup>t</sup> Idem, l. iii. tit. 7. leg. 2. p. 278. & cod.

Justin. l. v. tit. 5. leg. 5. p. 425.

<sup>u</sup> Cod. Theod. l. iii. tit. 12.

leg. 2. p. 296.

<sup>w</sup> Ibid. p. 120.

<sup>x</sup> Soz. p. 273. Ruf.

l. ii. c. 17. p. 185.

<sup>y</sup> CLAUD. p. 176.

<sup>z</sup> PRUD. in

Sym. l. i. p. 248.

<sup>a</sup> Idem, p. 220.



St. *Jeram*, were every-where pulled down; their temples abandoned; and the gods, once so much revered, left in their niches alone, or attended only by mice and owls: the capitol (continues the same writer), formerly so much frequented, is now turned into a desert; the other temples are covered with dust, and filled with cobwebs; the whole city crouds to the tombs of the martyrs; and the people, in passing by those antient temples, behold them with joy ready to fall, and bury the gods under their ruins. *Rome* forsakes *Jupiter*, and his temples, despises his ceremonies, and is ashamed of the worship formerly paid him <sup>b</sup>. *Theodosius*, however, would not suffer the statues of the gods, many of which were the work of the best artificers of antiquity, to be destroyed; but ordered them to be removed from the places where they had been adored, to the public squares, where they served as ornaments to the city <sup>c</sup>. *Theodosius* staid scarce three months at *Rome*; but in that short time he not only seriously applied himself to the suppression of idolatry, but with indefatigable care laboured to reform many abuses, which had long prevailed in the city, as appears from the several laws he published there <sup>d</sup>. He enacted one, dated the seventeenth of *June*, ordering all the *Manichees* to be driven out of the city, and declaring them incapable of receiving legacies, or leaving any thing by will even to their children (I). *Theodosius* left *Rome* on the first of *September*, was at a place called *Valentia* on the third of the same month, and on the sixth at *Forum Flamini*, now *Pont. Centesimo* on the *Topino*, not far from *Fuligno* in the duchy of *Spoletto*, where he enacted a law forbidding the

*Theodo-*  
*sus leaves*  
*Rome.*

<sup>b</sup> *HIER.* ep. 7. p. 54. & in *Jov.* l. ii. c. 18. p. 95. \* <sup>c</sup> *PRUD.* in *Sym.* l. i. p. 220. <sup>d</sup> *Cod. Theod.* l. xii. tit. 16. leg. 1. p. 612. & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 18. p. 138.

(I) A few days before *Theodosius* left *Rome*, a comet is said to have appeared in the east in the shape of a sword; and, moving northward, to have vanished in the middle of the *Urfa Major*, after having lasted forty days, as we read in *Philostorgius* (4); or only twenty-six, as *Marcellinus* will have it (5). The former writer mentions several other prodigies, among which he reck-

ons two men equally remarkable for their size, the one being seven cubits and three inches, and the other no taller, says that author, than a partridge, though he had an agreeable voice, and an excellent understanding: the former was a native of *Syria*, and the latter of *Egypt*; and they both lived to the age of about twenty-five (6).

(4) *Philost.* l. x. c. 9. p. 139—141. l. x. c. 9. p. 142, 143.

(5) *Marcell. chron.*

(6) *Philost.*

execution of criminals during *Lent* <sup>e</sup>. From thence he pursued his journey to *Milan*, where he enacted a law, dated the twenty-sixth of *November*, commanding the heretic bishops and clergy to be every-where driven out of the cities, and their suburbs <sup>1</sup>.

FROM this law, and several others of the ensuing year, it appears, that *Theodosius* passed the winter in that city, while *Valentinian* marched into *Gaul*, to make head against the *Franks*, who were preparing to invade that province; but all we know of this expedition is, that *Valentinian* had an interview with *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, two chiefs of the *Franks*; that they delivered hostages to him; and that the emperor, on the eighth of *November*, was at *Treves*, where he took up his winter quarters <sup>g</sup>. This year is chiefly remarkable for the destruction of the celebrated temple of *Serapis* at *Alexandria*, which, according to the description *Ammianus Marcellinus* gives us of it, surpassed in grandeur and wealth all the temples in the world, that of *Jupiter Capitolinus* alone excepted <sup>h</sup>; nay, *Theodoret* calls it the greatest, and, without exception, the most beautiful temple in the universe <sup>i</sup>. *Theodosius*, who had hitherto spared that stately edifice, caused it this year to be leveled with the ground on the following occasion: *Theophilus* bishop of *Alexandria* having begged and obtained of the emperor an old temple, formerly consecrated to *Bacchus*, but at that time ruined and forsaken, with a design to convert it into a church, the workmen, in clearing it of the rubbish, found among the ruins several obscene figures, which the bishop, to ridicule the superstition of the heathens, caused to be exposed to public view. This provoked the pagans to such a degree, that they flew to arms; and, falling upon the Christians, cut great numbers of them in pieces, before they were in a condition to oppose their fury. At length the Christians took arms in their own defence; and, being supported by the few soldiers who were quartered in *Alexandria*, began to repel force by force.

THUS a civil war was kindled within the very walls of the city, and no day passed without some scuffle and bloodshed. The pagans, when tired with fighting, or overpowered with numbers (for the Christians were far more numerous), used to retire to the temple of *Serapis*; and thence, sallying out again unexpectedly, seize on such of the Christians as they met, and, dragging them into the temple, either force them by the most exquisite torments to sacrifice to their idol, or, if

<sup>e</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 120, 121. <sup>f</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>g</sup> OROS, l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 120. <sup>h</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxii. p. 234. <sup>i</sup> THEODOR. p. 735.

and put to they refused, to rack them to death. As they expected to be soon attacked by the emperor's troops, they chose a philosopher, by name *Olympus*, for their leader, with a resolution to defend themselves, their temple, and their religion, to the last extremity. In the mean time, *Evagrius*, governor of *Egypt*, and *Romanus*, who commanded the troops there, having attempted in vain to persuade the pagans to quit the temple, and retire to their dwellings, sent a distinct account of the whole to the emperor, who, extolling and envying the happiness of such as had chosen rather to die, than renounce their religion, and offer sacrifice to the idols, would not suffer their death to be revenged on those, at whose hands they had obtained the crown of martyrdom, but readily forgave them.

*Theodo-* However, at the same time he ordered the temple of *Serapis*, *sius orders* and all the other temples in *Alexandria*, which gave occasion *the famous* to frequent disturbances, to be utterly demolished, charging *the temple of* *Theophilus* bishop of the place, who had solicited this order, *Serapis,* to see it put in execution, and injoining *Evagrius* and *Romanus* to follow therein his directions. The pagans no sooner *and all the* knew, that the emperor had been informed of the cruelties *temples in* they had committed, than they abandoned the temple, and *Alexan-* dispersed, some of them retiring privately to their own houses, *dria, to be* and others withdrawing from the town, and either concealing *pulled* themselves in the neighbouring cities, or flying to more distant countries. Among the latter was their leader *Olympus*, who conveyed himself in the night on board a vessel, which was ready to sail for *Italy*. *Helladius* and *Anmonius*, two grammarians, under whom *Socrates*, the ecclesiastic historian, had studied at *Constantinople*, withdrew from *Egypt*, and took refuge amongst the barbarians. The former used to brag of his having killed, during that tumult, nine Christians with his own hand \*.

THE temple, thus abandoned by the pagans, was delivered up to *Theophilus*, who, with the assistance of the people and soldiery, reduced it in a short time to an heap of ruin, leaving nothing undemolished but the foundations, which could not be removed, on account of the extraordinary weight and size of the stones. The celebrated statue of *Serapis*, the principal god of the *Egyptians*, was broken in pieces, and the limbs of that pretended divinity carried first in triumph by the Christians through the city, and then thrown into an huge fire kindled for that purpose in the amphitheatre. As the *Egyptians* ascribed the overflowing of the *Nile*, to which was owing the fertility of their country, to the benign influence

*The statue*  
*of Serapis*  
*broken in*  
*pieces.*

\* Socr. l. vii. c. 15. p. 724. Ruf. l. ii. c. 22. p. 187. Soz. p. 726.

of their god *Serapis*, they concluded, that, now he was destroyed, the river would no longer overflow, and consequently that a general famine would ensue. But when they observed, that the *Nile*, on the contrary, swelled to a greater height than had been known in the memory of man, and thereby produced an immense plenty of all manner of provisions, many of the pagans, renouncing the worship of the idols, adored the God of the Christians <sup>1</sup> (K). Not only the statue of *Serapis*, which was lodged in the temple, but all the other statues of that pretended deity, were by the zealous Christians carefully sought for, ignominiously dragged through the streets, and consumed in the flames; insomuch that in the great city of *Serapis*, as *Alexandria* was frequently stiled, not the least footstep was left of that idol, or of the worship, which for so many ages had been paid him. In the room of the temple of *Serapis* was built a church, and a *martyrium*, says *Ruffinus* <sup>m</sup>, meaning perhaps a burying-place for those who had suffered martyrdom, during the late disturbances. *Sophronius*, one of St. *Jerom*'s friends, wrote a particular and distinct account of the demolition of the temple of *Serapis* <sup>n</sup>; but his work has not reached our times.

*THEOPHILUS*, who was a prelate no less active than zealous, not satisfied with demolishing the temple of *Serapis*, encouraged the people, supported by the governor of the province, and the commander of the *Roman* troops, to pull *All the* down and level with the ground all the other temples, ora- temples  
tories, chapels, and places set apart for the worship of the *throughout*  
idols throughout *Egypt*, causing every-where the statues of *Egypt de-*  
the gods to be either burnt or melted down. (O) the innu- molished.  
merable statues, with which that superstitious province was  
filled, he is said to have spared but one, to wit, that of an  
ape, in order to expose the pagan religion to ridicule <sup>o</sup>. *The-*

<sup>1</sup> *RUF.* l. ii. c. 27. p. 190. *SOCR.* l. v. c. 16. p. 274. <sup>m</sup> *RUF.*  
l. ii. c. 27. p. 190. <sup>n</sup> *HIER.* vir. illustr. c. 133. p. 303.  
<sup>o</sup> *SOCR.* p. 275.

(K) *Ruffinus* (7), *Socrates* (8), that nation, the symbol of life;  
*Eunapius* (9), and *Sozomen* (1) and, on the other hand, a tradi-  
write, that crosses were found tion having for many ages ob-  
ingraved on several of the stones tained among them, that their  
of the temple; which occasioned religion, and the temple of *Sera-*  
the conversion of great numbers *pis*, would subsist till the sign of  
of the *Egyptian* priests, the cross life appeared.

(7) *Ruf.* l. ii. c. 27. p. 190. (8) *Socr.* l. v. c. 16. p. 274. (9) *Eunap.*  
c. 4. p. 60—64. (1) *Socr.* l. vii. c. 15. p. 725.

*odosius* not only approved of what *Theophilus* had done, but commended his zeal, and returned him public thanks for the pains he had taken, in clearing that province from the abominations to which it had been so long addicted <sup>p</sup>. Soon after, he enacted a law, forbidding, on pain of death, the subjects of the empire to offer any kind of sacrifice to idols; and declaring the estates confiscated of such as should burn incense before them <sup>q</sup>.

THE following year 390. when *Valentinian* was consul the fourth time with *Neoterius*, *Theodosius* continued at *Milan*, as appears from the code, till the fifth of *July*; was at *Verona* from the twenty-third of *August* to the eighth of *September*, and again at *Milan* on the twenty-sixth of *November*, and the twenty-third of *December*. At *Verona* he published a law, dated the third of *September*, commanding those who professed a monastic life, to withdraw from the cities, and retire to the deserts, pursuant to their institution. But this law he revoked by another dated the seventeenth of *April* 392 <sup>r</sup>. By a law, which was published at *Rome* on the fourteenth of *May*, he commanded those, who should be found guilty of unnatural lust, to be burnt alive in the sight of the whole people <sup>s</sup>. This year an obelisk, twenty-four cubits in height, was raised in the circus at *Constantinople*, and a column before the church of *St. Sophia*, on which was a statue of *Theodosius* in silver, weighing seven thousand four hundred ounces <sup>t</sup>. As for *Valentinian*, he seems to have continued all this year at *Treves*, or in the neighbourhood of that city. The next consuls were *Tatianus* and *Q. Aurelius Symmachus*. *Theodosius* continued this year at *Milan* to the twenty-second of *March*, was at *Concordia* on the ninth of *May*, at *Vicentia* on the twenty-seventh of the same month, and at *Aquileia* from the sixteenth of *June* to the fourteenth of *July* <sup>u</sup>.

A law  
against  
unnatural  
lust.

One a-  
gainst apo-  
states.

By a law dated the ninth of *May*, he declared those who should renounce the Christian religion, after having been baptized, not only incapable of giving or receiving the least thing by will, but of being, as infamous persons, witnesses to any private or public deed; adding, that he would have confined them to the deserts, had he not believed it a greater punishment for them to live among men, without being looked upon as men <sup>w</sup>. By another law, dated the ninth of the same month, he commanded the heretics to be

<sup>p</sup> RUF. p. 189. <sup>q</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 10. p. 271. <sup>r</sup> Idem, l. xvi. tit. 3. leg. 1. p. 96. & leg. 2. p. 97, 98. <sup>s</sup> Idem, l. ix. tit. 2. leg. 4. p. 30. <sup>t</sup> MARCELL. chron. <sup>u</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 123. <sup>w</sup> Idem, l. xvi. tit. 7. leg. 4. & v. p. 207, 208.

every-where driven out of the cities \*. Some writers confine this law to the *Manichees*, while others extend it to heretics of all denominations.

THEODOSIUS was, as we have observed above, at *Aquileia* on the fourteenth of *July*; but soon after he set out from *Theodolence* for *Constantinople*, leaving the intire management of his affairs in the West to *Valentinian*, now in the twentieth year of his age. On his arrival at *Thessalonica*, he found the province of *Macedon* in great confusion; for the barbarians, who, at the instigation of *Maximus*, had revolted, and concealed themselves among the marshes and woods, after the defeat of that usurper, taking advantage of the emperor's absence, began to fall out of their fastnesses in the night, and, seizing on whatever came in their way, they retired with their booty before day. As it was a more difficult task to find them out than to conquer them, the emperor took that province upon himself; and, without discovering his design to any one, made choice of five persons, in whom he could confide, to attend him, ordering each of them to take three spare horses, that they might shift as often as there was occasion. Thus attended and disguised, he ranged about the country, receiving from the peasants such refreshments as their cottages could afford him. At length he came to a small inn, kept by a woman advanced in years, who received him with extraordinary civility, which induced him to stay there that night. In the same inn lodged a person, who, declining to converse with the rest, and seeming desirous to conceal himself, gave the emperor no small jealousy. Having therefore, after he was retired to his chamber, called for the mistress of the house, and asked her who that person was, she answered, that who he was she knew not; but that, ever since the news of the emperor's return out of the West, he had lodged at her house, going out in the morning, and continuing abroad all day, but returning at night to his lodging, for which he honestly paid her. Upon this information, the emperor ordered him to be seized and examined; but he refusing to declare who he was, the emperor at last discovered himself, ordered the man to be put to the rack, and by that means forced him to own the truth, to wit, that he was employed as a spy by the barbarians, who lay concealed among the woods and bogs, to give them intelligence, from time to time, of the motions of the emperor's army, and to inform them what places lay most convenient for their incursions. Hereupon the emperor caused his head to be struck off; and, returning early the next morning to the army, led his soldiers to the place where

\* Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 20. p. 137.

The emperor in great danger. He gains a complete victory over the barbarians.

he had learnt from the spy the barbarians were lodged; and, falling upon them unexpectedly, cut great numbers of them in pieces. *Timasius*, who, together with *Promotus*, commanded on this occasion under *Theodosius*, imagining most of the barbarians to be already cut off, advised the emperor to allow his soldiers some time to refresh themselves after so warm and fatiguing a service, that they might with more vigour pursue the rest, who could not make their escape. The emperor, following his advice, sounded a retreat; but, while his men were refreshing themselves without the least apprehension of danger, the barbarians, falling upon them when they were quite unprepared, and most of them overcome with wine, or asleep, made a dreadful havock of them, and would have either killed or taken the emperor himself, had he not been seasonably rescued by *Promotus*, at the danger of his own life. However, *Theodosius*, having rallied his dispersed forces the next day, attacked the barbarians anew with such success, that few of them escaped the general slaughter. Thus *Zosimus* on whose single authority the whole truth of this account rests, for no other writer takes the least notice of this expedition (L).

THEODO-

7 Zos. l. iv. p. 770—773.

(L) The victory over the barbarians was, according to *Zosimus*, who studies to lessen, on all occasions, the glory of *Theodosius*, chiefly owing to the courage and conduct of *Promotus*; but that brave general, who had served the emperor with great fidelity, was this very year killed in an ambuscade by the barbarians in *Thrace*. *Zosimus* writes, that *Ruffinus*, the emperor's chief favourite, having treated *Promotus* in a very haughty and insolent manner, the general, not able to brook such treatment, struck him; which affront *Ruffinus* revenged, by betraying him into the hands of the barbarians, with whom he maintained for that purpose a private correspondence (2). But *Claudian*, who mentions the death of *Promotus*, and wrote two

books filled with invectives against *Ruffinus*, takes no notice of this black piece of treachery. *Zosimus* adds, that *Ruffinus* having complained of *Promotus* to the emperor, the prince, who reposed an intire confidence in him, returned him this answer; *If the other ministers continue thus to envy you your good fortune, they shall soon have the mortification to see you emperor* (3). *Claudian* writes, that *Stilicho* revenged the death of his friend *Promotus* on the *Bastarnæ*, by whose hands he fell; and that, after having defeated them with great slaughter, he shut them up in a narrow valley, with the *Goths*, *Huns*, and other barbarians, who had long infested *Thrace*; and would have cut them all off to a man, had not the emperor chosen rather to

(2) Zos. l. iv. p. 773.

(3) *Ibid.*

THEODOSIUS, upon his return to *Constantinople*, made it his chief study to suppress idolatry and *Arianism*, ordering such temples as were still standing to be pulled down, and the *Arians* to be every-where driven out of the cities, lest they should infect their fellow-citizens with their pestilent doctrine<sup>2</sup>.

THE next consuls were *Arcadius* the second time, and *Rufinus*. *Theodorus* had, as we have observed above, during his three years stay in the West, used all possible means to extirpate idolatry; but, upon his return to the East, the pagans began to conceive new hopes, and such of the senators of *Rome*, as continued still attached to the superstition of their ancestors, sent a deputation to *Valentinian*, at the head of which was the celebrated *Symmachus*, intreating him to restore to their priests and temples the privileges which they had enjoyed till the reign of *Gratian*. *Valentinian*, who was then in *Gaul*, received the deputies in a very obliging manner; but *they* could not be prevailed upon, either by them, or by the *Valentinian* pagan ministers who were in his court, to grant them their request<sup>3</sup>. Not long after, the barbarians threatening to pass the *Alps* towards *Rhætia*, and invade *Italy*, the emperor resolved to quit *Gaul*, and hasten to *Milan*, in order to make head against them. As he was desirous of being baptized, before he engaged in a war, he dispatched from *Vienne*, where he then was, an express to *St. Ambrose* bishop of *Milan*, for whom he had an extraordinary esteem and veneration, inviting him into *Gaul*, to administer to him that sacrament. The prelate, upon the receipt of the emperor's letter, set out without delay; but, before he reached *Vienne*, he received the melancholy news of the death of that unfortunate prince, inhumanly murdered, as most authors agree, by *Arbogastes*.

HE was a *Frank* by nation, and owed his preferment to *Gratian*. After that prince's death, the soldiery, by whom he was highly esteemed, and not undeservedly, for his experience in military affairs, his liberality and disinterestedness, raised him, without the consent either of *Valentinian*, who was then a child, or of his mother *Justina*, to the post of general; in which command he acquitted himself with great

<sup>2</sup> RUF. l. ii. c. 19. p. 185.  
vers. p. 114. SYMM. lib. iii. ep. 63. p. 130. OROS. lib. c. 35. p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> AMBROS. serm. d. divers. p. 114. SYMM. lib. iii. ep. 63. p. 130. OROS. lib. c. 35. p. 220.

conclude a peace with them, following therein, says that poet, the evil counsels of the traitor *Rufinus* (4).

(4) Claud. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 125, 126. in Ruf. l. i. c. 17.



Arbogastes pre-  
tends to  
controul  
the young  
prince.

He is dis-  
charged;  
but re-  
fuses to re-  
sign his  
post, and  
causes Va-  
lentinian  
to be mur-  
dered.

Year of  
the flood  
2842.  
Of Christ  
392.  
Of Rome  
1190.

fidelity and moderation, while *Theodosius* continued in the West; but, upon the departure of that prince for *Constantinople*, he began to act more like a sovereign than a minister or officer, arrogating to himself the power of controuling the young prince, and governing the court with an absolute sway. Such of the officers in the army as seemed attached to *Valentinian*, he discharged, and put *Franks*, in whom he could confide, in their room, disposing at the same time of all the civil employments, without the emperor's consent or knowledge, and bestowing them upon persons of his own faction. *Valentinian*, no longer able to brook such a shameful servitude, resolved to discharge *Arbogastes*; and accordingly, seeing him one day at court, he threw him a paper, containing an abrogation of his command. But *Arbogastes*, having perused it, tore it in pieces with great contempt, and threw it on the ground, telling the emperor with the utmost arrogance, that, as he had not received his authority of him, it was not in his power to divest him of it. After this, *Arbogastes*, well apprised that *Valentinian* would not suffer such an outrage to pass unrevenged, resolved to be beforehand with him, and accordingly dispatched him a few days after<sup>b</sup>. Authors disagree as to the manner of his death: *Zosimus* writes, that, while *Valentinian*, attended by a small guard, was diverting himself in the neighbourhood of *Vienne*, *Arbogastes*, assailing him unexpectedly, stabbed him with his sword<sup>c</sup> (M). He died in 392.

<sup>b</sup> OROS. p. 220. ZOS. p. 776. SOCR. p. 93. SOZ. *ibid.*  
<sup>c</sup> ZOS. *ibid.*

(M) According to *Philostorgius*, he was strangled while he was taking his diversion on the banks of the *Rhone*, by assassins, whom *Arbogastes* had hired for that purpose. The same author adds, that, after they had strangled him, they tied his own handkerchief about his neck, and hung him upon a tree, that the world might be induced to believe he had laid violent hands on himself; for his guards were at some distance, and out of sight

(5). *St. Jerom* (6), *Orosius* (7), *Ruffinus* (8), *Epiphanius* (9), *Socrates* (1), and *Sozomen* (2), agree, that he was strangled; but the two latter writers suppose this to have happened in the palace, and the eunuchs of the court, gained over by *Arbogastes*, to have been the authors of his death. *Idatius* and *Tiro Pro-sper* only write, that he was murdered by the treachery of *Arbogastes*. The report which *Arbogastes*, and those of his faction,

(5) *Philostorg.* l. vi. c. 2. p. 142. (6) *Hier.* ep. 3. p. 26.  
l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. (8) *Ruf.* l. ii. c. 21. p. 191.  
*de men.* c. 5. p. 177. (1) *Socr.* l. v. c. 23. p. 294.  
l. vi. c. 22. p. 139.

(7) *Oros.*  
(9) *Epiph.*  
(2) *Soz.*

392. on the fifteenth of *May*, that year the eve of *Pentecost*, after having lived only twenty years, and some months, and borne the title of emperor sixteen years, and about six months, though he cannot be said to have reigned till the death of *Gratian*, who died eight years and nine months before him <sup>d</sup>. *St. Ambrose* tells us, that, when he saw himself unexpectedly attacked by the assassins, the only words he uttered were; *Alas! my poor sisters!*

THE funeral ceremonies were performed the next day, the sixteenth of *May*, with great solemnity; and his body was sent to *Milan*, and interred there near that of his brother *Gratian*, on which occasion *St. Ambrose* pronounced an oration in praise of the deceased prince <sup>e</sup>, who, according to him, and most other writers, would have equaled, if not eclipsed, <sup>His character.</sup> the glory of the best emperors, had he been suffered to live longer, being of a lively genius, valiant, sober, liberal, sincere in his friendship, intirely unbiassed in the administration of justice, and, in the disposing of employments, guided by merit alone <sup>g</sup>. *Zosimus*, though highly prejudiced against all Christian princes, owns that his death was a public loss <sup>h</sup>. He had persecuted the catholics in his mother's life-time, or rather, she had persecuted them in his name; but, after her death, he proved a most zealous patron of the orthodox faith, discountenancing the *Arians*, and other sectaries, as much as he had favoured them before he was capable of distinguishing truth from falsehood <sup>i</sup>. His two sisters, *Justa* and *Grata*, continued at *Milan*, and there embraced, after his death, the state of virginity. His sister *Galla*, who was married to *Theodosius*, died two years after in childbed.

AFTER the death of *Valentinian*, *Arbogastes* might have *Eugénius* easily seized on the sovereignty; but, not caring to appear <sup>is set up by</sup> guilty of such a treacherous and inhuman murder, he chose *Arbogastes* to confer it on one *Eugenius*, and to reign in his name <sup>in his room.</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> EPIPH. p. 177. PHILOST. p. 144. <sup>e</sup> AMBR. ferm. de divers. p. 112. <sup>f</sup> Idem ibid. p. 113—115. <sup>g</sup> Idem ibid. SOCR. l. iv. c. 31. p. 250. <sup>h</sup> ZOS l. iv. p. 776. <sup>i</sup> AMBR. ferm. de divers. p. 107. <sup>k</sup> PHILOST. lib. xi. c. 2. p. 145. OROS. l. vii. c. 35. p. 220. CLAUD. cons. Hon. 3, 4. p. 35. 41.

spread abroad, to wit, that the prince had laid violent hands on himself, was credited by many, and, among the rest, by *Prosper*, who relates it in his chronicle as an event not to be questioned;

but we can hardly believe, that *St. Ambrose* would have extolled, as he does, his piety, and religious sentiments, had he ended his life by the enormous crime of self-murder.

*Eugenius* had formerly taught grammar, and afterwards rhetoric, and was generally esteemed on account of his eloquence. *Ricomer*, at the request of *Symmachus*, had taken him under his protection; and, upon his returning into the East with *Theodosius*, recommended him to *Arbogastes*, by whose interest he was raised to the post of secretary<sup>1</sup>. *Zosimus* tells us, that *Arbogastes*, reposing an intire confidence in *Eugenius*, and judging him capable of the most daring resolutions, imparted to him the design he had formed of murdering *Valentinian*, and raising him to the empire in his room; that *Eugenius* rejected at first the proposal with horror; but was in the end prevailed upon to fall in with the measures of his patron; whereupon he was, by his interest, after the death of the young prince, proclaimed emperor, as a person well qualified for that high station<sup>m</sup> (N). The new usurper, though a Christian, was greatly favoured by the pagans, who were well apprised, that he only bore the title of emperor, while the whole power was lodged in *Arbogastes*, who pretended a great attachment to their religion. The auspices, who began to appear anew, assured him, that he was destined to the empire of the whole world; that he would soon gain a complete victory over *Theodosius*, who was as much hated, as he was beloved, by the gods; and that his power and authority would have no other bounds, but those of the *Roman* empire<sup>n</sup>. Though *Eugenius* seemed to favour the pagans, yet, in the very beginning of his reign, he wrote to St. *Ambrose*, who did not answer his letter, till he was pressed by some of his friends to recommend them to the new prince; and then he treated him in his letters with all the respect due to an emperor<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Soc. l. v. c. 25. p. 293. Zos. p. 775. PHILOST. p. 146. SYMM. l. iii. ep. 60, 61. p. 129. <sup>m</sup> Zos. ibid. <sup>n</sup> Soz. l. vii. c. 22. p. 740. <sup>o</sup> AMB. ep. 15. p. 210.

(N) He soon made himself master of all the western provinces, says *Socrates* (3); which must be understood of *West Illyricum, Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Britain*; but not of *Africa*, which, after the death of *Valentinian*, submitted to *Theodosius*, as appears from two laws of that prince, the one dated from *Constantinople* the thirtieth of *December* 393. and addressed to *Gildo*, count of *Africa*; and the other dated from the same place the twenty-seventh of *March*, and addressed to *Silvanus* duke of the province *Tripolitana* (4). It is likewise manifest from *Claudian*, that *Gildo* acknowledged *Theodosius*, and not *Eugenius* (5).

(3) Socr. p. 294.  
bell. Gild. p. 76. & consul. Ilon. 6. p. 77.

(4) Claud. Theod. cbron. p. 123.

(5) Claud.

WHILE these things passed in the West, some disturbances happened in the court of *Theodosius* at *Constantinople*: *Rufinus*, not satisfied with the consular dignity, to which he was raised this year, notwithstanding the report of his having been the author of the death of *Promotus*, killed by the barbarians, began to aspire to the prefecture of the East, which was held by *Tatianus*, whom he caused to be accused of oppression in *Tatianus*, his government. *Zosimus* will have him to have been altogether innocent, and only hated by *Rufinus* on account of his *Proculus*, integrity. *Proculus*, the son of *Tatianus*, and prefect of *Constantinople*, was accused of the same crime, *Rufinus* hating him, says *Zosimus*, for the sake of his father. *Theodosius* appointed several judges to try them; but, as *Rufinus* was at the head of that commission, and the other judges dreaded his resentment, they were both declared guilty: the father was *Tatianus* deposed, and confined to *Lydia*, his native country; and the son sentenced to death; which *Theodosius* no sooner knew, than he sent him his pardon; but the messenger, gained over by *Rufinus*, took care not to acquaint the proper officers with the emperor's order, till the execution was over (O). As for *Proculus*, he must have been guilty of greater crimes than his father, since he was punished with more severity. But, however just was the punishment inflicted on *Tatianus*, his countrymen the *Lycians*, who had no share in his crimes, ought not to have had any in his disgrace and misfortunes: nevertheless *Theodosius*, at the instigation of *Rufinus*, a declared enemy to the *Lycians*, enacted a law, declaring their whole nation infamous, depriving them of the employments they held at that time, and rendering them for ever incapable of any pre-

P Zos. l. iv. p. 774.

(O) Thus *Zosimus*. But *Libanius* charges both *Tatianus*, and his son *Proculus*, with cruelty and oppression (6); and the laws enacted on this occasion by *Theodosius* give us room to believe, that the charge brought against *Tatianus* was not altogether groundless, as *Zosimus* styles it; for by one law he took off a tax which had been levied by *Tatianus*, without his knowledge; by another he commanded the estates

and effects of such persons as had been proscribed by him, to be restored to them, or their children; and, by a third, addressed to *Rufinus*, he declared those guilty of death, who, for the future, should be convicted of having plundered the people committed to their care; whereas, by former laws, they were only to pay four times the value of what they had taken (7).

(6) *Lih. orat.* lvi. p. 42; p. 219, 220.

(7) *Cod. Theod.* l. ix. tit. 28. leg. 1.

ferment<sup>q</sup>. This unjust law was afterwards revoked by *Arcadius*, who restored the *Lycians* to their former condition, ascribing the base treatment they had met with, not to their demerit, but to the hatred of an execrable man, meaning *Rufinus*<sup>r</sup>. As *Tatianus* is highly commended by *Zosimus*, and persecuted with great cruelty the catholics, while he was governor of *Egypt* under *Valens* in 367. some writers from thence conclude him to have been a pagan. He had been *comes largitionum* to *Valens* in 374. three times prefect of the East, and twice consul. He is supposed to have died soon after his disgrace. When he was deposed, *Rufinus* was appointed prefect of the East in his room<sup>s</sup>.

*Rufinus made prefect of the East.*

*Eugenius sends deputies to Theodosius ;*

THE affair of *Tatianus* and *Proculus* was not yet ended, when news of the death of *Valentinian*, and the usurpation of *Eugenius*, were brought to *Constantinople*. A few days after, ambassadors arrived from the usurper, who, without so much as mentioning the name of *Arbogastes*, demanded an audience in the name of *Eugenius* ; and, being admitted to the emperor's presence, proposed an alliance, between him and their master. *Theodosius* received them in a very obliging manner, amused them, says *Zosimus*, with fair words, and dismissed them loaded with rich presents<sup>t</sup>. At the head of this embassy was one *Rufinus*, an *Athenian*, who was attended by several bishops sent by *Eugenius* to divert the emperor from engaging in a civil war. As *Theodosius* charged *Arbogastes* with the murder of *Valentinian*, the bishops did all that lay in their power to clear him from that fault, as they styled it, and groundless aspersions<sup>u</sup> (P). *Theodosius* began his military operations ; but,

22

*rehe prepares for war.*

<sup>q</sup> Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 38. leg. 9. p. 278, 278.

tit. 1. p. 279.

<sup>r</sup> AMBR. ep. 50. p. 309.

p. 776. <sup>s</sup> RUF. p. 191.

<sup>t</sup> Idem,

<sup>u</sup> Zos.

(P) *Rufinus* (8), *Theodoret* (9), and *Socrumen* (1), tell us, that, upon the departure of the ambassadors, *Theodosius* dispatched the eunuch *Eutropius*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reign of *Arcadius*, to consult an holy hermit, by name *John*, by nation an *Egyptian*, whom the emperor looked upon as an oracle. *Eutropius*

was enjoined to bring him, if possible, to court ; but, if he could not prevail upon him to quit his solitude, to ask him, whether he approved of the emperor's attacking *Eugenius* first ; or, if he should wait till the usurper attacked him. The hermit declined going to court ; but advised the emperor to begin the war without delay, assuring him,

(3) *Ruf.* p. 191.  
p. 743.

(9) *Theodor.* l. v. c. 24. p. 738.

(1) *Socr.*

that

as he confided more in the assistance of Heaven, than the number of his troops, or the bravery of his generals, he visited in the first place all the churches of his capital, attended by several bishops, and a great croud of people, imploring with them the favour and protection of the Almighty, who disposes of kingdoms as he thinks fit, and bestows victory on whom he pleases <sup>w</sup>. The military preparations, to which *Theodosius* applied himself with indefatigable pains, did not divert him from publishing several laws this year; among the rest, one condemning such heretics as should confer or receive holy orders, to pay, by way of fine, ten pounds weight of gold; and declaring the places where they should perform any religious ceremony, confiscated <sup>x</sup>. By another law of this year, dated the eighteenth of *July*, he commands those who should raise disturbances in the church, or impugn the orthodox faith, to be banished, and confined to some desert, if they had been guilty of the same fault before <sup>y</sup>. The law of the eighteenth of *October* of this year commands such criminals, as should have purloined the public money, and taken sanctuary in churches, to be dragged from thence, and punished; or the bishops, who protected them, to pay what they owed <sup>z</sup>. From this law it appears, that the custom of taking sanctuary in churches had already prevailed. Before this time, *St. Austin*, being solicited either to deliver up a debtor, by name *Fascius*, who had fled to his church as to an asylum, or to satisfy his creditors, chose the latter <sup>a</sup>. By a law dated the eighth of *November*, the emperor revived all the antient laws against paganism, forbidding, under the severest penalties, every ceremony of the pagan religion <sup>b</sup>.

THE following year *Theodosius* was consul the third time, with *Abundantius*, who was, as appears from a law of the preceding year, general both of the horse and foot <sup>c</sup>. In his room *Eugenius* was acknowledged consul in the West, as we learn from an antient epitaph of this year, in which that usurper is stiled the colleague of *Theodosius* in the consulship <sup>d</sup>. This year *Theodosius* published many excellent laws, and, among the rest, one abrogating an antient law, which punished those with

*His piety.*

*His laws against heretics.*

*He re- makes the law of treason,*

<sup>w</sup> RUF. l. ii. c. 33. p. 191.

<sup>x</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5.

leg. 21. p. 138.

<sup>y</sup> Idem ibid. tit. 4. leg. 3. p. 101.

<sup>z</sup> Idem, l. ix. tit. 45. leg. 1. p. 358.

<sup>a</sup> Aug. ep. 268.

p. 901.

<sup>b</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 12. p. 273.

<sup>c</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 126.

<sup>d</sup> Vide REIN. p. 1021,

that he would overcome the tyrant, but not without bloodshed; that he would die in *Italy*, after

his victory; and, in dying, leave his son emperor of the West. Thus the above-mentioned writers.

death, who uttered seditious words against the prince. "If such words (says *Theodosius* in his law of this year) proceed from levity, they are to be despised; if from folly, to be pitied; if from malice, they are to be forgiven <sup>c</sup>." In the beginning, or, as some will have it, in the end, of this Augustus year, that is, on the fifteenth of *January*, or twentieth of Year of *November*, the emperor declared his second son *Honorius* the flood *Augustus*. The ceremony was performed with great solemnity 2843. in the palace of *Hebdomon* near *Constantinople*<sup>f</sup>. The poet Of Christ *Claudian* introduces on this occasion *Theodosius* instructing the 393. young prince in the art of governing <sup>g</sup> (Q). *Theodosius* Of Rome passed this whole year at *Constantinople*, making the necessary 1191. preparations for the dangerous war which he was resolved to undertake.

*Eugenius* As for *Eugenius*, he had gained, the preceding year, considerable advantages over the *Franks*; but, leaving *Gaul* this gains considerable year, he repaired to *Italy*; which he had scarce entered, when advan- he was met by a deputation from the *Roman* senate, intreating tages over him to restore to the temples the revenues, of which they had the *Franks* been deprived by *Gratian*, and to re-establish the celebrated altar of *Victory*. *Eugenius* received them in a very obliging manner; but could not be prevailed upon to comply with their request. The senate soon after sent a second deputation, to solicit the same favour; which was denied them a second *Eugenius* time. But, when by a third embassy they renewed their favours request, *Eugenius* yielded at length to their importunity, restoring the pagan religion and temples to their former lustre, the pagan ceremonies. and suffering the ancient ceremonies and sacrifices to be renewed in the senate of the metropolis of his empire<sup>h</sup>. The following year 394. *Arcadius* being consul the third time, and *Honorius* the second, *Theodosius* was still at *Constantinople* on

<sup>c</sup> Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 4. leg. 3. p. 42.

<sup>f</sup> PHILOST. l. xi. c. 2. p. 146. SOZ. l. vii. c. 24. p. 741. CLAUD. conf.

Hon. 3. p. 35, 36. <sup>g</sup> CLAUD. ibid. p. 45—50. <sup>h</sup> AMB. vit. p. 85. ep. 15. p. 210.

(Q) This year was ended at *Constantinople* a square, which bore the name of *Theodosius*; and the following year a wreathed column erected in it, on which were engraved the victories of that prince over the *Goths*, and other barbarians. On the top of the column was an equestrian statue of *Theodosius*, which was thrown down by an earthquake in the reign of the emperor *Zeno*; but the column was still standing in the thirteenth century, and is frequently mentioned in history (2).

the fifteenth of *May*<sup>i</sup>; but he left that metropolis soon after; for he was, on the thirtieth of the same month, at *Heraclea*; and, on the fifteenth of *June*, at *Adrianople*<sup>k</sup>. He bent his march through *Dacia*, and the other provinces between *Thrace* and the *Julian Alps*, which separate *Italy* from *Noricum*, with a design to force the passes of those mountains, and break into *Italy*, before the army of *Eugenius* was in a condition to oppose him. Upon his arrival at the *Alps*, he found the passes guarded by *Flavianus* prefect of *Italy*, at the head of a considerable body of *Roman* troops, who, after a short resistance, betook themselves to flight. *Flavianus* was killed at the first onset. *Theodosius*, having thus opened himself a passage over the *Alps*, was met, as he came down from those mountains, by *Eugenius*, at the head of a very numerous army, drawn up in battle-array on the banks of the river *Frigidum*; which *Sanfon* and others take to be the river *Vipaz* or *Wibach* in the county of *Gorice*, about thirty-six miles from *Aquileia*. The army of *Theodosius* was no less numerous than that of the enemy, being reinforced by several bodies of *Armenians*, *Iberians*, *Arabians*, *Goths*, and other barbarians, who dwelt beyond the *Dunube*. The *Roman* troops were commanded by *Timasius*, and *Stilicho*, who had married the emperor's niece; and the foreign auxiliaries by *Gainas*, *Saul*, *Bacurius*, and *Alaric* the *Goth*, whose name is famous in history. Of *Gainas*, who was of the same nation, and *Saul*, who was likewise a barbarian, we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reigns of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. *Bacurius* was a native of *Armenia*<sup>l</sup>, or, as *Ruffinus* will have it, of *Iberia*<sup>m</sup>; nay, he is stiled by that writer king of *Iberia*. Among the *Romans* he was comes domesticorum, that is, captain of the guards, and universally esteemed, not only for his courage and experience in war, but for the mildness of his temper, his affability and good-nature to all, even to his enemies<sup>n</sup>. *Ruffinus*, the ecclesiastical historian, who lived in great intimacy with him while he was duke of *Palæstine*, calls him a man of great integrity, a pious and zealous Christian, a worthy companion of *Theodosius*, a man endowed with every good quality of the mind, and by few equaled in the perfections of his body<sup>o</sup>. Under these leaders, the army of *Theodosius* advanced into the plain; but the emperor, unwilling to expose the *Romans*, ordered the foreign auxiliaries to begin the action, which they did with great vigour and resolution; but were soon put in disorder by the regular and well-disciplined troops of *Eugenius*, headed by *Arbo-*

Theodo-  
the Alps, was met, as he came down from those mountains, by Eugenius, at the head of a very numerous army, drawn up in battle-array on the banks of the river Frigidum; which of the  
Sanfon and others take to be the river Vipaz or Wibach in the Alps.  
Year of  
the flood  
2844.  
Of Christ  
394.  
Of Rome  
1192.

<sup>i</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 129.<sup>k</sup> Idem ibid.<sup>l</sup> Zos.

p. 777.

<sup>m</sup> Ruf. l. i. c. 10. p. 166.<sup>n</sup> Zos. ibid<sup>o</sup> Ruf. l. ii. c. 33. p. 192.



*gastes*, who signalized himself in a very eminent manner. *Bacurius*, however, having rallied the barbarians, led them back to the charge; and, being supported by *Timasius* and *Stilicho*, renewed the combat, which lasted till night came on, when both armies retired to their respective camps. *Bacurius* on this occasion distinguished himself above all the other commanders, killed great numbers of the enemy with his own hand; but, being in the end surrounded on all sides, he was cut in pieces, after having defended himself for a long time with incredible bravery. Of the *Goths*, and other auxiliaries, above ten thousand were killed; but of the *Romans*, who supported them, only a small number.

Eugenius  
defeated.

EUGENIUS, concluding he had gained the day, and that the army of *Theodosius* was utterly defeated, gave his men leave to retire to their tents, and refresh themselves, that they might be the better able to pursue the enemy next morning. In the mean time *Theodosius* was advised by his generals not to hazard a second engagement, but to retire in the night, repass the *Alps*, and put off the decision of the war till another campaign; against which time he might with great ease recruit his army, and renew the war with fresh vigour. But the emperor, without giving ear to their remonstrances, having assembled his troops by break of day, led them in person against the enemy; and, entering their camp when least expected, put great numbers of them to the sword, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitate and disorderly flight <sup>p</sup> (R).

*Arbo-*

<sup>p</sup> Zos. p. 778.

(R) Thus *Zosimus*. But the ecclesiastical historians ascribe the victory gained by *Theodosius*, not to any surprize, but to the prayers of the emperor, and to the miraculous assistance of St. *John* the evangelist, and the apostle St. *Philip*, who, appearing to him in the night, encouraged him to renew the fight early next morning, and assured him of victory. The same writers add, that *Theodosius* no sooner attacked *Euge-*

*nus's* numerous forces, than a violent storm arising, and blowing full in the enemy's faces, turned their arrows and javelins back upon themselves, and raised such clouds of dust, as quite deprived them of their sight; so that, having two enemies to encounter at once, they were quickly overcome. Of this storm mention is made by *Theodoret* (3), *Orosius* (4), *Sozomen* (5), St. *Ambrose* (6), *Ruffinus* (7), St.

(3) *Theodoret*. l. v. c. 24. p. 734.

(4) *Oros.* l. vii. c. 35. p. 227.

(5) *S.* l. vii. c. 24. p. 747.

(6) *Ambros. serm. de divers.* p. 117. & in *Psalm.* c. 69.

(7) *Ruf.* l. iii. c. 33. p. 190.

*Arbogastes* behaved on this occasion with great intrepidity; but, in spite of his utmost efforts, his men, quite disheartened, and concluding, from the extraordinary violence of the storm, that Heaven fought against them, either betook themselves to flight, or, throwing down their arms, submitted to *Theodosius*, who readily received them into favour; but at the same time commanded them to apprehend, and deliver up to him, the usurper. They no sooner received this order, than they flew to the rising ground, where *Eugenius* had posted himself to behold the battle, and was still waiting the event of it. When he observed them coming in great haste towards him, he concluded they brought him news of the victory. As they approached, he asked them, whether they had, pursuant to his orders, secured *Theodosius*. They answered, that they despised the commands of a tyrant and usurper, whom they were come to seize, and deliver up to their lawful sovereign; and, *Eugenius* loading him that instant with irons, dragged him, stripped of <sup>taken, de-</sup> all the ensigns of majesty, to the emperor; who reproached <sup>livered up</sup> him with the murder of *Valentinian*, with the calamities he <sup>to</sup> *Theodosius* had brought upon the empire by his unjust usurpation, and <sup>sus, and</sup> with putting his confidence in *Hercules*, in defiance of the <sup>put to</sup> only true God; for, on his chief standard, he had displayed <sup>death by</sup> the image of that fabulous deity. *Eugenius* begged earnestly <sup>his own</sup> for his life; but, while he lay prostrate at the emperor's feet, <sup>men.</sup> his own soldiers struck off his head, and, carrying it about on the point of a spear, shewed it to those, who, remaining in his camp, had not yet submitted to *Theodosius*. At that sight they were all thunderstruck; but, being at the same time informed, that *Theodosius* was ready to receive them into favour, they threw down their arms, and submitted.

ARBOGASTES, the chief author of the death of *Valentinian*, and the evils attending it, despairing of pardon, fled to the mountains; but, being apprised, that diligent search was <sup>Arbogastes lays</sup> made after him, he laid violent hands on himself. The <sup>violent</sup> children of *Eugenius* and *Arbogastes*, who had attended their <sup>hands on</sup> *himself*.

¶ Ambr. vit. p. 86. CLAUD. conf. Hon. 4. p. 41. RUFFIN. p. 192. THEODOR. p. 740. SOCR. l. v. c. 25. p. 294. Chron. Alex. p. 710. <sup>†</sup> CLAUD. ibid. p. 41. & conf. Hon. 3. p. 39. SOCR. p. 295. OROS. p. 220, 221.

*Auslin* (8), and the poet *Claudian* (9), who describes it with great elegance in some verses which he wrote eighteen months after (1); but, to flatter *Honorius*, will have it to have been owing to his destiny.

(8) *Aug. civ. Dei*, l. v. c. 26. p. 642.  
) *Idem ibid.*

(9) *Claud. conf. Hon.* 3. p. 36.

Honorius  
declared  
emperor of  
the West.  
Year of  
the flood  
2844.  
Of Christ  
394.  
Of Rome  
1192.

parents in this war, having great reason to expect the same treatment, took sanctuary in different churches : but the pious emperor, not satisfied with pardoning them, laid hold of that opportunity to convert them from paganism, which they professed, to the Christian religion, appointing proper persons to instruct them, and convince them of their errors ; which they had no sooner renounced, than he took them under his protection, put them in possession of their paternal estates, and raised them to considerable employments<sup>s</sup> (S). The emperor, immediately after his victory over *Eugenius*, sent for his son *Honorius*, whom he had left at *Constantinople*, under the care of *Rufinus*, who was thereby vested with almost an unlimited power. Before the arrival of the young prince, *Theodosius* had removed from *Aquileia* to *Milan*, where he received him and *Serena*, who came with him, in the great church, and committed them both to the care of St. *Ambrose*<sup>t</sup>. *Serena* was daughter to *Honorius*, the emperor's brother. A few days after, he declared his son *Honorius* emperor of the West, assigning him for his share *Italy, Gaul, Spain, Britain, Africa, and West Illyricum*, and appointing *Stilicho* his first general, and prime minister<sup>u</sup>. With this declaration he sent *Stilicho* to *Rome* ; on which occasion *Serena*, whom *Theodosius* had married to that general, and who accompanied her husband to *Rome*, shewed a great desire, says *Zosimus*, to see the statue of *Cybele* ; but she was no sooner admitted into the temple, than she snatched from the goddess a necklace of inestimable value,

<sup>s</sup> AMBR. ep. 16. p. 211. OROS. p. 220, 221. c. 26. p. 295. RUFF. l. ii. c. 34. p. 192. <sup>t</sup> SOCR. l. v. <sup>u</sup> ZOS. lib. iv. p. 773.

(S) Great numbers of the partisans of *Eugenius* having fled for refuge to the great church of *Milan*, St. *Ambrose* repaired to *Aquileia*, where the emperor then was, to solicit their pardon ; which was immediately granted, and a general amnesty proclaimed (2) ; nay, the emperor is said to have been so concerned for the blood that was shed in the battle, as to abstain for some time from the holy eucharist (3).

He probably followed therein the directions of St. *Ambrose*, at least his conduct was agreeable to the sentiments of that prelate, who, in speaking of judges, says, That, though he does not deny them, as many have done, the holy eucharist, after they have sentenced criminals to death, yet he approves of their abstaining for some time of their own accord from the holy mysteries (4).

(2) AMBR. vit. p. 86. (3) RUFF. l. ii. c. 34. p. 192. SOCR. lib. v. c. 26. p. 295. SOCR. l. vii. c. 29. p. 773. (4) AMBR. ep. 51. p. 309, 310.

saying, It became better the niece of an emperor, than a senseless statue. An old *Vestal*, who was present, transported with a blind zeal, could not forbear uttering dreadful imprecations against *Serena*, her husband, and her children; but *Serena* caused her to be driven out of the temple, and punished for her arrogance. At the same time her husband *Stilicho* commanded the thick plate of gold, with which the gates of *Jupiter Capitolinus* were covered, to be taken off, and conveyed to his lodging (T). The *Roman* senate sent deputies to congratulate *Theodosius* on his late victory, and to beg the consulship of the ensuing year for the two brothers *Olybrius* and *Probinus*. The emperor granted them their request, exhorting them at the same time with great zeal to renounce the errors in which they had been brought up, and yield to the force of that truth which now generally prevailed (U). This year is remarkable for dreadful earthquakes, which were felt almost every day in most provinces of the empire, from the beginning of *September* to the end of *November*; for excessive and incessant rains, which laid whole countries under water; and such a darkness as had not happened in the memory of man<sup>w</sup>; all which the writers of those times seem to have looked upon as prognostics of the great loss the *Roman* empire was to sustain in the approaching death of the great *Theodosius*.

<sup>w</sup> MAR. chron. AMB. ferm. de divers. iii. p. 116.

(T) Under the plate were found engraved on the wood these words: *This is reserved for an unhappy king*. Thus *Zosimus* (5), who ridiculously ascribes to these two actions the misfortunes which afterwards befel *Stilicho* and *Serena*.

(U) *Zosimus*, who seldom agrees with other writers, supposes *Theodosius* to have gone in person to *Rome*, to have summoned to the imperial palace all the senators, who still continued attached to the antient ceremonies of the *Romans*, and to have exhorted them to get the better of the prejudice of their education, and, renouncing the superstitious worship of the gods, to embrace the

Christian religion, which alone could deliver them from their sins. But not one, continues that writer, could be prevailed upon to abandon the religion and ceremonies with which *Rome* had been founded, and had subsisted near twelve hundred years. Hereupon the emperor declared, that, as the exchequer had been drained by the late war, he could spare no money for the ceremonies of their religion; which he therefore declared unlawful, and utterly suppressed (6). He had before enacted several laws for the suppression of idolatry; but *Eugenius* had revoked them, and restored to the temples their privileges and revenues.

(5) *Zof.* p. 779.

(6) *Idem*, l. v. p. 314.

Theodo-  
sius di-  
vides the  
empire be-  
tween his  
two chil-  
dren.

Theodo-  
sius dies.  
Year of  
the flood  
2845.  
Of Christ  
395.  
Of Rome  
1193.

His cha-  
racter.

THE next consuls were the two brothers *Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius* and *Anicius Probinus*, the sons of *Petronius Probus* and *Anicia Proba*, on whose consulate *Claudian* wrote a poem <sup>x</sup>. *Theodosius*, having restored the West to its former tranquillity, was preparing to return to *Constantinople*, when he was seized with a dropy, occasioned by the great fatigues he had undergone in the late war <sup>y</sup>. As soon as he perceived himself to be in danger, he made his will, by which he divided the empire, bequeathing the East to his eldest son *Arcadius*, and the West to *Honorius*. He likewise confirmed the pardon which he had granted to all those who had borne arms against him, and remitted a tribute, which had proved very burdensome to the people, charging his sons and successors to see his will duly executed as to these two points <sup>z</sup> (W). He died at *Milan* on the seventeenth of *January* of this year 395. two days before he had ended the sixteenth year of his reign, being then at most in the fiftieth year of his age <sup>a</sup>. *St. Ambrose* pronounced his funeral oration, in which he supposes him to enjoy the rewards promised in the gospel to a religious and virtuous life <sup>b</sup>. His body was embalmed, and conveyed from *Milan* to *Constantinople*, where it was interred by *Arcadius* with extraordinary pomp and magnificence on the ninth of *November* of the present year <sup>c</sup>. A tomb of porphyry was to be seen many ages after, supposed to be that of *Theodosius*. It stood in the mausoleum of *Constantine the Great*, near the church of the *Apostles* <sup>d</sup>.

As for the character of *Theodosius*, all authors, whether pagan or Christian, *Zosimus* alone excepted, agree, that he was endowed in an eminent degree with every virtue becoming a prince, without the alloy of one single vice. Not to

<sup>x</sup> CLAUD. de conf. Olyb. & Prob. p. 1—8.

1 v. c. 26. p. 295. Soz. l. vii. c. 28. p. 752.

ferm. de divers. iii. p. 117.

<sup>b</sup> AMB. ibid. p. 117—121.

<sup>c</sup> Zos. l. iv. p. 779. AMB. ibid. p. 125. SOCR. l. vi. c. 1. p. 300.

<sup>d</sup> CANGE urb. Conf. antiq. l. iv. p. 109.

<sup>y</sup> SOCR.

<sup>z</sup> AMBR.

Chr. Alex.

<sup>c</sup> Zos. l. iv.

<sup>d</sup> CANGE

(W) *Socrates* and *Sozomen* write, that, finding himself in great measure eased of his pain, he assisted at a chariot-race; but, his distemper returning with great violence, he appointed one of his sons to preside at the

sports in his room; and, withdrawing to his chamber, died the following night (7). He was heard, a few minutes before he expired, to utter the name of *St. Ambrose* (8).

(7) SOCR. l. v. c. 26. SOZ. l. vii. c. 29. p. 752.  
de divers. iii. p. 122.

(8) AMBR. ferm.

mention the ecclesiastic historians, and the two great luminaries of the church, St. *Ambrose* and St. *Austin*, who may perhaps be thought prejudiced in his favour, as he was a most zealous patron of the orthodox faith, *Themistius*, *Symmachus*, *Pacatus*, and *Victor* the younger, though greatly attached to the antient religion of the *Romans*, which *Theodosius* discountenanced above all his predecessors, and made it his chief study utterly to suppress; propose him as the pattern of an excellent prince; the eminent virtues, that shone in him, overcoming the prejudice, which his zeal for the Christian religion, and aversion from the superstitious ceremonies of the pagans, raised against him among those, who, in spite of his utmost endeavours, continued obstinate in their errors. The testimony of those writers, who had no less reason to be prejudiced against *Theodosius* than *Zosimus*, and who lived in those times, must be of far greater weight with every impartial reader, than the invectives of that historian, who lived an hundred years after. *Theodosius* was, as we have hinted above, out of *Aurelius Victor*, naturally choleric, and apt in the first transports of his passion to issue such orders as favoured of cruelty. But, as he was soon appeased, we have but one instance of their being put in execution before he had time to revoke them; namely, the famous massacre of the inhabitants of *Theffalonica*, who had murdered in an insurrection *Botericus*, the emperor's lieutenant in *Illyricum*, because he refused to set at liberty a chariot-driver, who had been imprisoned for offering violence to a woman of some distinction.

WHEN this came to the emperor's ears, he ordered all those, who had been any-ways concerned in the murder or riot, to be put to death; but, at the intercession of St. *Ambrose*, and other bishops assembled in a synod at *Milan*, where the emperor then was, he revoked his orders, and pardoned them. Some time after, his ministers representing to him, that the *Theffalonians* had been encouraged to this sedition by the too great indulgence he had shewn to the inhabitants of *Antioch*; and that, if he suffered the murder of his lieutenant to go thus unpunished, his officers for the future would be in continual danger of their lives, and he himself disturbed and alarmed with daily insurrections; his wrath was kindled anew *The massacre* to such a degree, that, forgetful of the promise he had made *cre of* to St. *Ambrose*, he immediately ordered a body of troops to *Theffaloma*rch to *Theffalonica*, and revenge on the inhabitants the nica. death of his lieutenant. The soldiers, entering the city, pursuant to their orders, surrounded the people, while they were

\* Vide *SYM.* l. iii. ep. 81. p. 137. ep. 13. p. 67. *VICT.* epit. p. 546, 547.

assembled to behold the *Circensian* games; and, falling upon them sword in hand, without regard to sex, age, or condition, without distinction of guilty or innocent, cruelly massacred, in the space of three hours, above seven thousand persons, many of whom were strangers come to *Theſſalonica* on occasion of the sports.

An instance of his submission to the discipline of the church.

WHEN news of this massacre were brought to *Milan*, *St. Ambrose* wrote to the emperor, who had left that city some time before, upbraiding him with his cruelty, representing to him the enormity of his crime, and exhorting him to atone for it by a sincere submission and repentance. This the emperor took in good part; and, returning a few days after to *Milan*, repaired, according to his custom, to the great church, to perform his devotions there. But *St. Ambrose*, meeting him at the door, denied him entrance, telling him, that he was cut off from the communion of the faithful, and unworthy to appear amongst them, till he had expiated so public a crime by as public a repentance. To this the emperor readily submitted; and, returning to the palace with tears in his eyes, performed with great humility all the duties of an open penance, as enjoined by the canons of the church, and the custom of those times. He continued in that state for the space of eight months, that is, from the latter end of *April* to *Christmas*, when, to make some amends for his crime, and to prevent both himself and his successors from being guilty of the like cruelty for the future, he enacted a law, or rather enforced the observance of an antient law, by which all criminals were to have a respite of thirty days allowed them between the pronouncing of the sentence of death and their execution<sup>f</sup> (X). Of the writers, who flourished in his reign, we shall speak in our note (Y).

<sup>f</sup> THEODOR. lib. iii. c. 17. SOZ. lib. iii. c. 24. NICEPH. l. xii. c. 40. AMB. ep. 28. AUG. de civit. lib. v. c. 26, &c.

(X) It is surprising, that *Zosimus*, who omits no opportunity of railing at *Theodosius*, and often censures even the most commendable actions of that prince, should take no notice of the above mentioned massacre. The reader will find, in the ecclesiastic writers, other instances of the emperor's intire submission to the ordinances of the church, of his piety, self-denial, and other

Christian virtues, in which he far excelled all the princes who had reigned before him.

(Y) Among the writers who flourished under *Theodosius*, the celebrated orator *Symmachus* deserves, both on account of his birth and eloquence, to be mentioned in the first place. He was the son of *L. Aurelius Avianus Symmachus*, prefect of *Rome* in 364 (9). He is styled at the

head of his letters, by *Macrobius* (1), and in an ancient inscription, *Aurelius Symmachus* (2). He had at least three brothers, who were all dead before the year 389 (3). Of these *Celsinus Tigidius*, whom in all his letters he styles brother (4), seems to have been one. He distinguished *Flavianus*, who was prefect of *Italy*, and joined *Eugenius*, in whose cause he lost his life, with the same title (5); but most writers are of opinion, that he was no-ways allied to him. *Symmachus* married *Rusticana* the daughter of *Orfitus*, who was for many years prefect of *Rome* under *Constantius*, and had by her one son named *Fabius Memmius Symmachus* (6). *Orfitus*, his father-in-law, was accused in 364. and convicted of having imbeziled the public money; for which crime his estate was confiscated, and he banished; but he was recalled in 366. when part of his estate was restored to him; but nevertheless he died very poor about the year 370. leaving two daughters behind him, to wit, *Rusticana*, and another, who was married to a person of distinction in *Hebruria* (7). Though *Symmachus* had no fortune with his wife, yet he was reckoned among the wealthy senators (8). He was high pontif of the pagans, quæstor, prætor, corrector, or governor, of *Luca-*

*nia* and *Brutium* in 365. and 368. proconsul of *Africa* in 370. and 373. prefect of *Rome* in 384. and consul in 391 (9). He is styled in an ancient inscription count of the third order (1). He was a most zealous patron of idolatry, and on that account, banished by *Theodosius*, but soon after recalled, as we have observed already. He brought up his son with extraordinary care, and seems to have taken upon himself to instruct him (2). Being invited by *Theodosius*, with whom he lived in great intimacy, to come to *Milan*, and assist at the solemnity of his consulship in 399. he excused himself, alleging, that he could not leave his son (3). His son was made by his interest, first quæstor, and afterwards prætor (4), quæstor about the year 392. and prætor in 397. The latter dignity cost him two thousand pounds weight of gold (5), and he would have spent on that occasion a far greater sum, had he not been restrained by *Stilicho*, who at that time ruled under *Honorius* (6). Young *Symmachus* was proconsul of *Africa* in 415. and prefect of *Rome* in 419 (7). In the date of a law of the year 424. he is marked consul (8); but most writers take that to be a mistake. He married, after the year 394. the grand-daughter of *Flavianus*, and had by her a son

(1) *Macrobius*. l. i. c. 5. p. 176, 177. lib. iii. ep. 6. p. 104.

(2) *Rein.* p. 399.

(3) *Sym.*

(4) *Idem*, lib. i. ep. 40. 50. 68. p. 30. 33.

(5) *Idem*, l. ii. ep. 44. p. 81. & ep. 83. p. 97.

(6) *Sidon.* lib. ii.

(7) *Idem*, l. v. ep. 54. *Symmachus*. lib. ix. ep. 121. p. 386. lib. x. ep. 47. p. 441, 442.

(8) *Cod. Theod.* tit. 6. p. 374. *Sym.* l. x. ep. 47. p. 441, 442. (9) *Pbot.*

c. 80. p. 197. *Sym.* l. v. ep. 5. p. 187. & ep. 66. p. 214. *Ammian.* p. 317.

*Macrobius*. p. 745. (5) *Sym.* lib. ix. ep. 41. p. 31. *Cod. Theod.* tit. 6.

p. 386. (1) *Rein.* p. 399. (2) *Sym.* l. vii. ep. 30. p. 273.

(3) *Idem*, l. viii. ep. 68. p. 335. (4) *Idem*, l. v. ep. 44. p. 272. &

l. iv. ep. 12. p. 147. (5) *Idem*, l. iv. ep. 8. p. 146. (6) *Idem*

*ibid.* (7) *Cod. Theod.* tit. 6. p. 386. (8) *Idem*, tit. 1. p. 380.



before the death of his father (9). He wrote some epigrams on illustrious men, and several letters, which are to be found among those of his father, who submitted his own compositions to the censure and judgment of his son (1). *Symmachus*, the father, was esteemed the most eloquent orator of his time; but, his speeches not meeting with the applause he expected, he applied himself intirely to the writing of letters (2). His speeches have been long since lost; but his letters have reached our times, and are divided into ten books. They were carefully preserved by his amanuensis, and one of his friends, named *Elpidius*, and published after his death by his son (3). *Prudentius*, who wrote against him, while he was still living, on occasion of his endeavouring to persuade the emperor to restore the altar of *Victory*, extols his eloquence, and compares it to a golden spade made use of to dig up ordure (4). *Macrolus* compares his elegant and florid style, as he terms it, to that of *Pliny* the younger, and equals him, in that respect, to the best writers of antiquity (5). *Apolinaris Sidonius* and *Cassiodorus* admire his eloquence, and the purity of his style (6). Both these writers quote some passages out of him, which are not to be found in any of his works that have reached our times (7). So-

crates (8), *Photius* (9), and *Jornandes* (1), mention him with great encomiums. And truly the turn and brevity of his letters is not without some elegance; but the same thoughts, though, generally speaking, common and obvious, are often repeated; and his style favours much of the barbarity of the age in which he lived. *Jornandes* quotes the fifth book of the history of *Symmachus*; but, as it does not appear, that either *Symmachus* the orator, or his son, ever wrote any history, most authors take the historian quoted by *Jornandes* to be different from both (2).

The Latin poet *Rufus Festus Avienus* is supposed to have flourished under *Theodosius*, because he inscribed a work to *Probus*, a consular man, whom most writers take to be the celebrated *Probus*, who died not long before the year 395 (3). *St. Jerom*, in his comments on the epistle to *Titus*, writes, that the phenomena of *Aratus* had been lately translated by *Avienus* (4); which work, together with his translation of *Dionysius's* description of the world, and a third poem by the same author on the sea-coasts, has reached our times. To the same *Avienus* or *Avianus* are generally ascribed the fables of *Aesop* in Latin verse, and the whole history of *Livy* in iambics; but the latter laborious

(9) *Sym. l. iv. ep. 14. p. 142.*  
*apponit ad ep. Symmachi, p. 293. 301.*

*p. 159. & l. viii. ep. 68. p. 336.*  
*ep. 83. 84. p. 220.*

(5) *Macr. l. v. c. 1. p. 364.*

*p. 361. l. viii. ep. 10. p. 231.*

*& Cassiod. ibid.*

*c. 80. p. 197.*

*Voss. hist. Lat. p. 724.*

*p. 248.*

(1) *Idem, l. vii. ep. 21. p. 70. &*

*(2) Idem, lib. iv. ep. 29.*

*(3) Idem, l. iii. p. 101. & l. v.*

*(4) Prud. in Sym. l. i. p. 223. & l. ii. p. 225.*

*(5) Sid. l. i. ep. 1. p. 11. & car. 9.*

*(6) Sid. l. xi. ep. 1. p. 175.*

*(7) Sid. l. v. c. 14. p. 273.*

*(8) Jorn. rer. Gotb. c. 15. p. 6.*

*(9) Idem, l. ii. c. 9. p. 202.*

*(10) Hier. in Tit. i.*

performance, which is mentioned by *Servius*, has been long since lost (5). Some other poetical pieces done by the same author are still extant. He writes with more taste and elegance than could be expected from one of the age he lived in; but his fables are not to compare to those of *Phædrus* (6). *Rufus Feslus*, who was proconsul of *Achaia* under *Valens*, is thought to have been his son (7). *Victor* the historian, who closes his history with a kind of panegyric on *Theodosius*, is thought to have lived in his time, and to have written soon after the death of that prince (8). The name of *Sextus Aurelius Victor* is common to him with another historian, who flourished in the reign of the emperor *Valens*; but from him he is distinguished by the surname of *junior*, or *the younger*: in several manuscripts he is styled *Victorius* or *Victorinus*, and under both these names he is quoted by *Paulus Diaconus* (9). He wrote the *Roman history*; but what has been abridged times is but an abridgment of his work, and thence called *Victor's epitome* (1). *Gregory of Tours* quotes several things concerning the *Franks*, out of an historian named *Sulpitius Alexander* (2), whom *Gothofredus* commends as an excellent writer, and supposes to be the same *Alexander* to whom *Symmachus* wrote several letters; from which it appears, that he was governor of a province, and

was raised by *Valentinian II.* about the year 387. to the post of tribune and secretary (3). Some writers are of opinion, that the *Latin* poet *Manilius*, who wrote on astrology, flourished under *Theodosius*, or his son *Honorius*; but, from several passages in that poem, especially from the last verses of the first book, *Extremas modo per gentes*, &c. most critics conclude him to have lived in the time of *Augustus*, and to have written soon after the defeat of *Varus* (4). The *notitia*, or state of the provinces of the empire, published by *Surita*, with the *itinerary* of *Antoninus*, is supposed to have been written in the time of *Theodosius*; for mention is made there of the provinces of *Arcadia* in *Egypt*, and *Honorias* in *Pontus*, so styled from that prince's two sons, and no notice is taken of several other provinces formed by *Arcadius* after the death of his father (5). The five books of *Flavius Vegetius Renatus*, on the military art, are addressed to the emperor, by whose order the author undertook that work (6). But that prince is sometimes named *Valentinian*, and sometimes *Theodosius* (7). All we know for certain is, that he wrote after the death of *Gratian*, and not long after the ravages committed by the *Goths* in that prince's reign, which he ascribes to his having suffered the infantry to lay aside their cuirasses and helmets (8). *Vegëtius* is distinguished with the title of

(5) *Voss. poet. Lat.* p. 56.(7) *Vide Spm.* p. 190.(9) *Voss. bist. Lat.* *ibid.**Tur. bist. Franc.* l. ii. c. 9. p. 58, &c.p. 4. 9. *Sym. l. i. ep. 101.* p. 58. & l. ix. ep. 25. p. 347.l. vii. p. 643. *Voss. poet. Lat.* p. 36.*Noris. epich.* p. 298. 302.(7) *Idem*, p. 13.(6) *Vide Baillet. tom. vi.* p. 475, 476.(8) *Voss. bist. Lat. lib. ii. c. 12.* p. 221.(1) *Vict. epit.* p. 521.(3) *Cod. Theod. tit. 5.*(4) *Spanh.**Manil.* p. 160, 161.(5) *Vide*(6) *Veg. lib. i.* p. 13. & lib. ii. p. 30.(8) *Idem*, l. i. c. 20. p. 24.

comes or count, and even with the epithet of *illustrious*. He is commonly blamed for confounding the customs and regulations of the antients with those of his time.

The philosopher *Themistius* flourished under *Theodosius*, and was no less esteemed by the *Greeks* than *Symmachus* by the *Latins*. He was sprung from a noble family; and one of his ancestors, a philosopher by profession, had been distinguished with several honours by *Dioclesian* (9); perhaps his father *Eugenius*, who was no less famous for the profession of philosophy, than for his eloquence and learning (1). Amongst the letters of the emperor *Julian*, there is one to a philosopher by name *Eugenius* (2); whom some take to have been the father of *Themistius*; if so, he must have been too young in *Dioclesian's* time to be raised to any public employment. From his elogium written by his son soon after his death, it appears, that he preferred *Aristotle* to all other philosophers, and that in his old age he used to unbend his mind from the study of philosophy with cultivating his garden (3). *Themistius* was of the same age with the emperor *Constantius* (4), born in 317. He was a native of *Paphlagonia*, and not of *Constantinople*, though he spent almost his whole life in that city (5). He studied rhetoric at a

place on the most distant borders of *Pontus* and *Colchis*, near *Phasis*, a city of *Colchis*, on a river of the same name, his father having recommended him to a celebrated professor, who taught in that country (6), and under whom he made such progress, that he was surnamed *Euphradus*, or the *fine speaker* (7). *Gregory Nazianzen* styles him the king of eloquence: and adds, that he excelled in every thing, but most of all in the art of speaking (8). When he was yet very young, he wrote comments on *Aristotle* for his own private use; but nevertheless they were published, and met with great applause (9). His comments on *Aristotle*, and his notes on *Plato*, were still extant in the time of *Photius*, who styles them an useful work (1). The author of the book on the categories or predicaments, falsely ascribed to *St. Austin*, owns, that, in compiling that work, he had often recourse to *Themistius*, a great and wise philosopher of his time (2). Some fragments of the comments of *Themistius* on *Aristotle* are still extant (3); and *Stobæus* quotes a passage out of that work concerning the immortality of the soul. When he had ended his studies, he went to *Constantinople* (4), and resided there for the space of at least forty years (5). He first taught philosophy, to wit, that of *Pythagoras*, of *Plato*, and of *Ari-*

- (1) *Orat. Constantii Aug. de Themist.* p. 22. & *Themist. orat. v.* p. 63.  
 (2) *Julian. ep.* xviii. p. 135. (3) *The-*  
*mist. orat. xv.* p. 234. (4) *Idem, orat. i.* p. 375. (5) *Idem,*  
*orat. iii.* p. 28. (6) *Idem, orat. xxiii.* p. 292. & *orat. xvii.* p. 214.  
*orat. xxvii.* p. 332, 333. (7) *Gregor. Nazianzen. ep.* cxl. p. 866.  
 (8) *Idem, ep.* cxxix. p. 865. (9) *Idem, or.* xxvii. p. 333. or. xxiii.  
*f.* 294, 295. (1) *Pbot. c.* 73. p. 164. (2) *Aug. de categ.*  
*2. p.* 23. & *c.* 22. p. 34. (3) *Pbot. c.* 74. p. 161. (4) *Eu-*  
*seb. p.* 241. (5) *Idem, orat. xvii.* p. 214.

*Gotbs*; but made most account of the latter (6). He had an incredible number of disciples, and a philosopher of *Ancyra* in *Peloponnesus*, who had studied under *Iamblichus*, sent him all his at once (7). He taught *gratis*; nay, he assisted his disciples with money so far as his small estate would allow him; and thence he rejected the name of sophist, pretending it ought to be given only to mercenary teachers (8). After he had taught some time at *Constantinople*, he went first to the court of *Constantius*, before whom he pronounced his first oration at *Ancyra* in 347. having been introduced to that prince by *Saturinus*, who was consul in 383 (9). Not long after, that is, before the year 350. he saw *Constantius* in the West (1). In the year 355. *Constantius* created him senator of *Constantinople*, and wrote a letter in his commendation to the senate of that city (2). Two years after, that prince caused a statue to be erected to his honour (3). *Julian* wrote frequently to him in the time of his disgrace; and, being created *Cæsar*, answered by a long letter that which *Themistius* had written to him from *Constantinople*, encouraging him to answer the mighty expectations the world entertained of him (4). Upon the accession of *Jovian* to the empire, *Themistius* was sent to the new prince by the senate of *Constantinople*, to

congratulate him in their name: on which occasion he pronounced, or designed to pronounce, the oration which has reached our times (5), with several discourses pronounced by him before *Valens*, who would hear him at least once every year (6). He was with that prince in 369. when he concluded a peace with the *Goths*, to which the philosopher pretends to have greatly contributed (7). He attended *Valens* into the East, and in the *Persian* war in 372 (8). *Socrates* and *Sozomen* write, that he reconciled in some degree that prince to the catholics by a speech which he pronounced before him, shewing, that he ought not to be surprised at the different opinions of men in points of religion, but, on the contrary, allow them great liberty (9). In the year 376. he was sent by *Valens* to *Gratian*, then in *Gaul*. As, on his return, he passed thro' *Rome*, the inhabitants of that metropolis earnestly pressed him to continue there, and teach philosophy; but could not by any offers prevail upon him to accept that office; so that, after a short stay in their city, he returned to *Constantinople* (1). *Theodosius* raised him in 384. to the dignity of prefect of *Constantinople*, and once had some thoughts of committing to his care the education of his son *Arcadius* (2). He wrote several discourses in praise of that prince before the year 385. but, as none of his orations

(6) *Idem*, or. xxiii. p. 298. & orat. *Const.* p. 22. (7) *Idem*, orat. xli. p. 295.  
 (8) *Idem* *ibid.* p. 294. (9) *Idem*, orat. xiii. p. 165.  
 & orat. xxxi. p. 352. (1) *Idem*, orat. xiii. p. 165. orat. xxxi. p. 324.  
 orat. *Const.* p. 18. (2) Orat. *Const.* *ibid.* (3) *Themist.* orat. iv. p. 54.  
 (4) *Julian*, ad *Themist.* p. 479. (5) *Themist.* orat. v. p. 69.  
 (6) *Idem*, orat. x. p. 129. (7) *Idem* *ibid.* p. 123. & orat. xiii. p. 166.  
 (8) *Idem* *ibid.* (9) *Socr.* l. iv. c. 32. p. 250. *Soz.* l. vi. c. 36. p. 696. (1) *Themist.* orat. xxiii. p. 298. & orat. xxxi. p. 354.  
 (2) *Idem*, orat. xvii. p. 215.

are thought to be posterior to that year, he is supposed to have died soon after. All the emperors who reigned in his time, shewed him great respect, and distinguished him above all the other philosophers. Of his orations thirty-three have reached our times, comprising one in the *Latin* tongue, which several critics suppose not to be his. In *Photius's* time they were, in all, thirty-six, and, among them, one addressed to *Valentinian II.* which since his time has been lost (3). *Photius* commends his stile as grave, and at the same time florid and elegant (4). He declares himself in several places an enemy to flattery; but nevertheless commends all the emperors alike, and bestows as great encomiums upon *Valens* as upon *Theodosius*. A poet, by name *Palladius*, charges him with ambitiously aspiring to the dignity of prefect, notwithstanding his pretended contempt of grandeur and honours (5). When *Palladius* lived, we know not. *Theophrastus's* thirteenth oration is altogether unworthy of a man of his character. Some writers will have him to have been an heretic, confounding him with one *Eutychianus*, who lived in the sixth century; but it is evident, from his writings, that he professed paganism, though he was not perhaps such a fanatic as *Libanus* or *Eunapius*. *Gregory Nazianzen*, who admired his eloquence, wrote two letters to him, recommending several persons to his protection (6).

*Eunapius*, who wrote the lives of the sophists of the fourth century, was a native of *Sardes* the metropolis of *Lydia*; but studied at *Athens*, for the space of five years, under *Proerpes*, of whom we have spoken elsewhere, professor of eloquence in that city. He returned afterwards to *Lydia*, and there taught rhetoric. He applied himself likewise to the study of physic, and to that of magic, under *Chrysanthus*, who had married his cousin. He was initiated in the mysteries of *Eleusina*, and blindly attached to all the ceremonies of the pagan superstition (7). By *Chrysanthus* he was induced to write the lives of the sophists; which work he begins with the life of *Plotinus*, who flourished in the middle of the third century. From *Plotinus* he proceeds to the lives of *Porphyrius*, of *Iamblichus*, and his disciples, who were all addicted to the study of magic, as evidently appears from the account he gives us of them (8). He mentions the ravages committed in *Greece* by *Alaric* in 395. and 396. whence it is plain, that he did not put the last hand to his work till the latter end of the fourth century. He wrote the history of the emperors, which consisted of fourteen books, and extended from the beginning of the reign of *Claudius*, the successor of *Gallienus*, where the history of *Dexippus* ended, to the death of *Eudoxia* the wife of *Arcadius*; that is, from the year 268. to 404 (9). His life of the emperor *Julian*

(3) *Phot. c. 76. p. 164.*(4) *Idem ibid.*(5) *Antolog. l. ii.**c. 52. p. 188. Voss. part. Græc. p. 93.*(6) *Greg. Naz. ep. 139, 140.**p. 865.*(7) *Eunap. c. 8. p. 82. 102. 103.**Phot. c. 77. p. 169.**Jouff. l. iii. c. 17. p. 296—299.*(8) *Eunap. c. 21. p. 144.*(9) *Phot.**ibid. Eunap. p. 75.*

was rather a panegyric than an history (1). Some fragments of this history are still to be found in *Suidas* (2), and in the abstracts of *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus* on embassies. *Vossius* writes, that the intire history of *Eunapius* is lodged in the public library of *Venice* (3). The history of *Zosimus* is but an abridgment of that of *Eunapius* (4). They were both declared enemies to all the Christian princes, especially to *Constantine the Great*, though *Eunapius* retrenched, in the second edition of his work, most of the invectives against the Christians, which he had inserted in the first (5). In the lives of the sophists, he betrays the same prejudice against the Christian religion, and in several places inveighs with great bitterness against the monks. *Photius* commends his stile as elegant, concise, and expressive; but finds fault with his endless metaphors, which better suit an orator than an historian (6). In the lives of the sophists, his stile

is often obscure, and not easily understood, which has led several able writers into gross mistakes (7). He frequently disagrees with the historians of his own time; nay, with those who were eye-witnesses of the events they relate. The two philosophers *Pappus* and *Theo* flourished at *Alexandria* in the reign of *Theodosius*. The former wrote a general description of the earth, a treatise on the rivers of *Lydia*, and some other books on different subjects (8). *Theo*, or *Theon*, belonged to the *museum*, says *Suidas* (9); that is, to the society of learned men who composed the academy of *Alexandria*. He wrote a book on the overflowing of the *Nile*, and others on mathematics, arithmetic, astrology, on *Ptolemy's* canon, and on other subjects (1). *Dodwell* published a fragment of *Theo* of *Alexandria* on *Ptolemy's* canon, with a book of *fasti*, which he supposes to have been done by the same writer (2).

- (1) *Plot. ibid.* (2) *Suid. p. 1099. 2237.* (3) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 18. p. 252.* (4) *Pbot. c. 98. p. 272.* (5) *Pbot. ibid. Suid. p. 1515.*  
 (6) *Pbot. p. 169. 172.* (7) *Vide. Jons. l. iii. c. 17. p. 298.* (8) *Suid. p. 424. & p. 1307.* (9) *Idem ibid.* (1) *Idem ibid. & Jons. lib. iii. c. 2. p. 219.* (2) *Append. ad Cypr. diff. p. 1. 10. 98. 106.*

## C H A P. V.

*The History of the Eastern and Western Empire, from the Death of Theodosius the Great, to the Taking of Rome the first time by the Goths.*

THEODOSIUS divided, as we have observed above, the empire, at his death, between his two sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; but, as they were too young to govern of *Rufinus* themselves, *Arcadius* being but eighteen years old, and *Honorius* prime minister not yet eleven, he committed the former to the care of *Rufinus*. *Arcadius*.

mus, and the latter to that of *Stilicho*<sup>a</sup>. *Rufinus* was a native of *Eause* in *Gascony*<sup>b</sup>, and not of *Eusa* in *Besporus*, as some have imagined, misled by the authority of *Tiro Prosper*<sup>c</sup>. He appeared first at court in the reign of *Theodosius*, who, being taken with his uncommon address, and extraordinary qualities, raised him, about the year 390. to the post of *magister officiorum*, to the consular dignity in 392. and the same year to that of prefect of the East, leaving him at *Constantinople* vested with almost an absolute and unlimited power, when he set out for the West in 394. to make war on *Eugenius*<sup>d</sup>.

His character.

*RUFINUS* was well-shaped in his person, tall, of a graceful mien, and sprightly genius<sup>e</sup>. He professed the Christian religion, and was baptized in 394. on occasion of the solemn consecration of a church, which he had built, together with a palace, near *Chalcedon*<sup>f</sup>. He could never have gained the esteem and confidence of *Theodosius*, without the appearance, at least, of piety, joined to his uncommon talents. *St. Ambrose* ranked him among his friends, and was glad to see him preferred<sup>g</sup>. He lived in great intimacy with *Symmachus*, if the last letters of that writer's third book are, as they are commonly thought, addressed to him. In those letters *Symmachus* commends his lively genius, his eloquence, and the delicacy of his raillery<sup>h</sup>. He likewise extols his virtue, his sincerity and disinterestedness, and the penetration of *Theodosius* in choosing so worthy a minister<sup>i</sup>. But the same writer blames him more after his death, than he had flattered him in his life-time<sup>k</sup>. *Claudian* charges him with avarice, ambition, cruelty, perfidiousness, and all the crimes and evil qualities, of which human nature is capable. *Suidas* and *Zosimus* speak of him as a great dissembler, and one who trampled underfoot all laws, both human and divine, when they stood in the way of his unbounded ambition, and insatiable avarice<sup>m</sup>. *St. Jerom* likewise charges him with avarice<sup>n</sup>; *Orosius*<sup>o</sup>, *Philostorgius*<sup>p</sup>, and *Marcellinus* in his chronicle<sup>q</sup>, with having stirred up the barbarians against the empire, in order to raise

CLAUD. in Ruf. l. i. p. 12, 13. p. 117. Zos.  
 histoire de Bearn, p. 24. <sup>a</sup> Zos. l. iv. p. 773. <sup>c</sup> DE MARCA  
 tit. 6. p. 382. AMBR. ep. 50. p. 309. <sup>e</sup> PHILOST. l. xi.  
 c. 3. p. 528. SOZ. l. viii. c. 17. p. 780. <sup>f</sup> PALLAD. hist.  
 Laus. c. 12. p. 915. <sup>g</sup> AMB. ep. 50. p. 309. <sup>h</sup> SYMM.  
 l. iii. ep. 82, 83. 88. p. 137. <sup>i</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>k</sup> Idem,  
 l. vi. ep. 15. p. 233. <sup>l</sup> CLAUD. in Ruf. l. i. & ii. <sup>m</sup> SUID.  
 p. 691, 692. Zos. l. v. p. 780. <sup>n</sup> HIER. ep. 3. p. 26.  
 o OROS. p. 221. <sup>p</sup> PHILOST. p. 528. MAR. chron.  
 p. 79.

himself,

himself, in that confusion of affairs, to the sovereignty. St. *Ambrose* reproaches him, in *Theodoret*, as the author of the massacre of the inhabitants of *Thessalonica* <sup>r</sup>. *Zosimus* ascribes to his treachery the death of *Promotus*, killed by the barbarians in 391. and the downfall and misfortunes of *Tatianus*, and his son *Proculus*, in 392 <sup>s</sup>. But other writers question the innocence both of the father and son, as we have already observed.

**STILICHO**, who ruled with no less absolute sway in the West under *Honorius*, than *Rufinus* did in the East under *first mini-Arcadius*, was originally a *Vandal*; whence he is styled by *St. Jerome* a demi-barbarian <sup>t</sup>. *Claudian*, who was no less biased in his favour, than prejudiced against his rival *Rufinus*, mentions none of his ancestors, besides his father, who had a considerable command in the army under *Valens* <sup>u</sup>. *Stilicho* himself bore arms from his childhood, and rose by degrees to the post of *magister utriusque militiæ*, that is, general both of the horse and foot <sup>w</sup>. He commanded the *Roman* troops, according to *Zosimus*, for the space of twenty-three years; that is, from 385. to 408. and attended *Theodosius* in all his wars <sup>x</sup>. That prince must have entertained a great opinion of him, since he preferred him to all those who courted his niece *Serena*, whom he had adopted after the death of her father *Honorius*. By her *Stilicho* had a son, named *Eucherius*, born at *Rome* in 389. while *Theodosius* was in that city; and two daughters, *Maria* and *Thermantia*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of our history. *Theodosius* would not have honoured *Stilicho* with his alliance, had he not professed the Christian religion; but, as he is more commended by the pagan than Christian writers, and his son *Eucherius* openly declared himself against Christianity, we cannot, upon the bare testimony of *Baronius*, believe him to have been, not only a zealous, but a pious Christian. *Zosimus* writes, that, during the twenty-three years he commanded the *Roman* armies, he never sold any military employments, or deprived the soldiers, as others had done to enrich themselves, of the least share of their pay. The same writer extols his moderation, in not preferring his son *Eucherius* to any considerable employments, tho' he had a just title to the first in the state <sup>y</sup>. But other writers <sup>z</sup> charge him even

*His character.*

<sup>r</sup> THEODOR. l. v. c. 17. p. 728.

<sup>s</sup> Zos. l. iv. p. 773.

<sup>t</sup> HIER. ep. 11. p. 93. VAL. rer. Franc. l. i. p. 104. OROS.

l. vii. c. 38. p. 222. <sup>u</sup> CLAUD. de laud. Stilic. l. ii. p. 124.

<sup>w</sup> PROSP. l. iii. c. 38. p. 150. GRUT. p. 112. <sup>x</sup> Zos. l. iv.

p. 777. <sup>y</sup> Idem, l. v. p. 110, 111. <sup>z</sup> PHILOST. p. 461.

465.



with a design of raising his son to the empire, and deposing his lawful sovereign *Honorius*, his ward and his son-in-law; for that prince married successively both *Stilicho's* daughters. *Zosimus* endeavours to clear him from this charge; but at the same time owns him to have been in the highest degree corrupt and partial in the administration of justice; to have countenanced those who plundered the provinces, provided they shared with him the spoils; and to have in a short time acquired, by the most unlawful means, immense riches <sup>a</sup>. We read the same thing in *Suidas* <sup>b</sup>, who seems to have copied it from *Eunapius*. To resume now the thread of our history: Upon the death of *Theodosius*, *Arcadius*, to whom the Eastern provinces had been allotted, repaired immediately to *Constantinople*, while *Honorius* continued at *Milan*, to awe with his presence the barbarians inhabiting the countries bordering on *Rhætia*, who were said to be in arms, and ready to break into the empire. As *Honorius* was but a child, and *Arcadius* a youth, without either parts or experience, both princes bore the bare name of emperors, the whole power being lodged in *Rufinus* and *Stilicho*, of whom the former ruled with an absolute sway in the East, and the other in the West.

*Both ministers agree in plundering the people.* THESE two ministers agreed, says *Zosimus*, in plundering the provinces, and impoverishing whole nations, to enrich themselves; but at the same time, jealous of each other's grandeur, neither of them thought himself safe, while his rival continued in power <sup>c</sup>. *Stilicho* pretended, that *Theodosius*, in dying, had committed to his care both princes, and the management of the affairs of both empires: hence, looking upon the power which *Rufinus* enjoyed in the East as a mere usurpation, he was constantly meditating with himself in what manner he might compass his ruin, and engross the whole authority to himself <sup>d</sup>. On the other hand, *Rufinus*, not satisfied to rule with an absolute sway under *Arcadius*, began to aspire to the sovereignty; and thinking the readiest way to attain it, was to marry his daughter to the young prince, who, he imagined, would not look upon it as any disparagement to assume his father-in-law for his colleague, he caused overtures concerning this match to be made to him with the utmost secrecy; which, however, soon became the public talk, and heightened the aversion which the people had already conceived against him, on account of his arrogance, avarice, and arbitrary proceedings <sup>e</sup>. While this affair was on foot, *Eu-*

*Rufinus  
aspires to  
the sovereignty.*

<sup>a</sup> Zos. p. 780—789. <sup>b</sup> Suid. p. 690, 691. <sup>c</sup> Zos. l. v. p. 780. <sup>d</sup> Idem ibid. p. 782. <sup>e</sup> CLAUD. in Ruf. l. ii, p. 20. & cons. Hon. 3. p. 38. <sup>f</sup> Zos. p. 780.

*cherius*, the emperor's uncle, thinking himself ill used by *Lucianus*, count of the East, complained of him to *Arcadius*, who cast the whole blame upon *Rufinus*, by whose interest he had been raised to that post. *Lucianus* was the son of *Florentius*, prefect of *Gaul* in the latter end of the reign of *Constantius*; and, having purchased the favour of *Rufinus*, by presenting him with rich possessions, had been recommended by him to the emperor, who thereupon made him count of the East, in which office he is said to have acquitted himself with the greatest justice, moderation, and integrity; insomuch that he refused even to comply with a request of the emperor's uncle, which appeared to him inconsistent with equity. This being misrepresented to *Arcadius*, *Rufinus*, instead of protecting one who had purchased his favour at so great a price, left *Constantinople*, without imparting his design to any one; and, hastening to *Antioch* with a small retinue, entered that city in the dead of the night, caused *Lucianus* to be apprehended, and, when he was brought before his tribunal, commanded him, tho' no one appeared against him, to be beaten with leaden balls fastened to cords, till he expired. This barbarous proceeding highly provoked the inhabitants of *Antioch*, and *Rufinus*, to appease them, ordered a magnificent portico to be built, which was deemed the most stately edifice in all *Syria* <sup>*A remarkable instance of Rufinus's cruelty and arbitrary proceedings.*</sup>

FROM *Antioch* *Rufinus* returned in great haste to *Constantinople*, pleasing himself with the thoughts of his future affinity with the emperor; but, upon his arrival, he found *Arcadius* immoveably determined to marry *Eudoxia*, who had been proposed to him by the eunuch *Eutropius*; and accordingly the nuptials were celebrated on the twenty-seventh of April, of this year 395. to the great disappointment of *Rufinus* <sup>*Arcadius marries Eudoxia.*</sup>. *Eudoxia* was a *Frank* by nation, the daughter of the famous count and general *Bauto*, who had been consul in 385. and not of the emperor *Gratian*, or of the famous general *Promotus*, as some have advanced without sufficient grounds <sup>*Her character.*</sup>. As she was a woman of great address, of an haughty and imperious temper, she soon gained an absolute sway over the weak prince her husband <sup>*1*</sup>. Some writers have questioned her modesty <sup>*k*</sup>; but from that charge she is cleared by others, tho' all agree in accusing her of an insatiable avarice, which often prompted her to most flagrant acts of injustice. However, she had some outward appearance of piety;

<sup>f</sup> Zos. l. v. p. 780, 781.

<sup>g</sup> Idem ibid. p. 781, 782.

Chron. Alex. p. 710.

<sup>h</sup> Vide VAL. rer. Franc. l. ii. p. 65.

PHILOST. l. xi. c. 6. p. 529.

<sup>i</sup> CEDREN. p. 334.

<sup>k</sup> Zos.

l. v. p. 795.

favoured the catholics; shewed great respect to the prelates and clergy; and, having prevailed upon the emperor in 401. to demolish the temple of *Marnas*, and other temples at *Gaza*, she built in that city a most stately and magnificent church, which from her was called *Eudoxiana*. Hence St. *Chrysostom* publicly commended her as the *mother of the church*, the *patroness of the saints*, the *support of the poor*, &c.<sup>1</sup> But the cruel persecution she afterwards raised against her panegyrist, has rendered her name infamous in the history of the church. But to return to *Rufinus*:

THAT minister found himself disappointed as to the marriage of his daughter, and his alliance with the imperial family; and at the same time dreaded the credit of the eunuch *Eutropius*, but more the arms of *Stilicho*, who pretended to have been by *Theodosius* appointed guardian to both his children, and was preparing to march into the East, to dispossess his rival of the authority he had usurped. In order therefore to defeat the designs of *Stilicho*, and to have an opportunity of getting rid of *Eutropius*, and even of seizing the sovereign power, he resolved to set all in a flame, and involve the whole empire in the utmost confusion<sup>m</sup>. With this view he privately stirred up by his emissaries the *Hunns*, who penetrated as far as *Antioch*, destroying all with fire and sword, and committing every-where unheard-of cruelties<sup>n</sup>. At the same time he encouraged the famous *Alaric* to put himself at the head of his countrymen the *Goths*, and, drawing together as many barbarians of other nations as were willing to follow his standards to break into *Greece*, assuring him, that he should meet with no opposition. *Alaric* at that time commanded a body of *Goths* in the *Roman* service; but, being dissatisfied that he had been rewarded with no better preferment, since he had distinguished himself in the late war with *Eugenius*, he readily closed with the proposal of *Rufinus*; and, being by him supplied with large sums, he assembled an incredible multitude of barbarians of different nations; and, putting himself at their head, he ravaged all *Thrace*, *Pannonia*, *Macedon*, and *Thessaly*.

*Rufinus*  
stirs up the  
Hunns  
and Goths  
to invade  
the empire.

Dreadful  
ravages  
committed

As he drew near the famous streights of *Thermopylae*, *Gerontius*, who guarded them, and was privy to the wicked designs of his patron *Rufinus*, immediately withdrew, and opened a free passage for the barbarians into *Greece*; where they raged with incredible fury, putting those to the sword who offered to oppose them, and sending into their respective

<sup>1</sup> CHRYS. tom. iv. p. 853.  
CLAUD. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 20.  
l. viii. c. 1. p. 753.

<sup>m</sup> OROS. l. vii. c. 37. p. 225.  
<sup>n</sup> SOCR. J. vi. c. 1. p. 300. SOZ.

countries all the women and children that fell into their hands, by the together with the whole wealth of that opulent province. As *Antiochus*, at that time proconsul of *Achaia*, and another of *Rufinus's* creatures, did not offer to make head against them, they over-ran the whole country, rifling the temples, pillaging the cities, and committing such ravages and devastations, as were felt by the unhappy inhabitants for many years after. The whole country between *Dalmatia*, the *Adriatic* gulf, and the *Euxine* sea, was laid waste, and turned into a desert, the inhabitants concealing themselves in dens and caves, through fear of being either inhumanly murdered, or carried into captivity. The city of *Constantinople* itself was in a manner besieged, parties of the barbarians advancing with great boldness to the very gates of that metropolis. *Rufinus*, attired after the *Gothic* manner, went out, as he said, to treat with them, and was received by the barbarians with extraordinary marks of esteem; which confirmed the suspicion most people entertained of his treachery.

WHILE these things passed in the East, *Stilicho* was busied on the bank of the *Rhine*, in renewing the antient alliances of the *Roman* people with the *Franks*, and other *German* nations (A); which he no sooner had done, than he resolved to march to the succour of *Greece*; in which undertaking he embarked the more readily, as he hoped to have an opportunity.

\* Zos. p. 783. CLAUD. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 21. PHILOST. p. 154.

(A) This he accomplished, says *Claudian* (1), in less than fourteen days; which *Mr. Valois* maintains to be absolutely impossible (2). That writer speaks much at large of *Marcomir* and *Sunno*, two princes or chiefs of the *Franks* in those days (3), as does likewise *Gregory of Tours* (4). *Claudian*, who distinguishes them with the title of kings, and informs us, that they were brothers, says, that they endeavoured to raise new disturbances after the peace concluded with *Stilicho*; but that one of them, after having been kept some time in prison, was banished into *Tuscany*;

that the other, attempting to revenge the affront offered to his brother, was killed by his own people; and that *Honorius* appointed other kings over the *Franks* in their room (5). This seems to have happened, according to *Claudian*, before the revolt of *Gildo*; that is, before the end of the year 397. *Valesius* writes, that *Marcomir* outlived *Sunno*; and consequently that it was he who was banished into *Tuscany*. He is thought to have been the father of *Paramond*, supposed to have been the first king of *France* (6).

(1) *Claud. de laud. Stil.* p. 128.  
p. 86—90.  
*ibid.* p. 129.

(2) *Val. ibid.* p. 94.  
(4) *Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9.* p. 59—61.  
(6) *Val. ibid. l. iii.* p. 119.

(3) *Idem,*  
(5) *Claud.*

tunity of ruining *Rufinus*, and getting the whole power of both empires into his own hands.

*Stilicho marches to the relief of Greece.* LEAVING therefore *Gaul* about the latter end of the spring, he set forward with all the Western troops, and those likewise of the East, that had been left in the West after the defeat of *Eugenius*. He marched, according to *Claudian*, over the *Alps*, no doubt, the *Julian Alps*, and consequently thro' *Dalmatia*. The

*He is ordered by Arcadius to return into the West.*

barbarians, hearing of his arrival in those parts, resolved to make a stand in *Thessaly*, and with this view assembled into one body all their troops, that were in several parties dispersed about the country. *Stilicho* was already within a small distance of the enemy's army, and his men shewed a great forwardness to engage them, when *Rufinus*, concluding, that, if the barbarians were overcome and repressed, the storm would fall upon his own head, prevailed upon *Arcadius* to send for the oriental troops. Accordingly an officer was dispatched to *Stilicho*, with a peremptory order from the emperor to send them forthwith, and return with the rest into the West. *Stilicho* was greatly surpris'd at this order, which, he thought, snatched out of his hands a certain victory, and expos'd the empire to imminent danger. However, not daring to disobey, he not only sent the troops, but half the treasure which *Theodosius* had left. In dismissing the forces, he appointed one *Gainas*, by nation a *Goth*, and his intimate friend, to conduct them to *Constantinople*, after having imparted to him his design of dispatching *Rufinus*, and, no doubt, encouraged him to lay hold of the first opportunity that offer'd to put it in execution.

*Rufinus murdered,*

UNDER his conduct the army arriv'd in the neighbourhood of *Constantinople* on the twenty-seventh of *November*; and the emperor, according to custom, went out in person to meet them, attended by *Rufinus*, who, as he had gained over some of the chief officers to proclaim him emperor on this occasion, had already prepared the purple, the diadem, and the donative for the soldiery. The army received the emperor with all the respect due to the son of *Theodosius the Great*; but at the same time, upon a signal given by *Gainas*, they fell upon *Rufinus*, and cut him in pieces, while he was pressing *Arcadius* to declare him his colleague. This happened, according to *Claudian*, at the palace of *Hebdomon*, where the emperors of the East were usually crowned. After his death, they cut off his head, and, putting a stone in his mouth

CLAUD. conf. Hon. 4. p. 50, 51. & laud. Stil. l. i. p. 128, 129. & l. ii. p. 135. RUF. l. ii. p. 22. Zos. p. 782, 783. Socr. p. 300. PHILOST. p. 528. Chron. Alex. p. 710. CLAUD. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 29. Zos. p. 785. Idem ibid.

to keep it open, they carried it on the point of a spear to *Constantinople*, where it was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy <sup>a</sup>. They likewise cut off his right hand, and, carrying it about the streets of *Constantinople*, asked alms for the insatiable *Rufinus*, reduced to beggary. By this invention they collected considerable sums, every one being glad to reward, with some small acknowledgement, those who had contributed to the death of a person they so much abhorred <sup>c</sup>. His estate and all his effects were confiscated; and the decree <sup>and his</sup> issued on that occasion was sent to *Rome*, where the people <sup>estate con-</sup> expressed the greatest joy at the death and deserved end of <sup>fiscated.</sup> that insatiable robber, to use the expression of *Symmachus*, who had plundered the world <sup>d</sup>. His wife and daughter, fearing they should fall a sacrifice to the fury of the people, took sanctuary in a church, whence they were suffered to retire to *Jerusalem*, where they spent the rest of their days <sup>e</sup> (B).

NEITHER *Stilicho*, nor the empire, gained any thing by the death of *Rufinus*, he being succeeded, not only in his power <sup>He is suc-</sup> and employments, but in his cruelty, avarice, and other detestable qualities, by the eunuch *Eutropius*, who had concurred with *Stilicho* in all his measures against their common rival. *Eutropius* was by birth an *Armenian*, by condition a slave; and had been made an eunuch soon after his birth, <sup>ceeded in</sup> eunuchs being then more in request, and consequently more <sup>his power</sup> advantageous to the seller, than common slaves. He had frequently changed masters, having been often bought and sold. <sup>and em-</sup> When he was already advanced in years, a soldier, named *Ptolemy*, gave him as a present to his general *Arintheus*, who <sup>ployments</sup> was famous under *Valens*: *Arintheus* presented his daughter with him when she was married, to comb her hair, and perform such-like mean offices about her; which when he could no longer discharge on account of his age, she gave him his liberty. <sup>by Eutro-</sup> Being now his own master, he found means to get into the court, where he was employed in the lowest offices, <sup>pious.</sup> till he was raised by the interest of *Abundantius*, who was <sup>His ex-</sup> <sup>traction,</sup> <sup>employ-</sup> <sup>ments, and</sup> <sup>character.</sup>

<sup>a</sup> PHILOST. p. 528. HIER. ep. 3. p. 26. CLAUD. in Ruf. l. ii. p. 31. ASTERII orat. iv. p. 76. <sup>c</sup> HIER. PHILOST. Zos. ibid. <sup>d</sup> SYMM. l. vi. ep. 15. p. 232. <sup>e</sup> Zos. l. v. p. 785, 786.

(B) *Palladius* bestows great encomiums on *Salvia* or *Silvia*, the sister of *Rufinus*, who had embraced the state of virginity (7). From a law dated the fifth of *August*, of the ensuing year 396. it appears, that his wife's fortune was restored to her (8).

(7) *Pallad. bist. Laus. c. 143. p. 1046. h2. 15. p. 342.*

(8) *Cod. Theod. l. xl. tit. 42.*

consul in 393, to a more creditable post<sup>a</sup>. *Theodosius* sent him in 392, as we read in *Sozomen*, to consult the holy hermit *John* in the wilderness of *Scetis* <sup>1</sup>. That prince seems to have reposed some confidence in him. After the marriage of *Arcadius* with *Eudoxia*, he was made, no doubt at her recommendation, great chamberlain, and, upon the death of *Rufinus*, vested with the same power and authority which that minister had enjoyed<sup>2</sup>. *Rufinus* seemed to survive in this wicked eunuch, who was, according to *Eunapius*, a declared enemy to virtue, and every virtuous man<sup>3</sup>. That writer, after having drawn his portrait in the blackest colours, concludes, that he has not painted him such as he really was, there being no crime with which he might not deservedly charge him<sup>4</sup>. He surpassed in avarice *Rufinus* himself, exposing to public sale the chief employments, and entertaining an incredible number of informers to accuse such persons as were possessed of estates; by that means he conveyed the whole wealth of the empire into his own coffers<sup>5</sup>: the prisons, and places of banishment, were all filled with unhappy exiles, stripped of their wealth, the only crime for which they had been condemned<sup>6</sup>. As for *Arcadius*, who was a prince of very slender parts, he suffered himself to be entirely governed by this wicked minister, not daring in a manner to inquire into his conduct, or give ear to those who had the boldness to complain of his arbitrary proceedings. However, by several laws of this year, he confirmed those that had been enacted by his father against heretics<sup>7</sup>; and by one addressed to *Marcellus*, then *magister officiorum*, he commanded that officer to inquire, with great care, whether any employments at court were held by heretics, and not only to dismiss, but to banish such as he should discover in the palace, with those who had recommended them<sup>8</sup>. *Honorius* continued all this year at *Milan*, or in the neighbourhood of that city, as appears from the dates of his laws.

THE next consuls were, *Arcadius* the fourth time, and *Honorius* the third. This year *Stilicho*, who was returned to *Italy* with the Western troops, set out anew with a design to succour *Greece*, reduced to a most deplorable condition by *Alaric*, and the barbarians under his command. He embarked on the *Adriatic* sea; and, landing without opposition in *Pe-*

<sup>a</sup> CLAUD. in *Anticla.* l. i. p. 49. 95—97. <sup>1</sup> Soz. l. vii. c. 22. p. 740. <sup>2</sup> Zos. p. 781. <sup>3</sup> PHILOST. l. xi. c. 4. p. 528.

SUID. p. 1099.

<sup>4</sup> EUNAP. p. 183.

<sup>5</sup> Idem *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> CLAUD. *ibid.* p. 97.

<sup>7</sup> Zos. p. 786. SUID. p. 1099.

<sup>8</sup> Cod. Theod. l. ii. tit. vi. leg. 8. p. 133. & l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 25. p. 142. 144. <sup>9</sup> Idem, l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 29. p. 148.

*loponnesus*, cut off great numbers of the enemy in various successful encounters; and, in the end, obliged them to retire to a mountain in *Arcadia*, named *Pholæ*, at a small distance from *Pisa*. There he shut them up on all sides, cut off their communication with the neighbouring country, and even turned the course of the river that supplied them with water &c. But, when he had them thus in his power, he suffered them to escape, to retire out of *Peloponnesus*, and to pillage *Epirus* in their retreat <sup>But suffers</sup> (C). Soon after, *Alaric* was by *Arcadius*, <sup>Alaric to</sup> or rather by his governor *Eutropius*, appointed commander of the troops in *East-Illyricum*, which comprised *Greece*, as we read in *Claudian* <sup>escape.</sup> (D). <sup>Year of the flood 2846.</sup>

As Of Christ 396.

\* Zos. l. v. p. 784. CLAUD. conf. Hon. 4. p. 51. ibid. <sup>1</sup> CLAUD. in Eutrop. ibid.

Zos. Of Rome 1194.

(C) *Orosius* supposes him to have connived at their escape, and therefore thinks him no less guilty than *Rufinus*, who first stirred them up against the empire (9). *Zosimus* writes, that they owed their safety to the negligence and misconduct of *Stilicho* (1). But *Claudian* tells us, that *Eutropius*, looking upon *Stilicho* as a more dangerous enemy than *Alaric*, persuaded *Arcadius* to conclude a peace with the lat-

ter, to take him and the barbarians, who had ravaged the best provinces of the empire, under his protection, and to order *Stilicho* to withdraw his troops forthwith out of *Greece*, which belonged to *Arcadius*. Thus was *Stilicho* robbed the second time by a jealous rival of the glory of delivering the empire, and triumphing over the barbarians (2).

(D) His words are,

At nunc qui fœdera rumpit,  
Ditatur; qui servat, eget. Castator Achivæ  
Gentis, & Epirum nuper populus inultram,  
Præfides Illyrico. Jam quos obsedit, amicus  
Ingreditur muros, illis responsa daturus,  
Quorum conjugibus potitur, natosque peremit.  
Sic hostes punire solent, hæc præmia solvunt  
Excidiis (3).

But now in wealth the vile league-breaker shines;  
While he who keeps the laws, neglected pines.  
The man who ravag'd all *Achaia* thro',  
Nor felt the vengeance to his rapines due.

(9) *Orof. l. vii. c. 37. p. 221.*  
*Geib. p. 170. & in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 113.*

(1) *Zos. p. 78.*

(2) *Claud. bell.*

(3) *Cla. l. in Eutrop. p. 113.*



Stilicho, As for *Stilicho*, though he immediately retired with his troops out of *Greece*, pursuant to the orders of *Arcadius*, yet at the instigation of that prince, in obedience to the commands of *Eutropius*, as *Eutropius*, *Zosimus* expresses it, caused him to be declared a public enemy, *Eutropius*, declared a public enemy. by a solemn decree of the senate of *Constantinople*<sup>b</sup>, ordering at the same time all the lands and palaces he had in the East to be seized and confiscated<sup>c</sup>. *Claudian* adds, that *Stilicho* discovered an assassin, who had been hired to murder him, and several letters dispersed among his troops, in order to corrupt them, and stir them up against him<sup>d</sup>. *Eutropius*, not satisfied with having thus defeated all the measures of *Stilicho*, aspiring to the same post in the court of *Arcadius*, which he held in that of *Honorius*, resolved to remove all those out of the way, in whom *Arcadius* seemed to repose any confidence. He began with *Abundantius*, by whose means he had been first raised at court, and who on that account deserved, according to *Claudian*<sup>e</sup>, tho' not at his hands, the treatment he met with. *Abundantius* had served in the army with great reputation in the time of *Gratian*, and had been raised by *Theodosius* to the post of general both of the horse and foot, to the prætorship, and, in 393. to the consular dignity<sup>f</sup>. But *Eutropius*, jealous of the authority and credit which his experience, and known integrity, procured him at court, and panting after the immense wealth with which his eminent services had been rewarded, prevailed on the weak prince with his crafty and malicious insinuations, to banish him to *Pityus*, a city of *Byzantium*, to the north of the *Euxine* sea, and beyond *Colchis*; where he led a miserable life, stripped of all his effects, till the death of *Eutropius*, when he was removed from thence, and confined to *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*, in which city he died<sup>g</sup>.

*Eutropius*  
causes  
*Abundantius*  
to be  
banished.

THE credit which *Timasius* had at court, and with the army, gave the wicked minister, who could bear no competitor, more jealousy than that of *Abundantius*. He had

<sup>b</sup> Zos. p. 788.

<sup>c</sup> CLAUD. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 130.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Idem in Eutrop. l. i. p. 57.

<sup>f</sup> CLAUD.

ibid. Zos. l. v. p. 788. Cod. Theod. tit. 6. p. 347.

<sup>g</sup> CLAUD.

Zos. ibid. Hier. ep. 3. p. 26. Ast. or. iv. p. 76.

Who lately made *Epirus* desolate,  
Now o'er *Illyricum* presides in state :  
To towns himself besieg'd, in pomp repairs ;  
And to those citizens his will declares,  
Whose wives he ravish'd, and destroy'd their heirs :  
'Tis thus they punish the relentless foe,  
And such rewards for cities sack'd bestow.

}

been long one of the chief commanders of the army, had served *Valens* and *Theodosius* in all their wars with great honour and integrity, and been rewarded by the latter in 389. with the consular dignity <sup>1</sup>. *Eutropius*, resolving to procure, by some means or other, the ruin of so powerful a rival, had recourse to one *Bargus*, who lived in great intimacy with *Timasius*. *Bargus* was a person of a mean descent, and had been obliged, for some notorious crime, to fly from *Laodicea* in *Syria*, his native city, and retire to *Sardes* in *Lydia*. There *Timasius* accidentally met him; and, being pleased with his facetious conversation, without inquiring farther into his character, admitted him to his confidence, gave him the command of a cohort, and took him with him to *Constantinople*; at which the magistrates were highly displeased, because he had been formerly banished that city <sup>2</sup>. To this man, as a proper instrument for his villainous purpose, *Eutropius* applied, and easily prevailed upon him to betray his friend and benefactor, by accusing him of treason, and producing against him a counterfeit writing, upon which he was, without delay, brought to his trial. *Eutropius* persuaded the emperor to judge him in person; but, perceiving the people were highly provoked to see a person of *Timasius's* dignity and character arraigned upon the deposition of such an infamous and mercenary wretch as *Bargus*, he advised the prince, whom he managed as he pleased, to withdraw, and substitute *Saturninus* and *Procopius* in his room. Of these the former had discharged the chief employments in the state, and the consulship in 383. but is said to have dishonoured his old age by a general and mean compliance with the will of the ruling minister <sup>3</sup>. *Procopius* was son-in-law to the emperor *Valens*, of a rough and savage temper, but not easily prevailed upon to swerve from what he thought just and equitable, as appeared in this case; for he boldly maintained, that such an infamous wretch as *Bargus* ought not to be admitted as evidence against a person of *Timasius's* rank, against his friend and benefactor.

BUT *Saturninus* prevailing, the unhappy *Timasius* was stripped of all his wealth, and banished to *Oasis*, a barren and inhospitable place in *Libya*, from which there was no possible means of escape, it being surrounded by a vast desert, full of sand, which, moving to and fro with the wind, suffered no track or footstep of any former traveller to be seen (E). *Bargus*

<sup>1</sup> Zos. p. 786, 787. AST. p. 76. Soz. l. viii. c. 7. p. 766.  
<sup>2</sup> Zos. p. 786, 787. <sup>3</sup> Idem ibid.

(E) Of this place, to which about this time, *Zosimus* gives us, on occasion of the exile of *Timasius*,  
 H h 2

His ac-  
cuser Bar-  
gus put to  
death.

gus did not long enjoy the price of his treachery and wickedness; for *Eutropius*, who was a man of too great discernment to trust a traitor, and well knew, that one, who had betrayed his friend and benefactor, would not prove faithful to him, resolved to get rid of him as soon as possible; and accordingly, having sent him upon some advantageous commission out of *Constantinople*, during his absence, he induced his wife, who was then at variance with her husband, to present to the emperor some treasonable papers, which she pretended to have found in his custody. Hereupon *Bargus* was upon his return arraigned, sentenced to death, and executed. Thus was the crime of that treacherous wretch punished, as it deserved, by the very person who had induced him to commit it<sup>t</sup> (F).

THIS

<sup>t</sup> Zos. p. 787.

*Timasius*, a most frightful description (4). The same historian adds, that a report was spread, that *Syagrius*, the son of *Timasius*, accused as privy to the crime of his father, having escaped from those who had been sent to seize him, rescued his father, with the assistance of some robbers, out of the hands of the soldiers, who were conducting him to the place of his exile; and that neither the father nor the son were ever after heard of (5). Others write, that *Timasius* was found dead in the sands that surrounded *Oasis*, having perhaps attempted to make his escape (6). St. *Jerom*, writing in this year 396. says, that *Timasius* lived then an exile at *Affus*, a city of *Asia* (7). But, as *Sozomen*, *Zosimus*, and *Asterius* (8) agree, that he was confined to *Oasis*, some, instead of *Affus*, read in the text of St. *Jerom*, *Oasis*; while others, to reconcile that writer with the other three, pretend, that he was

first banished to *Affus*, and afterwards, by *Eutropius*'s order, conveyed to *Oasis*.

(F) *Pentadia*, the wife of *Timasius*, was deaconess of the church of *Constantinople* in 404. when St. *Chrysostom* was banished that city: he wrote, while in exile, several letters to her, in one of which he inquires after her family and relations, and calls her house a house of blessing (9). It was, according to *Sozomen*, in order to apprehend *Pentadia*, and some others who had taken sanctuary in the church, that *Eutropius* persuaded the emperor to enact a law, forbidding any one to fly to the church for refuge; and commanding those who should, to be dragged from the altars, and punished the more severely (1). This law raised a general odium against *Eutropius* (2): *Socrates* pretends, that it drew down from heaven all the misfortunes that afterwards befel him (3): *Sozomen* and *Chry-*

(4) Zos. p. 786, 787.

See. l. viii. c. 7. p. 766.

(5) Chry. ep. 134. p. 104.

(6) Ibid. p. 100.

(7) Idem ibid.

(8) Hier. ep. 3. p. 26.

(9) Chry. ep. 134. p. 104.

(1) Chry. in Eutrop. rom. iv. p. 484.

(2) Aff. or. iv. p. 76.

(3) Soz. Zos. Aff.

(4) Soz. p. 257.

(5) Socr. p. 374.

THIS year dreadful earthquakes were felt in most provinces Great of the East ; and the sky, appearing all in a flame over the earth-city of *Constantinople*, terrified the inhabitants, and the emperor himself, to such a degree, that, abandoning the city, in the they retired to the fields (G). From the several laws of this East. year, most of which tend to the utter suppression of idolatry, and the curbing of heretics, it appears, that *Arcadius* continued the whole time at *Constantinople*, or in the neighbourhood of that city. The law of the twenty-second of *March* is dated from *Regium*, which is supposed to have been an imperial palace about fifteen miles from the metropolis. No-thing happened this year in the West worthy of notice, except the conversion of *Fritigil*, queen of the *Marcomans*, to the Christian religion (H). *Honorius* continued all this year at *Milan*, as is evident from the dates of his laws.

*Chrysostom* exclaim loudly against it (4), and observe, that, in a few years after, *Eutropius* himself was forced to fly to that asylum, from which he had excluded others, owning, says *Chrysostom*, more by his actions than his words, the injustice of his law (5). It was revoked immediately after the disgrace and downfall of *Eutropius*, and erased out of all the public registers (6). Churches are still held as asylums in *Italy*, and the two kingdoms of *Spain* and *Portugal* ; which, not to mention other crimes, is the true cause of the many murders committed in those countries.

(G) It was revealed, as *St. Austin* writes, to a pious person, that the city of *Constantinople* was, on a certain day, to be consumed by fire sent from heaven : when that day came, the above-mentioned phenomenon appeared over the city : but vanished some time after, leaving it unhurt, the inhabitants, who

had given credit to the prediction, having by a sincere and timely repentance prevented the execution of the sentence pronounced against them. Thus *St. Austin*, in a sermon which he preached a few years after (7).

(H) At the request of *St. Ambrose*, who wrote several letters to her, instructing her in the holy mysteries, she is said by *Paulinus Diaconus* to have induced the king her husband to enter into an alliance with the *Romans* (8) : it is certain, that, amongst the many barbarous nations that in the present reign broke into the empire, no mention is made of the *Marcomans*. Some misunderstanding arose this year between *St. Ambrose* and *Stilicho*, the latter having caused a criminal, by name *Cresconius*, to be apprehended in a church, to which he had fled for refuge : but *Stilicho*, in the end, acknowledged his fault, and atoned for it (9).

(4) *Socr. Chrys. ibid.*  
*de urb. Rom. excid.* c. 6. p. 332.

(9) *Ibid.* c. 34. p. 9.

(5) *Idem ibid.*

(6) *Socr. ibid.*

(7) *Aug.*  
(8) *Paul. Diac. vit. Amb.* c. 36. p. 10.

THE next consuls were, *Cæsius* and *Atticus*: the former had succeeded *Rufinus* in the prefecture of the East, *Eutropius* being, as an eunuch, excluded from that office; and the latter had been governor of *West-Illyricum* under *Valentinian II.* in 384. *Cæsius* seems to have entered upon his consulship at *Constantinople*, and *Atticus* at *Rome* <sup>u</sup>. The year 397. *Arcadius*, leaving *Constantinople* in the month of *July*, went to *Ancyra*, and staid there till the latter end of *September*, when he returned to the metropolis with as much pomp and shew, as if he had conquered the *Persians*, says *Claudian*, who supposes him to have constantly passed the summer at *Ancyra*, *Eutropius* diverting him, by that progress, from applying his mind to affairs of state <sup>w</sup>. *Stilicho* still claimed the administration of affairs in the East, and was preparing to march anew into the dominions of *Arcadius*, in order to make good his claim by force of arms, and revenge on *Eutropius* the injurious decree issued against him by the senate of *Constantinople*. But that wicked and crafty minister, not scrupling, for the support of his own power, to kindle a war between the two brothers, privately persuaded *Gildo*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in *Africa*, to revolt from *Honorius*, and submit to *Arcadius*, hoping by that means to divert *Stilicho* from pursuing his intended expedition into the East <sup>x</sup>. *Gildo* was brother to the famous *Firmus*, who made war upon the *Romans* in 373. but was overcome by count *Theodosius*, the father of the emperor of that name. In that war *Gildo* sided with the *Romans*, and was afterwards, that is, about the year 387. by *Valentinian II.* or rather by *Theodosius*, who governed in his name, appointed count of *Africa*, and commander of all the troops in that province. *Theodosius*, that he might have, as it were, some pledge of his fidelity, in conferring that dignity upon him, married *Salvina*, the daughter of *Gildo*, to *Nebrius*, nephew by the mother to the empress *Flaccilla* <sup>y</sup>. St. *Jerom*, in a letter which he wrote to *Salvina* about the year 400. styles her a virtuous and truly Christian widow; and at the same time commends the piety of her mother, and her father's sister, who had embraced the state of virginity <sup>z</sup>.

*Gildo's* As for *Gildo* himself, he was, if not by religion, as *Mar-*  
*cellinus* will have it, at least in his manners, a pagan. *Claud-*

<sup>u</sup> SYM. l. vii. ep. 30. p. 273. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 136.

PROSP. p. 470. IDAT. in fast.

<sup>w</sup> CLAUD. in Eutrop. l. ii.

p. 110.

<sup>x</sup> ZOS. p. 788.

<sup>y</sup> AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 399.

ZOS. l. v. p. 788. HIER. ep. xi. p. 94. Cod. Theod. chron.

p. 128. CLAUD. bell. Gild. p. 70—78.

<sup>z</sup> HIER. ep. ix.

p. 73—76.

*dian* charges him with avarice, cruelty, luxury, and all manner of lewdness, the more shameful and scandalous, as he was already advanced in years <sup>a</sup>. *St. Austin* speaks of him as one infamous for wickedness and debauchery <sup>b</sup>; and in one of his sermons stiles him, tho' without naming him, a wicked wretch<sup>c</sup>. When *Eugenius* usurped the empire of the West, *Gildo* acknowledged *Theodosius*; but, when that prince marched against the usurper in 394. he declined sending him any succours, as other governors of provinces had done, in obedience to the emperor's orders, expecting the issue of the war, as was supposed, in order to join the party that should prevail; inasmuch that *Theodosius* would have treated him as an open enemy, according to *Claudian*, had he not been prevented by death <sup>d</sup>. *Eutropius* having induced him to revolt from *Honorius*, as we *Arcadius* have related above, he obliged most of the cities of *Africa* to acknowledge *Arcadius*, placing such garrisons in them, as he knew were attached to his own interest, most cities with a design of seizing, when an opportunity offered, the province for himself, as he had but a very mean opinion of both princes <sup>e</sup>. When news of his revolt were brought to *Honorius*, he acquainted the senate of *Rome* with it, who immediately declared *Gildo* a public enemy, and dispatched a solemn embassy to *Arcadius*, intreating him to restore *Africa* to its lawful sovereign <sup>f</sup>. *Symmachus* at the same time wrote to *Arcadius*, probably by order, and in the name, of the senate, exhorting him not to quarrel, but to live in friendship and amity, with his brother <sup>g</sup>.

In the mean time a famine began to rage in *Rome*, *Gildo* a famine not suffering any corn to be conveyed thither from *Africa*. in *Rome*. Two fleets were therefore equipped with great expedition, the one to be employed against *Gildo*, and the other in bringing corn and other provisions to *Rome* from *Gaul* and *Spain* <sup>h</sup>. The former sailed this year, and, with a seasonable supply, quieted the populace, ready to rise; but the latter could not be equipped till the following year. During these warlike preparations, died the celebrated bishop of *Milan* *St. Ambrose*, whose death by no one more regretted than by *Stilichs*, who, looking upon the death of that prelate as the greatest misfortune that could befall *Italy*, had, upon the first news of his illness, caused public prayers to be offered for him in all the churches of

<sup>a</sup> CLAUD. bell. Gild. p. 74. 84.

<sup>b</sup> AUG. ep. lxxiv p. 285.

<sup>c</sup> Idem in Jo. hom. v. p. 20.

<sup>d</sup> CLAUD. ibid. p. 76.

<sup>e</sup> Idem

ibid. & de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 130. OROS. l. vii. c. 26. p. 221.

<sup>f</sup> CLAUD. de laud. Stil. p. 131. SYMM. l. iv. ep. 4. p. 143.

<sup>g</sup> SYM. ibid. p. 144.

<sup>h</sup> Idem, p. 143. CLAUD. de laud. stil. l. i. p. 131. l. iii. p. 148. in *Eutrop.* p. 103. bell. Gild. p. 70.

*Milan*<sup>1</sup>. *Honorius* continued this whole year at *Milan*. Some of his laws are indeed dated from *Rome*; but that is generally thought to be a mistake<sup>k</sup>. By one of these set up in the square of *Trajan* on the ninth of *March*, he forbids the *Romans* to follow in their dress foreign fashions<sup>l</sup>; for it is to be observed, that the *Romans*, by conversing familiarly with the *Goths*, grew, by degrees, fond of their fashions, and began to adopt them; which was looked upon as a fatal prelude to what happened soon after. A blind submission to the modes and fashions of a foreign nation has but too often been the forerunner of a more dreadful slavery: may it not prove such in our days! By another law, he confirms all the privileges and exemptions, which his predecessors, moved by a due respect for religion, had granted to the churches, to the ecclesiastics, and particularly to the bishop of *Rome*<sup>m</sup>. In the East, *Arcadius*, by a law dated the first of *April*, commanded all the *Apollinarian* teachers to be banished *Constantinople*, and the houses where they had held their private assemblies to be confiscated<sup>n</sup>. That of the seventeenth of *June* forbids any one to insult the *Jews*, or their Patriarch, whom he had honoured the preceding year with the title of *illustrious*, which was given to the first officers of the empire<sup>o</sup>. The law dated the first of *July* exempts the ministers of their religion from the same burdens, from which the bishops, priests, and deacons, were exempted<sup>p</sup>. By a law dated the eighth of *November*, *Arcadius* commanded all domestics, whether free-born or slaves, to be sentenced to death, who should inform against their masters, except in cases of treason<sup>q</sup>. This year, on the seventeenth of *June*, the empress *Eudoxia* was delivered of a daughter, named *Flaccilla* from the emperor's mother, and distinguished with the title of *nobilissima*, or *most noble*<sup>r</sup>.

Flaccilla  
born.

THE following year 398. when *Honorius* was consul the fourth time, with *Eutychianus*, who entered upon that dignity at *Constantinople*, *Stilicho* pursued, with the utmost vigour, his warlike preparations against *Gildo*; but was greatly at a loss how to manage that expedition with success, and whom to trust with the command of the troops. But from this perplexity he was soon delivered by the seasonable arrival in *Italy* of *Mascezel*, brother to *Gildo*, who gave him a true account of the state of affairs in *Africa*, and suggested to him

Ambr. vit. c. 32. p. 10. c. 45. p. 12. <sup>k</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 136, 137. <sup>l</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 16. leg. 22. p. 215. <sup>m</sup> Idem ibid. p. 133. <sup>n</sup> Idem, l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 33. p. 151. <sup>o</sup> Idem, l. xvi. tit. 8. leg. 12. p. 227. <sup>p</sup> Idem, leg. 13. p. 228. <sup>q</sup> Idem, l. ix. tit. 6. leg. 3. p. 52. <sup>r</sup> Mar. & Alex. chron. p. 712.

the most proper means for suppressing the rebellion. *Mascezel* was not only a Christian, but a person of extraordinary piety; and therefore could not by any means be prevailed upon to join his brother in the rebellion, who thereupon resolved to murder him; but he, by a timely flight, defeated his wicked design\*. *Gildo* however, vented his rage on the two sons *Mascezel* had left behind him, causing them both to be put to death, and leaving their mangled bodies to be devoured by the wild beasts. *Stilicho*, not doubting but, to revenge the death of his children, and the attempt upon his own life, he would carry on the war with vigour, and serve the republic with unshaken fidelity, committed to him the whole management of the intended expedition against his brother† *Mascezel*, (1). The army embarked at *Pisa*, and, putting to sea, tho' *Gildo*, sent against him. a storm, if we may depend upon a poet‡, was then apprehended, steered along the east coast of *Sardinia*, and landed safe in *Africa*. *Mascezel*, without loss of time, led his troops against *Gildo*; and, falling upon him before he could draw up his army, gained, after a bloody and obstinate fight, a complete victory (K). *Gildo* intirely defeated.

## GILDO

\* AMMIAN. l. xxix. p. 400. OROS. l. vii. c. 36. p. 221. CLAUD. de bell. Gild. c. 79. p. 788. † CLAUD. ibid. ‡ Idem, p. 80.

(I) *Zosimus* writes, that *Mascezel* was attended by a very numerous army (1); but *Orosius* (2), and the chronicle of *Alexandria* (3), assure us, that it was but five thousand strong. Their authority is confirmed by *Claudian*, who says, that *Stilicho* made small preparations for this first expedition; but had in readiness another fleet, and a more renowned general, to be employed, in case any misfortune should befall the first (4). That poet names the several corps, or, as we may now call them, regiments, of which *Mascezel's* army was composed (5).

(K) Thus *Zosimus* (6). But *Orosius* (7), *Marcellinus* (8), and

*Paulinus Diaconus* (9), ascribe this success to the miraculous assistance of St. *Ambrose*, who, appearing to *Mascezel*, assured him, that in three days time he should gain a complete victory in the very place where he was then encamped. Hereupon he continued, say they, in the same post; and the third day, after having spent the preceding night in praying, and singing hymns with some holy hermits, whom he had brought with him from the island *Capraria*, now *Capraia*, he saw himself surrounded on all sides by the numerous forces of the enemy; but, not in the least daunted, he marched against them with his small army in

(1) *Zof.* p. 788.

(2) *Orof.* p. 221.

(3) *Cbron. Alex.* p. 713.

(4) *Claud. de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 131, 132.*

(5) *Idem, bell. Gild. p. 80.*

(6) *Zof. ibid.*

(7) *Orof.* p. 221.

(8) *Mar. in cbron.*

(9) *Amb.*

*vit. c. 15. p. 13.*



GILDO made his escape, and, reaching the sea, went on board the first vessel he found; but being, by a contrary wind, driven into the harbour of *Tabraca* near *Hippo* in *Africa*, he was there apprehended, exposed to the insults of the populace, taken; but and then thrown into prison, where he strangled himself, to avoid a more cruel and ignominious death<sup>w</sup>. Upon the violent feat and death of *Gildo*, all *Africa* submitted anew to *Honorius*. *Claudian*, who omits no opportunity of flattering his great hero *Stilicho*, ascribes the whole success of this expedition to the prudence and vigilance of that minister. He wrote a poem on the war with *Gildo*; but that piece is imperfect, since the poet leaves the *Roman* fleet on the coast of *Sardinia* in their way to *Africa*. The leading men of *Gildo's* faction were sent to *Rome*, to be tried there, and some of them were publicly executed. *Optatus*, bishop of the *Donatists* at *Tamugadi* in *Numidia*, one of *Gildo's* most zealous partisans, died in prison. As several innocent persons were, as it frequently happens on such occasions, accused, and dragged to prison, *Honorius*, by a law addressed to *Victor* proconsul of *Africa*, put a stop to such unjust prosecutions, ordering false informers and witnesses to be punished according to the rigour of the several laws enacted against them<sup>x</sup>. *Gildo's* estate fell to the exchequer, and proved so large, that a particular

*His estate  
confiscated.*

<sup>w</sup> *CLAUD.* de laud. Stil. l. i. p. 132. *ZOS.* p. 788. *OROS.* *PAULIN.* *ibid.* *MAR.* chron. <sup>x</sup> *Cod. Theod.* tit. 3. p. 288. *CLAUD.* *ibid.* p. 148.

battle-array. His piety prompted him to try first, whether he could, by fair means, bring them back to their duty; but one of the standard-bearers answering him with great arrogance, he drew his sword, and wounded him in the arm; which obliged him to lower the ensign. The other standard-bearers, imagining he had submitted, strove who should be the first in following his example, and, lowering their ensigns, threw themselves at the feet of *Mascezel*. Some of the barbarians, however, encouraged by *Gildo*, attempted to make a

stand; but were soon put to the rout. Thus were seventy thousand men, says *Orosius*, defeated by five thousand, without any stratagem or treachery, nay, and almost without bloodshed. This miraculous success, continues that writer, would hardly be credited, were there not many persons still living, who were eye-witnesses of it (1). *Paulinus* assures us, that he had this account from *Mascezel's* own mouth, after his return to *Milan* (2). However we will not take upon us to prefer it to that of *Zosimus*.

(1) *Orf.* p. 321, 322.

(2) *Amb. vit.* c. 51.

treasurer was appointed to manage it, with the title of *comes Gildoniaci patrimonii*, or count of Gildo's patrimony <sup>v</sup>.

AFRICA being thus restored to its former tranquillity, *Mascezel* returned to Italy, and was received at Milan by *Stilicho*, in appearance with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and esteem; but the glory he had acquired by putting so speedy an end to a war, which the minister had so much apprehended, giving him no small jealousy, he resolved to dispatch, without delay, this new rival. Accordingly, *Mascezel* as he was one day passing a bridge in the neighbourhood of <sup>put to</sup> Milan, *Mascezel*, who attended him, with many other persons of distinction, was, by his private orders, pushed into the river, and drowned <sup>death by</sup> (L). About the time of the defeat of *Gildo*, *Honorius* married at Milan *Maria* the daughter of *Stilicho* by *Serena*, cousin-german to that prince <sup>orders.</sup> (M). By <sup>Honorius</sup> the defeat of *Gildo*, an intimate harmony was re-established between the two brothers, as that poet tells us <sup>marries</sup> <sup>Maria, the</sup> <sup>daughter</sup> <sup>of Stili-</sup> <sup>cho.</sup> <sup>consul.</sup>; but the same misunderstanding continued between the two ministers, who nevertheless agreed in plundering the unhappy people, and conveying into their private coffers the whole wealth of the two empires <sup>c</sup>. *Eutropius* persuaded *Arcadius* to name him, <sup>Eutropius</sup> though an eunuch, for the consulship of the ensuing year; but *Stilicho* would not suffer him to be acknowledged in the West <sup>d</sup> (N).

IN

<sup>v</sup> Idem, tit. 2. p. 349, 352. & tit. 3. p. 347. <sup>z</sup> Zos. l. v. p. 788, 789. <sup>a</sup> CLAUD. conf. Hon. 4. p. 55. <sup>b</sup> Idem, bell. Gild. p. 76. <sup>c</sup> Zos. l. v. p. 789. <sup>d</sup> CLAUD. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 111.

(L) *Orosius* writes, that *Mascezel*, elated with his success, had fallen from his former piety, and even dragged from the altars several criminals, who had fled to them for refuge; which that writer looks upon as an enormous crime, and the true cause of his unfortunate end (3):

(M) He was then but thirteen, and *Maria* not yet marriageable (4); whence some authors pretend, that the marriage was never consummated, since *Maria* died very young long be-

fore the year 408 (5). *Claudian* wrote several poems on this marriage (5), which, according to him, was first proposed, nay, even commanded, by *Theodosius* (7). But his predictions concerning the kings who were to proceed from it (8), shew he was a poet, and not a prophet.

(N) *Claudian* writes, that when news of the consulate of *Eutropius* were brought to the court of *Honorius*, that prince was busied with *Stilicho* in receiving the submissions of the

(3) *Oros.* l. vii. c. 36. p. 221.  
(6) *Claud.* p. 56—69.

(4) *Zos.* p. 804.  
(7) *Idem*, p. 57.

(5) *Idem ibid.*  
(8) *Idem*, p. 63.

*Earth-* IN the East, the cities of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon*  
*quakes and* were shaken with violent earthquakes; several buildings were  
*other ca-* consumed with lightning; and the sea, breaking in upon the  
*lamities in* land, laid whole countries under water. *Claudian* mentions se-  
*the East.* veral other prodigies, which were all the forerunners, says that

poet, of a prodigy never before heard of, to wit, an eunuch  
 consul; for the following year 390. *Eutropius* prevailed upon  
*Arcadius* to create him a patrician, to honour him with the  
 title of *father to the emperor*, and to raise him to the consular  
 dignity. He was the first and the last eunuch that ever  
 held, or rather disgraced, the fasces. His image, with the  
 ensigns of his dignity, was carried, as it were in triumph,  
 through all the cities of the East; but *Stilicho* refusing to  
 acknowledge him in the West, *Manlius Theodorus* alone is  
 named consul in some *fasti*, and in the laws of *Hono-*  
*rius* (O).

*Manlius*  
*Theodo-*  
*rus consul*  
*in the*  
*West.*

DURING

CLAUD. in EUTROP. l. ii. p. 108, 109.

*Alemans*, *Suevians*, and *Sicambrians*; in giving kings to some, and commanding others to raise levies for recruiting his armies (9). Whether this may be founded on truth, or ought to be looked upon only as a poetical fiction, we will not take upon us to determine. The same poet, in enumerating the great things *Stilicho* had performed by himself, or others, before his consulship, that is, before the year 400. says, that he succoured *Britain*, attacked by the neighbouring nations, namely, by the *Scots*, who, arming all *Ierne*, or *Ireland*, against it, had covered the sea with their fleets; that he put it in a condition not to fear their arrows, nor the efforts of the *Picts*; and that he had secured the *British* coast against the descents of the *Saxons*, which the inhabitants apprehending before, were constantly on their

guard through fear of a surprize (1). He adds elsewhere (2), that the *Saxons* being overcome, the sea was quiet; that the *Picts* having lost their strength, *Britain* was delivered from her fears. The learned *Usher* ascribes to *Stilicho* the establishing of a legion in *Britain*, to defend it against the *Picts*, the *Scots*, and the *Saxons* (3). This legion is mentioned by *Claudian* (4). About the same time a proper officer was appointed to guard the coast against the attempts of the *Saxons*, with the title of *comes limitis Saxonici*, or count of the *Saxon* coast, that is, of the coast over-against the country of the *Saxons* (5).

(O) Some writers, mistaking his two names for the names of two different persons, mark *Manlius* or *Mallius*, and *Theodorus*, as consuls of this year (6). *Man-*

(9) *Claud. de laud. Stil. l. ii. p. 100.*

in *Eutrop. l. i. p. 102. 103.*

(2) *Claud. bul. Ger. p. 167. & epib. in Pallad. & Cels. apt. p. 200.*

(1) *Uss. p. 330.*

(6) *Idem p. 222p. Cassiodor. fast.*

(1) *Idem ibid. p. 139.*

(3) *Uss. eccles. Britan. ant. 7. p. 192.*

(5) *Uss. p. 192.*

DURING the consulship of *Theodorus* in the West, and *Eutropius* in the East, died *Varanes*, or *Vararanes* IV. king of *Persia*, who, during the eleven years of his reign, had lived in friendship with the *Romans*. He was killed, we know not Varanes upon what provocation, by his own subjects, and succeeded king of by his brother *Isdegerdes*, or, as *Abulfaragius* styles him, *Persia Yafdejird*<sup>f</sup>. *Eutychius*, who calls him *Al Aitham*, supposes murdered, him to have been the son of his predecessor &. He reigned and suc- twenty-one years, ever maintaining a friendly correspondence ceded by with the *Romans*; but was, according to *Eutychius*, a prince Isdeger- of great severity, or rather cruelty; whence he was surnamed des. *Al Aitham*, or *Athim*, that is, *the bad*<sup>h</sup>. *Procopius* gives him Year of the flood 2849. Of Christ 399- Of Rome 1197. a quite different character, describing him as a generous- spirited prince<sup>i</sup>. He is famous in the history of the church, on account of the persecution which he raised about the end of his reign against the Christians in his dominions. The most

<sup>f</sup> ARULFAR. p. 91. EUTYCH. tom. I. p. 548. AGATH. de imper. Just. p. 137. <sup>g</sup> EUTYCH. ibid. <sup>h</sup> Idem, tom. ii. p. 79. <sup>i</sup> PROCOPI. bell. Pers. l. i. c. 2. p. 8.

*lius Theodorus* is famous from the praises bestowed upon him by *Claudian*, in a poem which he wrote on his consulship (7); and by St. *Austin*, who, having known him at *Milan* in 384. inscribed to him in 386. his book *de beata vita, of a happy life*, which he published soon after his conversion (8). *Claudian* does not commend him on account of his family, but for his learning, his eloquence, and his virtue (9). After he had pleaded some time at the bar, he governed, first, part of *Libya*, in quality of proconsul of *Africa*, and afterwards *Macedon*; whence he was called to court, and created quæstor, whose province it was to draw up the laws that were enacted by the emperor. To this dignity he was raised by

*Gratian* in 380 (1). Upon the death of that prince, he withdrew from public affairs, and led a retired life, till he was recalled to court by *Honorius*, or rather by *Stilicho*, who appointed him prefect of *Gaul* in 395. and prefect of *Italy* in 397 (2). *Symmachus* bestows great encomiums upon him (3); and St. *Austin*, who informs us that he was a Christian, extols his modesty, his learning, his eloquence and generosity (4). *Claudian*, in the poem he wrote on his consulship, admires his integrity, moderation, affability, and other virtues (5); but elsewhere (6), divesting himself of the character of a panegyrist, he owns, that *Italy* would have reaped greater advantages from the prefecture of *Theodorus*, had he slept less.

(7) *Claud. in Man. Theod. cons. p. 34—90.* (8) *Aug. de beat. vit.*  
p. 212. 9) *Claud. ibid. p. 24.* (1) *Aug. de beat. vit. p. 388.* (2) *Claud.*  
*ibid. p. 87. 89. Cod. Theod. ibid. l. xi. tit. 6. leg. 21. p. 33.* (3) *Sym.*  
*l. 9. ep. 10. p. 189. ep. 4. 8. p. 17. 18.* (4) *Aug. ibid.* (5) *Claud.*  
*ibid. p. 89, 92.* (6) *Idem, epig. xxix. p. 261.*

remarkable event that happened in the East during the consulship of *Eutropius*, was the downfall of that famous and powerful minister, which *Zosimus* ascribes chiefly to *Gainas*. He had commanded the *Goths*, and other barbarians, under *Theodosius*; and, after the defeat of *Eugenius*, re-conducted the eastern army to *Arcadius*, on which occasion he caused *Rufinus* to be cut in pieces, in the manner we have related above. For this eminent piece of service he did not think himself sufficiently rewarded by *Eutropius*, who, as he used to boast, was indebted to him for all his grandeur. From a common soldier he had been raised by *Theodosius* to the chief command of all the *Goths*, and other barbarians, in the Roman service, and, by *Eutropius*, after the death of *Rufinus*, to the post of general of Roman horse and foot; but yet not satisfied, and scorning to depend upon a slave, and an eunuch, he resolved, by some means or other, to dispatch him, hoping, if he were once removed, to succeed him in his power and authority<sup>k</sup>.

*Gainas*  
*dissatisfied*  
*with Eu-*  
*tropius.*

WHILE he was pleasing himself with these thoughts, count *Tarbigild*, or *Tribigild*, who was by nation a *Goth*, and commanded a numerous body of his countrymen at *Nicolia* in *Phrygia*, came to court; and, after a short stay at *Constantinople*, was preparing to return to his quarters, highly dissatisfied with the haughty behaviour, and arbitrary conduct, of the prime minister; when *Gainas*, to whom he was allied, according to *Socrates*<sup>l</sup>, resolving to improve his discontent to the ruin of *Eutropius*, imparted to him the design he had formed against *Eutropius*, and encouraged him to revolt, assuring him, that he would to the utmost of his power, assist and support him underhand. *Tribigild*, who was a man of great intrepidity and resolution, and ready to embark in any desperate undertaking, immediately closed with the proposal; and, returning to *Nicolia*, took arms early in the spring; pillaged that and several other cities in *Phrygia*; and, putting all to the sword who fell into his hands, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, he threw the whole province of *Asia* into the utmost confusion, the inhabitants, struck with terror and dismay, abandoning their habitations, and flying for refuge to the most distant provinces. When news of these disorders were brought to court, *Eutropius* endeavoured first to gain *Tribigild* with large presents, and greater promises; but, finding he could not, by fair means, bring him back to his duty, he dispatched a body of troops against him, under the conduct of one *Leo*, a person greatly attached to his interest, but in every respect unfit for that command. *Leo*, having

*He induces*  
*Tribigild*  
*to revolt.*

*Tribigild*  
*pillages se-*  
*veral pro-*  
*vinces.*

<sup>k</sup> *Zos. l. v. p. 789. Soz. l. viii. c. 4. p. 760, 761. Socr. l. vi. c. 6. p. 306.* <sup>l</sup> *Socr. ibid.*

passed the streights of the *Hellepont*, continued in that neighbourhood, not daring to encounter the enemy. *Gainas*, who pretended to be highly provoked against *Tribigild*, on account of his revolt, was enjoined to guard *Thrace*, and the sea-coast, in order to prevent an irruption on that side; but he, keeping the whole time a private correspondence with the rebels, instead of defending *Thrace*, advised *Tribigild* to march his forces without delay to the sea-side, and, crossing the *Hellepont*, to enter that province. Had his advice been followed, the rebels would have made themselves masters of *Constantinople* without opposition; but *Tribigild*, bending his march towards *Pisidia*, was met there by one *Valentine*, a citizen of *Selga*, at the head of a small body of slaves and peasants. *Tribigild* despised them at first; but, as they were well acquainted with that mountainous country, and had, by their frequent disputes with the robbers in those parts, learnt to make sudden onsets, and lay ambushes, they cut off great numbers of his men, and at length shut him up on all sides, in such manner, that no room being left for him to escape, he must inevitably have perished, had he not, by a large sum, prevailed upon one *Florentius*, who guarded a narrow pass called *Cochlea*, to withdraw, and suffer him to retire. *Is reduced to great distress;*

HOWEVER, his men, by the ambuscades, frequent skirmishes, and sudden onsets of the *Pisidians*, were now reduced to three hundred. With these he marched into the plain, where he was again shut up between the two rivers *Melane* and *Eurymedon*. In this extremity he found means to acquaint *Gainas* with the desperate posture of his affairs, who thereupon, under colour of reinforcing *Leo's* army, detached a strong body of barbarians, with private orders to join *Tribigild*; which they did accordingly. With their assistance *Tribigild* open himself a passage out of *Pisidia*, and, falling unexpectedly upon *Leo*, cut most of his men in pieces. *Leo* fears *Leo*, himself, attempting to make his escape, perished among the marshes. From *Pisidia*, *Tribigild* returned into *Phrygia*, where *Gainas*, who had advanced into that province, as if he designed to attack him, suffered him to rage with greater fury than ever, magnifying, in all the letters he wrote to the emperor, his conduct, his exploits, and the number of his troops, and suggesting, that the only way to save the empire from imminent ruin, was to comply with his demands, the chief of which was, that *Eutropius*, the author of all the present calamities, should be delivered up into his hands. At the

<sup>a</sup> Zos. l. v. p. 789. PHILOST. p. 531. CLAUD. in Eutrop. l. ii. p. 110. 116. 119. *Gainas lays the whole blame on Eutropius;*

same time news were brought to court of the death of *Varranes* king of *Persia*, and a report spread, that his successor was preparing to invade *Syria*. Upon this false alarm, and the accounts that were by *Gainas* daily transmitted to *Constantinople* of the progress made by *Tribigild*, some were for recurring to *Stilicho*, and others for satisfying the rebels, by sacrificing the minister to the welfare of the state<sup>n</sup>. *Arcadius*, who was under the greatest perplexity, chose the latter; and, sending for *Eutropius*, caused him to be stripped of the consular ensigns, and discharged him<sup>o</sup> (P).

who is disgraced,  
and deposed.  
He takes  
sanctuary  
in a  
church;

*EUTROPIUS*, thus disgraced, and apprehending his life to be in danger, took sanctuary in a church. But the people exclaiming against him in the theatre, and *Gainas*, with the soldiery, pressing the emperor to restore the state to its former tranquillity, by either putting to death, or banishing, the abhorred minister, a band of soldiers was sent to drag him from his asylum, some of those who had appeared till

<sup>n</sup> Zos. p. 793. *CLAUD.* in *Eutrop.* l. ii. p. 119, 120. Zos. *ibid.*

(O) Thus *Zosimus*. But *Socrates*, *Philostorgius*, *Sozomen*, and *Chrysostom*, relate the downfall of *Eutropius*, without mentioning either *Gainas* or *Tribigild*. *Socrates* only says that he had offended *Arcadius* (7); *Sozomen*, that he had affronted the empress (8); and *Chrysostom*, who was then at *Constantinople*, that he had injured the emperor (9). *Philostorgius* writes, that *Eutropius* having insolently threatened to drive the empress out of the palace, she went, with her two little daughters, *Flaccilla* and *Pulcheria*, in her arms, to throw herself at the emperor's feet, and demand satisfaction. *Arcadius*, moved with the tears of his wife and children, remembered at length, that he was emperor; and, sending for *Eutropius*, discharged him, and commanded him that instant

to quit the palace; which he did accordingly, without being attended by a single person, tho' he had been hitherto constantly surrounded with crouds of pretended friends and adorers (1). *Claudius* seem to favour the opinion of *Zosimus*; for, in his second book against *Eutropius*, he describes at length the war of *Tribigild*, which would have been quite foreign to his purpose, had it not had any connexion with the downfall of *Eutropius*, which he mentions in his preface to that book. However, the poet, after having expatiated on that war, only describes the consternation it occasioned at *Constantinople*, and introduces the East recurring to his hero *Stilicho* (2). Perhaps he wrote, or intended to write, a third book.

(7) *Soc.* l. vi.

(8) *Soz.* l. viii. c. 7. p. 767.

(9) *Philos.* l. xi. c. 6. p. 529.

(2) *Claud.* *ibid.*

that

that time most zealously attached to him, taking upon them that province<sup>p</sup>. But *Chrysostom*, then bishop of *Constantinople*, where he presented himself before them, and resolutely declaring, that he would not suffer them to profane the church, they seized him, and carried him to the emperor, who was by him prevailed upon to grant that protection to *Eutropius*, from which many guilty of smaller crimes had, by his means, been excluded<sup>q</sup>. The next day incredible multitudes of people flocked to the church, to have the satisfaction of seeing *Eutropius*, whom they all hated, divested of his power, and, by a just retaliation, brought to that deplorable condition, to which he had reduced many of their friends and relations. On this occasion *Chrysostom* made a speech to the assembled multitude, on the vanity of all human grandeur, endeavouring, at the same time, to awake in the hearts of his auditors, sentiments of compassion for the unhappy criminal. When he saw them begin to relent, he ended his speech, by exhorting them to go all in a body to the imperial palace, and, throwing themselves at the prince's feet, to beg his life<sup>r</sup>. Whether they complied with this exhortation, we are nowhere told. All we know is, that a few days after, *Eutropius*, having privately left his asylum, in order to make his escape, was taken, and banished to the island of *Cyprus*<sup>s</sup> (Q).

He is taken in endeavouring to make his escape,

<sup>p</sup> CHRYS. tom. iii. p. 671, 667.

<sup>q</sup> Idem, tom. iv. p. 486.

<sup>r</sup> SOCR. p. 304. SOZ. p. 767. CHRYS. tom. iv. p. 482—487.

<sup>s</sup> CHRYS. in psal. xlv. hom. 2. p. 667. ZOS. l. v. p. 799.

(Q) *Zosimus* writes, that when he was banished, he was assured, that his life should not be taken from him (3); and *Claudian*, who wrote at the time they were conducting him to *Cyprus*, says, that though he had caused an eunuch to be beheaded, yet he should not undergo the same punishment (4). The law has reached our times, by which *Arcadius* confiscated his estate, stripped him of the dignity of great chamberlain, degraded him from the rank of patrician, and ordered his name to be erased

where-ever he was styled consul, his statues to be pulled down, and his images to be removed. By the same law *Aurelian*, the *præfectus prætorio*, is enjoined to cause him to be conducted, under a guard, to the island of *Cyprus*, and to be there narrowly watched, lest he should raise new disturbances (5). This law is dated the seventeenth of January of the present year; which must certainly be a mistake, since all historians agree, that he was banished after the revolt of *Triphidius*, who took arms in the

(3) Zos. p. 793, 794. Theod. l. ix. tit. 11. leg. 57.

(4) *Claudian* p. 1. l. ii. p. 107.



He is ac-  
cused a-  
new, tried,  
and exe-  
cuted.

Many tem-  
ples pulled  
down.

GAINAS, not yet satisfied, caused several charges to be brought against him; upon which he was conducted from the island of *Cyprus* to a place called *Pantychium*, between *Chalcedon* and *Nicomedia*, where he was tried by the prefect *Aurelianus*, and several other persons of distinction, who, upon his being convicted of having, in his consulship, made use of ornaments peculiar to the imperial dignity, condemned him; and he was beheaded on the last day of the present year<sup>t</sup>. *Zosimus*, who pretends he had been promised his life upon oath, says, that, to cover that perjury, they gave out, that the oath was only with respect to *Constantinople*, and caused him to be beheaded at *Chalcedon*<sup>u</sup>. This year is remarkable in the history of the church, for the many temples that were demolished both in the East and West, and the severe laws that were enacted by the two princes against all manner of idolatrous worship; which may be said to have given the last blow to the pagan superstition. The temples, says *Tyro Prosper* in his chronicle, were this year demolished throughout the Roman world<sup>v</sup>. By a law dated the 13<sup>th</sup> of *July*, *Arcadius* commanded all the temples throughout his dominions to be pulled down, not only in the cities, but likewise in the country<sup>x</sup>; and by another dated the first of *November*, the materials were to be employed in repairing the bridges, highways, aqueducts, and the walls of the cities<sup>y</sup>. By other laws all manner of superstitious worship was forbidden, both in public and private, under the severest penalties, and the priests and ministers of the idols deprived of all the privileges granted them by former princes<sup>z</sup>. In the West *Honorius* enacted a law, dated the 29<sup>th</sup> of *January* of this year 399. forbidding heathenish sacrifices on pain of death, and commanding the temples to be every-where pulled down, and the statues of the idols to be broken in pieces, that no footsteps might remain of the antient superstition<sup>a</sup> (R). Besides the destruction of several temples re-

corded

<sup>t</sup> Zos. p. 793. PHILOSTORG. l. xi. c. 6. p. 529. SOCR. l. vi. c. 5. p. 305. AST. orat. iii. p. 76, 77. <sup>u</sup> Zos. p. 794. PROSP. in chron. <sup>x</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 16. p. 283. <sup>y</sup> Idem, l. xv. tit. 1. leg. 16. p. 310. <sup>z</sup> Idem, tit. 10. leg. 13. p. 277. & leg. 14. p. 278. <sup>a</sup> Idem, l. xvi. tit. 10. leg. 15. p. 280.

spring. *Chrysostom* gives us room to believe, that several other persons were banished with *Eutropius* (6); and truly a favourite seldom falls alone. However,

his sister, though very rich, was suffered to continue at *Constantinople* (7).

(R) Notwithstanding this law, several temples were spared at

(6) *Chrysf. in psal. xlv. hom. ii. p. 667. & p. 671.*

(7) *Claud. in Eutrop.*

l. ii. p. 107.

coided by the ecclesiastic writers, nothing happened this year in the West, which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity. *Honorius* was, as appears from the dates of his laws, on the twenty-ninth of *January* at *Ravenna*, from the fifteenth of *February* to the fourth of *June* at *Milan*, at *Brixia* or *Brescia* on the sixth of *June*, at *Verona* in *July*, in *August* at *Padua*, and at *Altino* in *September*; whence he returned to *Milan*, and there passed the winter <sup>b</sup>.

THE next consul were, *Stilicho* and *Aurelianus*: the latter entered upon this new dignity at *Constantinople*, and the former at *Milan*, with the greatest pomp that had ever been seen in that city <sup>c</sup>. In the East no advantage accrued to the public from the death of *Eutropius*; the empress *Eudoxia*, a bold, enterprising, and avaricious woman, as *Zosimus* styles her, having, upon the downfall of that minister, gained an absolute ascendant over her husband. She was constantly beset by women, eunuchs, and informers, who prompted her to such crying acts of violence and injustice, that every good man wished for death, to avoid seeing such enormous disorders <sup>d</sup>. In the mean time, *Gainas*, having concluded a pretended peace with the rebels, began to march back to *Constantinople*, followed by *Tribigild*, whom he joined at *Thyatira*, where they both agreed to march to *Sardis* in *Lydia*, and plunder that metropolis; but, not being able to pass the rivers that were swelled by the heavy rains, they parted once more; and, bending their march to the sea, *Tribigild* took his route towards *Lampsachus* on the *Hellepont*, and *Gainas* towards *Chalcedon*, allowing their soldiers to plunder all the countries through which they passed. Their approach caused a general consternation at *Constantinople*; nay, the whole empire seemed to be in imminent danger. As *Arcadius* had no troops to

consul.  
Year of  
the flood  
2850.  
Of Christ  
400.  
Of Rome  
1198.

*Gainas*  
and *Tribigild* join  
their  
forces, and  
plunder  
several  
provinces.

<sup>b</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 140, 141. 417.  
ep. 31. p. 161.

<sup>d</sup> Zos. p. 800. 802.

<sup>c</sup> SYM. l. iv.

the request of the bishops, who begged them, and consecrated them to the worship of the true God. Among these was the famous temple of the goddess *Cælestis*, the chief deity of *Carthage*, one of the most stately edifices in the whole empire; for it is said, with the buildings belonging to it, to have taken up the space of two miles, the

whole being inclosed by a wall of an extraordinary height and beauty. This temple was, with great pomp and solemnity, consecrated on *Easter-day* by *Aurelius*, bishop of *Carthage*, attended by several other bishops, and an incredible multitude of Christians, who had flocked from all parts to assist at that ceremony (8).

(8) *Presp. chron.* p. 149, 150.

make head against them, and prevent their entering *Thrace*, he was advised to send deputies to *Gainas*, and to save the empire from utter ruin, by granting him whatever he demanded. *Gainas*, with great insolence, required three of the most eminent men in the state, whom he thought capable of thwarting his ambitious designs, to be delivered up to him, in order to be put to death. These were, *Saturninus*, who had been consul in 383. and employed for the space of thirty years in public affairs; *Aurelianus*, this year's consul, who had been prefect of *Constantinople* in 393. and the preceding year the *præfectus prætorio*; and *John*, secretary to the emperor, and in whom the prince reposed great trust <sup>e</sup>.

Arcadius  
forced to  
comply  
with his  
unjust de-  
mands;

THE emperor complied, tho' much against his will, with this arrogant and tyrannical demand, those three illustrious persons pressing him, of their own accord, to sacrifice them to the public welfare <sup>f</sup>. With the emperor's consent they left *Constantinople*, and presented themselves before *Gainas*, encamped in the neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*, who immediately ordered them to be beheaded, but changed the sentence of death into that of perpetual banishment, when the executioner had already lifted up his arm to discharge the fatal blow <sup>g</sup>. They were chiefly indebted to *Chrysostom* for their lives, which were granted them at his intercession <sup>h</sup>. They were all three sent under a guard towards *Epirus*; but, having, either by corrupting the *Goths* that guarded them, or by some other means, made their escape, they appeared, when least expected, at the court of *Constantinople*, to the great joy of the emperor, and the whole city <sup>i</sup>. *Zosimus* is the only writer who mentions *John* among those whom *Gainas* demanded: all other writers speak only of *Aurelianus* and *Saturninus*.

and to con-  
fer with  
him in per-  
son.

*Gainas*, not yet satisfied, demanded a conference with the emperor in person; and with this demand too the emperor was obliged to comply, passing for that purpose over to *Chalcedon*, in the neighbourhood of which city he had an interview with *Gainas*, in the church of St. *Euphemia*, where it was agreed, that both *Gainas* and *Tribigild* should lay down their arms, and return, if they pleased, to *Constantinople*; and that the former, besides the command of all the *Goths* in the *Roman* service, should have that of the *Roman* horse and foot, with the consular ornaments, and an authority almost

<sup>e</sup> Zos. p. 793—795. Soz. l. viii. c. 4. p. 760. Socr. l. vi. c. 6. p. 306. SYNES. ep. 31. 34. 38. p. 177—179. <sup>f</sup> Socr. ibid. <sup>g</sup> Zos. l. v. p. 795. <sup>h</sup> Socr. ibid. Soz. p. 761. CHRYST. tom. v. hom. 72. p. 895. <sup>i</sup> Zos. p. 799.

unbounded <sup>k</sup>. We find nothing henceforth in history relating to *Tribigild*, except that he perished in *Thrace* soon after <sup>l</sup>. As for *Gainas*, upon his return to *Constantinople*, he demanded a church in that city for the *Arians*, whose doctrine was held by him, and most of the *Goths* his countrymen. The timorous emperor, not daring to give him an absolute denial, referred him to *Chrysostom*, bishop of the city, who shewed him the edict of the emperor *Theodosius*, forbidding all heretics and sectaries to hold any assemblies in the city. *Gainas* replied, that the services he had rendered the empire deserved at least one church, in which he, and those of his persuasion, might have the free exercise of their religion. To this the prelate replied boldly, that his rewards already exceeded his deserts; that, from the mean condition of a common soldier, he had been raised to the high station of commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces; and ought to be satisfied with the honours he enjoyed, without demanding what could not be granted without a notorious breach of the laws. *Gainas*, finding he had not to deal with an *Arcadius*, but a *Chrysostom*, thought it adviseable to drop his demand <sup>m</sup> (S).

ABOUT this time appeared over *Constantinople* a comet of unusual magnitude, portending, as was said, the great danger the city was in from the perfidiousness of *Gainas*. For that barbarian, who commanded in chief the armies of *Arcadius*, having filled *Constantinople* with his *Goths*, and removed from thence all the *Roman* troops, formed a design of seizing first the wealth of the bankers, and then setting fire to the palace. But this wicked project being frustrated by a miracle, which the reader will find related at large by *Socrates* <sup>n</sup>, *Sozomen* <sup>o</sup>, and *Philostorgius* <sup>p</sup>, he withdrew from the city on the tenth of *July*, as it were to take the air, says *Zosimus* <sup>q</sup>, or to per-

<sup>k</sup> Zos. p. 794. SocR. p. 306, 307. Soz. p. 761. THEODOR. l. v. c. 32. p. 744. <sup>l</sup> PHILOS. l. xi. c. 8. p. 531. <sup>m</sup> PHILOS. l. xi. c. 8. p. 531. Soz. p. 761. THEODOR. p. 774, 775. <sup>n</sup> SocR. l. vi. c. 6. p. 307. <sup>o</sup> Soz. l. viii. c. 4. p. 762. <sup>p</sup> PHILOS. l. i. c. 8. p. 531. <sup>q</sup> Zos. l. v. p. 795.

(S) *Socrates* and *Sozomen* mention a church in *Constantinople* belonging to the *Goths* (9); but they must be understood not of the *Arian*, but the orthodox *Goths*, since *Marcellinus*, a zealous catholic, styles it in his chronicle *our church*. However, the *Arians* were, it seems, at this time allowed to assemble without the walls of the city (1).

lous catholic, styles it in his chronicle *our church*. However, the *Arians* were, it seems, at this time allowed to assemble without the walls of the city (1).

(9) SocR. p. 308. Soz. p. 762. Som. p. 761.

(1) Theod. l. v. c. 30. p. 743.

*but fails  
in his at-  
tempt.*

*His men  
massacred.*

*He ra-  
vages  
Thrace.*

form his devotions, as we read in *Socrates* <sup>r</sup>, in the church of *St. John Baptist*, seven miles from the city, pretending to be possessed, say *Sozomen* <sup>s</sup> and *Socrates* <sup>t</sup>, with an evil spirit. He left in the city the greater part of his *Goths*, with private orders to fall upon the inhabitants immediately after his departure, and to give him a signal, that he might return, and join them, with those who attended him <sup>u</sup>. *Gainas* defeated his own design, according to *Zosimus*, by returning to force the gate before the signal agreed on; which alarmed the city <sup>w</sup>. *Socrates* <sup>x</sup> and *Sozomen* <sup>y</sup> write, that the soldiers, who guarded the gates, observing those, who went out with *Gainas*, loaded with arms, which they endeavoured to conceal, attempted to stop them. Hereupon the *Goths*, having killed several of the guards, opened themselves a way sword in hand; but the citizens, in the mean time taking the alarm, flew to arms; and *Arcadius*, acquainted with what had happened, declared *Gainas* a public enemy, and ordered all the *Goths* in the city to be put to the sword. Upon this *Gainas* returned in great haste; but, not being able to force the gate, which he found barricaded, and defended by a numerous body of citizens, he was obliged to drop the enterprize, and retire. *Philostorgius* supposes him to have been still in the city, and to have retired in the night <sup>z</sup>. What happened the day following, we are no-where told; but the day after, the twelfth of *July*, the citizens fell upon the *Goths*, who were still remaining in the city to the number of seven thousand, and cut most of them in pieces; the rest, overpowered with numbers, took sanctuary in the church of their nation, which stood close to the palace; but the citizens, having obtained leave of the emperor to attack them even in their asylum, they first uncovered the roof; and, after having for some time plied them warmly with showers of darts and arrows, they set fire at last to the church, which was reduced to ashes, with all who were in it <sup>a</sup>. This was looked upon, says *Zosimus*, by every good Christian, as an enormous crime <sup>b</sup>.

*GAINAS*, highly provoked at the massacre of his friends and countrymen, pulled off the mask; and, making open war upon the state, ravaged all *Thrace*; but, not being able to make himself master of a single city there, the inhabitants, who were accustomed to such incursions, having learned how to defend their walls, how to sally out, and distress the enemy,

<sup>r</sup> *Socr.* p. 307, 308.

<sup>s</sup> *Soz.* p. 762.

<sup>t</sup> *Socr.* *ibid.*

<sup>u</sup> *Zos.* p. 795.

<sup>w</sup> *Idem* *ibid.*

<sup>x</sup> *Socr.* p. 307.

<sup>y</sup> *Soz.*

p. 762.

<sup>z</sup> *PHILOST.* p. 531.

<sup>a</sup> *Socr.* p. 308. *Chron.*

*Alex.* p. 712.

*Soz.* p. 762.

*Zos.* p. 796. *Març. chron.*

<sup>b</sup> *Zos.* *ibid.*

he left that province, and marched into the *Chersonesus*, with a design to cross the streights of the *Hellepont*, and enrich himself and his army with the spoils of *Asia*. But *Fravitus*, who commanded in those parts, having assembled in great haste a considerable number of vessels, attacked him in his passage; and, being favoured by the wind, obliged him to return to the coast whence he had sailed, with the loss of many thousands of his men either killed or drowned <sup>c</sup>. *Fravitus* was himself a *Goth*, and a pagan, according to *Zosimus* <sup>d</sup>, but greatly attached to the *Roman* interest, having married a *Roman* of distinction in 380. and ever since that time served the empire with great fidelity. He was one of the chiefs of those *Goths*, who, being driven out of their own country by the *Hunns*, were allowed by *Theodosius* to settle in *Thrace*. *Eunapius* writes, that soon after he killed with his own hand *Eriulphus*, another of their chiefs, because he was for taking arms against *Theodosius*, pursuant to an oath, by which they had all bound themselves, before they left their own country in 376. to do the *Romans*, however kindly by them received, all the mischief that lay in their power <sup>e</sup>. As he was a man of great courage, a strict observer of military discipline, vigilant, and indefatigable, he had been employed on several occasions, and acquitted himself in every command with great reputation: he had lately cleared the East of the robbers, who had long infested it, roving up and down the country in great bodies <sup>f</sup>. However, he was suspected of having suffered *Gainas* and the rest of his countrymen to escape, when he might have easily cut them all off: but *Zosimus* <sup>g</sup>, and most historians, clear him from this charge, which seems the more groundless, as he was, for his conduct on that occasion, rewarded the following year with the consulship. From the *Chersonesus* *Gainas* returned to *Thrace*, and was there, according to *Socrates* and *Sozomen* <sup>h</sup>, cut in pieces, with all his men, by the *Romans*, who pursued him (T).

## DURING

<sup>c</sup> Zos. SOCR. SOZ. *ibid.* PHILOST. p. 531. <sup>d</sup> Idem *ibid.* <sup>e</sup> EUNAP. p. 21. <sup>f</sup> EUNAP. *ibid.* Zos. p. 769. PHILOST. p. 531. SOCR. p. 309. <sup>g</sup> Zos. p. 798. <sup>h</sup> SOCR. p. 309. SOZ. p. 763.

(T) *Zosimus* writes, that, after he had massacred all the *Romans* whom he found in his army, lest they should betray him, he passed the *Danube*, being desirous to end his days in the ancient country of the *Goths*. But *Uldes* or *U-*

*din*, king of the *Hunns*, then masters of those countries, thinking it highly impolitic to receive into his dominions so renowned a commander with an army of his own nation, met him with all his forces on the frontiers,

Eudoxia  
created  
Augusta.

DURING these troubles, *Eudoxia*, who had been hitherto distinguished only with the title of *Nobilissima*, received that of *Augusta* on the ninth of *January*; on which occasion she caused her image to be carried through all the provinces of the empire, to receive the same honours that were paid to the images of the emperors. This no empress before her had presumed to do; whence many complained of it as an innovation, and among the rest *Honorius*, in a letter which he wrote to his brother <sup>i</sup>. But, not many years after, the empresses claimed the same honours; nay, and assumed the same titles of *pious*, *happy*, *most pious*, *perpetual*, *victorious*, &c. that were given to the princes their husbands. On the third of *April*, of this year, *Eudoxia* was delivered of *Arcadia*, her third daughter <sup>k</sup>. In the beginning of this year the city of *Constantinople* was shaken with violent earthquakes, which lasted three days; on which occasion great numbers of pagans demanded and received the sacrament of baptism <sup>l</sup>.

Arcadia  
born.

DURING the above-mentioned disturbances raised by *Gainas* in the East, the Western provinces, especially *Italy*, were alarmed by a sudden irruption of the barbarians, under the conduct of the celebrated *Alaric*, and *Radagaisus* king of the *Huns*. But of this irruption we shall speak at large in a more proper place.

Theodo-  
sius born.

Year of  
the flood  
285<sup>1</sup>.

Of Christ  
401.

Of Rome  
1199.

THE next consuls were *Vicentius* prefect of *Gaul*, and *Fravitus* or *Fravita*, of whom we have spoken above. This year is remarkable for the birth of *Theodosius*, the son and successor of *Arcadius*, born, according to *Socrates* <sup>m</sup>, and the chronicle of *Alexandria* <sup>n</sup>, on the tenth, according to *Marcellinus*, on the eleventh, of *April*, and, soon after his birth, declared *Cæsar* <sup>o</sup>, and baptized with extraordinary pomp and solemnity. This year *Arcadius* published a law, forbidding any one to beg the estates of condemned persons, till two years after they

<sup>1</sup> Vide VAL. rer. Franc. l. ii. p. 66. & spicileg. veter. script. tom. x. p. 8 <sup>k</sup> Chron. Alex. p. 712 <sup>l</sup> SYN. ep. 61. p. 204. CHRYS. in Act. hom. 7. 41. p. 69. 360. <sup>m</sup> SOCR. p. 763. <sup>n</sup> Chron. Alex. p. 712, <sup>o</sup> THEOD. l. ii. p. 568. SOZ. p. 763.

gave him battle, and, after a sharp dispute, put him and all his men to the sword. His body being found, *Uldes* caused his head to be cut off, and sent it to *Arcadius* (2), who received it at *Constantinople* on the third of *January* of the ensuing year 401 (3).

(2) ZOF. p. 798, 799. qbron.

(3) SOCR. p. 309. Chron. Alex. p. 12. MARC.

had been confiscated p. The *Euxine* sea was this year frozen over for the space of twenty days q. A band of slaves and deserters pillaged part of *Thrace*, pretending to be *Hunns*; but *Fravitus*, marching against them, put most of them to the sword, and dispersed the rest r. In the West, *Honorius*, by a law dated the twenty-fifth of *June*, forgave all the debts owing to the exchequer before his first consulship; that is, before the month of *September* 386. By the same law, he ordered all prosecutions and suits for what was owing from that time to the year 395. that is, to his accession to the empire, to be suspended, till he had inquired into the circumstances of the debtors s. The following year, when *Arcadius* and *Honorius* were both consuls the fifth time, nothing remarkable happened in the East, except the promotion of young *Theodosius* to the imperial dignity; which ceremony was performed with extraordinary magnificence in the palace of *Heddomon*, on the tenth or eleventh of *January* t. In the West, *Alaric* entered *Italy* anew, ravaged several provinces without opposition, and obliged the emperor to retire to *Ravenna*, which thenceforth became the usual place of his residence u. The news of this irruption soon reached the most distant provinces of the East; for we are told, that this very year the Christians of *Edessa* in *Mesopotamia*, repairing to the church of St. *Thomas*, begged in their public prayers, that the *Arian* robber, who plundered *Italy*, might meet with the just doom, which had overtaken his countryman of the same sect, meaning, no doubt, *Gainas* w.

THE next consuls were, *Theodosius Augustus*, and *Rumoridus*. Who the latter was, we are no-where told; but his name gives us room to think he was a *Goth*, probably in the service of *Honorius*; for, generally speaking, one of the consuls belonged to the Eastern, and the other to the Western empire. This year 403. *Eudoxia* was, on the tenth or eleventh of *February*, delivered of *Marina*, her fourth and last daughter x. A statue of silver was erected to the empress on a column of porphyry, near the church of St. *Sophia*; which occasioned a misunderstanding between *Eudoxia* and St. *Chrysostom*, bishop of the city, who could not endure the profane sports that were exhibited before the statue at the very entry of the church y. *Arcadius* caused likewise his own statue to be

p Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 42. leg. 17. p. 345. q Chron. Alex. p. 713. r Zos. p. 799. s Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 28. leg. 3. p. 196. t Saz. l. viii. c. 4. p. 763. Chron. Alex. p. 712. u Cod. Theod. chron. p. 146. w CHRYS. tom. vi. p. 272—274. x Chron. Alex. ibid. SOCR. l. vi. c. 18. p. 326. y SOCR. ibid. THEOPH. p. 68.



Stilicho  
assembles  
an army,

and  
marches  
against  
Alaric.  
The battle  
of Pollen-  
tia.

Year of  
the flood  
2853.

Of Christ  
403.  
Of Rome  
1201.



placed on a column, which, according to some writers, was reared this year in the quarter of the city called *Xerolophos*, and is described by *Gyllius* <sup>2</sup>. The same year *Arcadius* built the city of *Arcadiopolis* in *Thrace* <sup>2</sup>, or rather gave that name to the antient city of *Bergulæ* <sup>b</sup>. To return to *Italy*: *Stilicho*, having in some degree removed the young emperor's fears, says *Claudian*, crossed the lake of *Como*, and, passing the *Alps* in the depth of winter, entered *Rhætia*, where, with his unexpected arrival, he alarmed the barbarians, and not only obliged them to sue for peace, but persuaded great numbers of them to join him. At the same time he dispatched messengers to the troops that guarded the coasts of *Britain*, and the banks of the *Rhine*, ordering them to march immediately, and with all possible expedition, into *Rhætia*. Upon their arrival, he commanded them to pursue their march into *Italy*; but set out himself before them, attended by a small number of troops, in order to return with all speed to court. When he came to the *Adda*, he found the enemy encamped on the opposite bank, and masters of the bridge; but, not in the least daunted, he threw himself into the river as soon as it was dark, and, forcing his way sword in hand through the midst of the barbarians, appeared unexpectedly at court, to the inexpressible joy of the emperor <sup>c</sup>. The troops arrived soon after out of *Rhætia*; and *Stilicho*, putting himself at their head, marched against the enemy; but could not hinder *Alaric* from passing the *Po*, and advancing to *Pollentia*, now *Pollenza*, on the *Tanaro* in *Piedmont* <sup>d</sup>, where the two armies engaged, almost on the same spot, says *Claudian*, where *Marius* had formerly defeated the *Cimbrians* <sup>e</sup>; but he was therein mistaken; for the *Cimbrians* were overcome in the neighbourhood of *Vercelli* <sup>f</sup> (U). *Claudian* and *Prudentius* <sup>g</sup> suppose the

<sup>2</sup> GYLL. de Constant. geograph. l. iv. c. 7. p. 300.

OPH. p. 66.

<sup>b</sup> Vide BAUDR. p. 60. 114.

<sup>2</sup> THE-

<sup>c</sup> CLAUD.

bell. Get. p. 165—168. conf. Hon. 6. p. 186, 187.

<sup>d</sup> Idem

ibid. p. 170—180.

<sup>e</sup> Idem, bell. Get. p. 171.

<sup>f</sup> PLUT.

vit. Mar. p. 767.

<sup>g</sup> PRUD. in Symm. p. 243.

(U) There is a great disagreement among authors in the accounts they give us of this battle: *Jornandes* writes, that *Alaric* having advanced to *Pollentia*, in virtue of a treaty, by which *Honorius* had yielded to him the

provinces of *Gaul* and *Spain*, then held by the *Vandals*, *Stilicho* followed him, and, without any regard to the faith of treaties, or law of nations, fell upon him, while he was under no apprehension of an enemy (4). But it is

the battle to have been gained by the *Romans*; but *Cassiodorus* in his chronicle writes, that *Stilicho* and the *Roman* army were defeated, and put to flight; and *Jornandes*, that the *Goths*, when surprised by *Stilicho*, betrayed no small fear; but afterwards took courage, and put most of his men to the sword, obliging the rest to save themselves by a precipitate and disorderly flight <sup>h</sup>. According to *Orosius*, the *Romans* gained the battle; but were overcome after the victory <sup>i</sup>. The *Romans*, while victorious, forced and plundered the enemy's camp, in which they found the spoils of several provinces, and the wife of *Alaric*, with his children and daughters-in-law, whom they took prisoners. *Alaric* was no sooner informed of their misfortune, than he sent deputies to *Stilicho* to sue for peace; *sues for* which was readily granted him, upon condition of his march-*peace*. ing forthwith out of *Italy* <sup>k</sup>.

PURSUANT to this agreement, *Alaric* repassed the *Po*, and retired as far as *Verona*, where, in defiance of the late treaty, he began to plunder the country, and commit other acts of hostility. Hereupon *Stilicho* detached against him a strong body of barbarians, by whom he was overcome, and obliged to take refuge amongst the mountains. He endeavoured to pass the *Alps*, and seize on *Gaul* or *Rætia*; but found all the passes guarded by *Stilicho*, who kept him blocked up, till, most of his men forsaking him, and, joining the *Romans*, he *Abandons* thought it adviseable to withdraw in the night-time, and re-*Italy, and*

<sup>h</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 30. p. 653. <sup>i</sup> OROS. l. vii. c. 37. p. 221. <sup>k</sup> CLAUD. p. 172. & conf. Hon. p. 181, 182. PRUD. in Symm. p. 243.

certain, that the *Vandals* had not yet entered either of those provinces. *Claudian*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Prudentius*, suppose *Stilicho* to have been present, and to have commanded the army in person; but *Orosius* tells us, that *Saul*, a pagan and barbarian, was vested with the chief command; and that he, imagining the *Goths*, out of respect to their religion (for they were for the most part Christians, tho' *Arians*), would not fight on *Easter-day*, attacked them on that solemn festival (5). In the present year 403. *Easter*

fell on the twenty-ninth of *March* (6); which is agreeable to what we read in *Claudian*, to wit, that the war of *Alaric* began and ended with the winter (7). In the *Roman* army served a body of *Alan* horse, commanded by an officer of that nation, who, advancing with more courage than prudence, was slain at the head of his men; which put them into no small confusion: but *Stilicho* coming seasonably with the foot to their assistance, they rallied, and returned to the charge (8).

(5) Oros. l. vii. c. 37. p. 221.  
p. 160, 161.

(6) Buch. cycl.  
(8) Prud. in Sym. p. 243.

(7) Claud. bell. Got.

turn through by-ways into *Pannonia*. Thus *Claudian* <sup>1</sup>. *Orosius* writes, that the barbarians could not agree among themselves; that the *Goths* were divided into two factions; and that the *Alans* and *Hunns*, who served under *Alaric*, often quarreled, and destroyed each other <sup>m</sup>. *Italy* being thus delivered from the barbarians, *Honorius*, to satisfy the senate and people of *Rome*, who, by frequent embassies, had intreated him to honour their city with his presence, left *Ravenna*, and set out for that metropolis; which he entered in triumph, having *Stilicho* with him in the chariot, about the beginning of *December*. He was received with loud acclamations by the senate in a body, by the nobility and people in their best apparel. He would not suffer the senate to attend, according to custom, his triumphal chariot on foot; but allowed his sister *Placidia*, and *Eucherius* his brother-in-law, to pay him that honour <sup>n</sup>. While he was still at *Ravenna*, he suppressed and utterly abolished the shews of gladiators, which, tho' forbidden by *Constantine the Great* in 325. had been tolerated by his successors, even by *Theodosius* himself, out of complaisance to the people, and beyond expression <sup>o</sup> of that inhuman diversion <sup>o</sup> (W).

THE following year 404. *Honorius* was consul the sixth time, with *Aristanetus*, of whom we find no further mention in history. The empress *Eudoxia* died this year of a miscarriage, and was interred on the twelfth of the same month in the church of the *Apostles*, where her tomb was to be seen many ages after <sup>p</sup>. Before her death the *Hunns* had broken into *Thrace*, and the *Isaurian* robbers committed great disorder.

<sup>1</sup> CLAUD. conf. Hon. 6. p. 178—183.

<sup>m</sup> OROS. p. 221.

<sup>n</sup> CLAUD. conf. Hon. 6. p. 188, 189.

<sup>o</sup> SOCR. l. i. c. 18.

p. 48. SOZ. l. i. c. 8. p. 411. Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 11. leg. 2. p. 395. <sup>p</sup> CEDR. p. 334. Chron. Alex. p. 714. CANGE de Constant. l. iv. p. 110.

(W) *Theodoret* writes, that an anchorite, by name *Telemachus*, attempting to prevent the gladiators from engaging in the amphitheatre at *Rome*, whither he was for that purpose come out of the East, was by the incensed populace stoned to death; and hence *Honorius*, according to that writer, took occasion to suppress

those sports (g). Be that as it will, they were forbidden after the battle of *Pollentia*, as appears from *Prudentius* (1), and before *Honorius's* triumphal entry into *Rome*; since *Claudian*, in describing the shews that were exhibited on that occasion, makes no mention of gladiators (2).

(g) Theod. l. v. c. 26. p. 741.

(2) *Claudian* conf. Hon. 6. p. 192, 191.

(1) Prud. in Symm. l. ii. p. 242.

ders in *Asia* and *Syria*. The former, having pillaged great provinces part of *Thrace* and *East-Illyricum*, retired of their own accord beyond the *Danube*, loaded with booty <sup>9</sup>. Against the latter <sup>10</sup> was sent *Arbazacius*, who cut great numbers of them in pieces, and shut them up on all sides; but suffered them in the end to escape, being bribed by the large sums they offered him <sup>11</sup>. *Suidas*, who calls him a native of *Isauria*, and a few lines after an *Armenian*, says, that, from his insatiable rapaciousness and avarice, he was nicknamed *Harpazacius*, or *the Harpy*. The *Isaurians*, having now nothing to fear from *Arbazacius*, over-ran the provinces of *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, *Pisidia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Lower Syria*, extending their ravages to the frontiers of *Persia* on one side, and to the *Euxine* sea on the other, ransacking every-where, and pillaging the open country, with the villages, and unfortified towns. They even passed over into the island of *Cyprus*, and caused a general consternation in *Phœnicia*, *Caria*, *Judæa*, and *Jerusalem* itself; insomuch that the people were every-where busied in building walls, in preparing arms, and putting themselves in a posture of defence: but, upon the approach of winter, they withdrew to their inaccessible mountains, with an immense booty, which they took care to share with *Arbazacius* <sup>12</sup>.

In the West, *Honorius* began his sixth consulship at *Rome*, which is the subject of the poem that *Claudian* pronounced on occasion of that solemnity <sup>13</sup>. The emperor continued at *Rome* at least till the fifteenth of *July*, as appears from the dates of his laws. From *Rome* he returned to *Ravenna*, and there fixed his residence, notwithstanding the earnest intreaties of the inhabitants of *Milan* inviting him back to their city. From this time *Ravenna* became the seat of the Western or *Roman* empire; whence the country in which it stood was called *Romania*, which name it still retains (X).

THE  
vanna.

<sup>9</sup> SOCR. l. viii. c. 25. p. 793. PHILOST. l. xi. p. 530. <sup>10</sup> ZOZ. l. v. p. 802. CHRYS. ep. 120. p. 754. <sup>11</sup> SUID. p. 412. <sup>12</sup> THEOD. vit. patr. c. 10. 21. p. 828. 865. ZOZ. p. 802. PAL-LAD. dial. vii. p. 147. CHRYS. ep. 14. p. 683, 684. <sup>13</sup> CLAUD. conf. Hon. 6. p. 191.

(X) The city of *Ravenna* is said by some to have been founded by the *Thessalians*; but *Pliny* calls it a colony of the *Sabines*. It was once reckoned amongst the cities of *Umbria*; but afterwards became the capital of a particular province, called *Flaminia*, and belonging to *Cisalpine Gaul*, and the vicarship of *Italy* (3). It

Radagaisus enters Italy with a numerous army ;

THE next consuls were, *Stilicho* the second time, and *Anthemius*, who was soon after appointed prefect of the East and is mightily commended by *St. Chrysostom* <sup>w</sup>. We shall have frequent occasion to speak of him in the reign of *Theodosius II.* This year the *Mazichi* and *Auxoriani*, two nations of barbarians inhabiting the country between *Cyrenaica* and *Tripolitana*, laid waste great part of *Egypt* <sup>x</sup>. *Arcadius* was on the twelfth of *June* at *Nice* ; on the tenth and twenty-third of *July*, and twelfth of *August*, at *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, whence he returned in the beginning of autumn to *Constantinople* <sup>y</sup>. This year *Italy* was again alarmed with a sudden irruption of barbarians, led by *Radagaisus*, or *Rhodogaisus*, as the *Greeks* stile him. He was one of the kings or chiefs of the *Goths*, a pagan by religion, and a sworn enemy to the *Roman* name <sup>z</sup>. He is by some writers stiled king of the

<sup>w</sup> *CHRYST.* ep. 147. p. 780.

351.

<sup>y</sup> *Cod. Theod. chron.* p. 148.

*pil.* cv. c. 10. p. 547.

<sup>x</sup> *PHILOST.* l. xi. c. 8. p. 350,

<sup>z</sup> *AUG.* in

was inclosed on all sides, either by the sea, by an arm of the *Po*, conveyed thither by *Augustus*, or by marshes, through which there was but one way, and that very narrow, leading to the city ; so that it was, in a manner, a peninsula, and accessible only on one side (4). The sea washed the walls of the city, and formed a spacious harbour, in which two hundred and fifty ships could ride safe (5). *Augustus*, and after him several other emperors, kept constantly two fleets for the defence of *Italy*, one of which was stationed at *Ravenna* on the *Adriatic*, and the other at *Misenum* on the *Mediterranean* sea. But *Jornandes*, who was bishop of *Ravenna* about the middle of the sixth century, tells us, that the harbour was then become a garden, and the city divided into

three quarters, or rather cities, of which the highest was called *Ravenna* ; the second, in which was probably the imperial palace, *Cæsarea* ; and the third *Classis*, because in that place, then distant three miles from *Ravenna*, was formerly the harbour with the fleet (6). A city, thus situated amidst waters and marshes, could not be healthy ; but, on the other side, it could not be easily attacked, and might with great ease be succoured by sea, affording at the same time a safe retreat into the East, when it could be no longer maintained. These reasons, without all doubt, prompted *Honorius* to fix the seat of the empire there, notwithstanding the pressing and reiterated remonstrances of the inhabitants of *Milan* and *Rome*.

(4) *Jorn. rer. Gotb.* c. 29. p. 652. *ibid.*

(5) *Idem ibid.*

(6) *Idem*

*Hunns* <sup>a</sup>. He entered *Italy* with *Alaric* in the year 400. but, returning afterwards beyond the *Danube*, he assembled an army, consisting, according to *Zosimus* <sup>b</sup>, of four hundred thousand, according to *Orosius* and *Marcellinus* <sup>c</sup>, of two hundred thousand barbarians, of the various nations dwelling beyond the *Danube* and the *Rhine*, who were then all blended under the common name of *Goths* <sup>d</sup>. The commanders, who were distinguished with the title of lords, amounted, according to *Photius* a cotemporary writer, to the number of twelve hundred <sup>e</sup>. With this formidable host he broke suddenly into *Italy*, vowing to sacrifice to his gods, says *Orosius*, all the *Roman* blood he could shed <sup>f</sup>. The news of his approach threw all *Italy*, and *Rome* itself, into the utmost consternation. As *Radagaisus* was a zealous worshiper of the gods, and sacrificed every morning to *Jupiter*, the pagans in *Rome* gave out, that he would, without all doubt, prevail, not so much by his numerous forces, as the protection of the gods, whom the ungrateful *Romans* had banished from a city which they had so often defended. "Unless the antient religion" (said they) be restored, and Christianity, the only cause of "our calamities; utterly abolished, the city must fall into the hands of the barbarians, who have the gods on their side, whom we have forsaken <sup>g</sup>." With these complaints the whole city was filled, and the name of Christ every-where blasphemed, as the true cause of the present calamities <sup>h</sup>.

In the mean time *Stilicho*, having assembled at *Pavia* all the *Roman* forces, amounting to thirty legions, and reinforced them with great numbers of *Goths*, *Hunns*, and *Alans*, under the command of *Sarus* a *Goth*, and *Uldin* king of the *Hunns*, left that place, bending his march towards *Hebrunia*, where *Radagaisus* was busied in the siege of *Florence*, which city was already reduced to the utmost extremity. As *Stilicho* came unexpectedly upon the enemy, he immediately ordered the *Hunns*, and other auxiliaries, to fall upon one of the three bodies, into which he found their army divided. His orders were executed, and an hundred thousand of the enemy cut in pieces, without the loss of one man on the side of the *Romans* <sup>i</sup>. Thus *St. Austin*, *Zosimus*, and *Prosper*. *Radagaisus* retired with the rest to the neighbouring mountains of *Fesula*, where he was closely besieged by *Stilicho*, and re-

Year of  
the flood  
2855.  
Of Christ  
405.  
Of Rome  
1203.

<sup>a</sup> PROSP. chron.  
l. vii. c. 37. p. 222.  
c. 80. p. 180.

<sup>b</sup> Zos. l. v. p. 803.  
<sup>d</sup> Zos. OROS. ibid.  
<sup>f</sup> OROS. ibid.

<sup>c</sup> OROS.  
<sup>e</sup> PROT.  
<sup>g</sup> AVO. OROS. ibid.

<sup>h</sup> AUG. de civit. Dei, l. v. c. 23. p. 63.  
Zos. p. 803.

<sup>i</sup> AUG. ibid.

and he  
himself  
taken pri-  
soner, and  
put to  
death.

duced, with his numerous army, to such extremity, that attempted to escape secretly, and leave his men to the mercy of the *Romans*; but, as all the passes were well guarded, he fell into *Stilicho's* hands, and was by his order put to death soon after. His men, finding themselves abandoned by their leader, and destitute of all manner of provisions, submitted to the *Romans* in such numbers, that they were sold like beasts, in droves, at a crown an head<sup>k</sup>; but as, by the famine that had raged among them while shut up in the mountains, they had contracted an ill state of health, they all died in a few days. *Orosius*<sup>l</sup> and *St. Austin*<sup>m</sup> ascribe this victory to a miracle.

Palæstine  
infested  
with mul-  
titudes of  
grasshop-  
pers.

THE following year *Arcadius* was consul the sixth time, with *Anicius Probus*; the younger brother of *Olybrius* and *Probinus*, consuls in 395<sup>n</sup>. A dreadful fire happened this year at *Constantinople* on the twenty-fifth of *October*<sup>o</sup>; and *Palæstine* was infested with such multitudes of grasshoppers, as quite darkened the sky, and turned day into night. *St. Jerom*, who was then composing his comments on the prophet *Joel*, writes, that, after they had done great mischief, they were driven by the wind, partly into the *Dead-sea*, partly into the *Mediterranean*, and thrown soon after on both shores in such heaps, that they infested the air, and occasioned a plague<sup>p</sup>. This year *Arcadius* enacted, amongst several others, a law dated the twenty-eighth of *April*, threatening with death not only the authors of libels, but such as should read such defamatory writings, without tearing or burning them<sup>q</sup>. *Honorius* continued all this year at *Ravenna*, where he enacted a law, dated the seventeenth of *April*, encouraging all persons, whether freedmen or slaves, to take arms in defence of their country, and promising to the latter their liberty, to the former three pieces of gold to be paid immediately, and seven more after the war<sup>r</sup>. This law was without all doubt, occasioned by the motions of the northern nations, who, on the last day of this year 406. entered *Gaul*, and, fixing their abode there, gave beginning to the utter ruin of the *Roman* empire in the West. At the same time the *Roman* troops quartered in *Britain*, apprehending the barbarians would, after the intire reduction of *Gaul*, cross the sea, and, jointly with the *Scots* and *Irish*, fall upon them, and, expecting no assistance from *Honorius*, resolved to set up an emperor

<sup>k</sup> *Aug. de civit. Dei*, c. 23. p. 63. *OROS.* p. 222. *MARC. chron.* <sup>l</sup> *OROS.* *ibid.* <sup>o</sup> *Aug. ibid.* <sup>n</sup> *IDAT. & HIER.* in *Am.* l. iii. p. 99. <sup>p</sup> *Chron. Alex.* p. 714. <sup>q</sup> *HIER.* in *Joel.* c. 2. p. 60. <sup>r</sup> *Cod. Theod.* l. ix. tit. 34. leg. 10. p. 246. <sup>s</sup> *Idem*, l. vii. tit. 13. leg. 16, 17. p. 387, 388.

of their own ; and accordingly conferred that dignity on one *The Roman Mark* ; whom after a few days they murdered, upon some mans *in* dislike, and placed *Gratian*, a native of *Britain*, in his room \*. *Britain re-*  
*Gratian*, after a short reign of four months, underwent the *volt*, and  
 same fate ; and was succeeded by *Constantine*, a common soldier *set up* Con-  
 stantine, who was chosen merely for the sake of his name, which *stantine*  
 was common to him with *Constantine the Great*, who, being *for empe-*  
 advanced to the imperial dignity in *Britain*, had made himself *ror* ;  
 master of the whole empire, and governed it with great prospe-  
 rity and success †. The new prince, immediately after his *who passes*  
 promotion, passed over into *Gaul*, taking with him all the *over into*  
*Roman* forces quartered in the island, and the flower of the *Gaul*,  
*British* youth ; by which means the country, thus left quite *which sub-*  
 naked and defenceless, was not long after obliged to submit *mits to*  
 to the yoke of new lords. *Constantine* landed at *Boulogne*, and, *him*.  
 being joined by great numbers of *Gauls*, who chose rather to  
 submit to him than to the barbarians, made himself master of  
 the whole country, as we shall relate more at large hereafter.

THE following year 408. when *Anicius Bassus* and *Flavius Philippus* were consuls, is remarkable for many memorable events. In the East died at *Constantinople*, on the first of *May*, *Arcadius* the emperor *Arcadius*, after having lived thirty-one years, and *dies*.  
 reigned twelve years with his father, and fourteen after his *Year of*  
 death †, or rather thirteen years, three months, and fourteen *the flood*  
 days. He was buried near the empress *Eudoxia*, in the church *2858.*  
 of the *Apostles* ‡, where their tombs of porphyry were to be *Of Christ*  
 seen several ages after †. He left behind him but one son, *408.*  
 to wit, *Theodosius*, then eight years old, but just weaned, *Of Rome*  
 says *Sozomen* §. We have observed in the history of his reign, *1206.*  
 that he had four daughters, *Flaccilla*, *Pulcheria*, *Arcadia*, *His issue.*  
 and *Marina*. *Flaccilla* is never mentioned by historians but  
 on occasion of her birth ; whence we may conclude, that she  
 died soon ¶. The other three embraced the state of vir-  
 ginity, and led exemplary lives †. They were all stiled  
 queens, as appears from the councils † ; but only by courtesy ;  
 for, excepting *Pulcheria*, who was declared *Augusta* in 414.  
 they had no other but that of *most noble*. *Arcadia* and *Marina*  
 built a palace at *Constantinople*, which for many ages retained  
 their name. The former built likewise a church in honour of

\* Soz. l. ix. c. 11. p. 813. Phot. p. 186. † Oros.  
 l. vii. c. 40. p. 223. Bed. hist. ge. ng. l. i. c. 10. p. 12.  
 Soz. Zos. ibid. ‡ Theod. l. p. 568. Socr. l. vi.  
 c. 23. p. 332. § Theod. x CANGE de  
 Const. l. iv. p. 110. † Soz. l. ix. c. 1. p. 799. Chron.  
 Alex. p. 712. ‡ Soz. l. ix. c. 5. p. 804. Concil.  
 tom. iii. p. 105



*His character.*

St. *Andrew*, which was many ages after, when become a monastery, rebuilt by *Theodora* the niece of *Michael Palæologus*<sup>b</sup>. *Arcadius* died in 444. and *Marina* on the third of *August* 449<sup>c</sup>. *Arcadius* himself was a prince naturally inclined to virtue, and an enemy to vice, but of very slender parts, and therefore intirely governed, and shamefully imposed upon, by his ministers, and the empress, who abused his authority to oppress the people in a most despotic and tyrannical manner. To return to the West: *Constantine*, having reduced all *Gaul* to his obedience, sent a body of troops into *Spain*, in order to oppose *Didymius* and *Verianus* or *Vernianus*, who, having assembled the few troops that were quartered in that province, and reinforced them with such slaves and peasants as were willing to take arms, had seized on the passes of the *Pyrænees*. *Didymius* and *Verinianus* were brothers, natives of *Spain*, and nearly allied to *Honorius*, for whom they openly declared, while most of the cities of that province were ready to revolt from him, and submit to the usurper<sup>d</sup>.

*THE* troops that were first sent against them not being able to open themselves a passage through the *Pyrænees*, which were carefully guarded by the two brothers, *Constantine* obliged his eldest son, by name *Constans*, who professed a monastic life, to quit his retirement, created him *Cæsar*, and dispatched him with the flower of his army, commanded by *Gerontius*, an experienced officer, into *Spain*. *Didymius* and *Verinianus* defended the passes for some time with great resolution and intrepidity; but, being overpowered with numbers, were in the end obliged to retire. *Constans* pursued them close; and, coming up with them in *Lusitania*, now *Portugal*, cut most of their men in pieces, and took both them and their wives prisoners. Upon the news of their defeat and captivity, their brothers *Theodosius* or *Theodosius*, and *Lagodus*, who had taken arms in another province, abandoned *Spain* to the usurper, and retired, the former to the court of *Honorius*, and the latter to that of *Theodosius*, who had succeeded his father *Arcadius* in the empire of the East<sup>e</sup>. *Constans*, having thus reduced all *Spain*, and appointed *Gerontius* to command the army, and guard the *Pyrænees*, returned to *Gaul*, where he presented the two illustrious captives to his father, who immediately ordered them to be privately put to death.

*He reduces all Spain,*

<sup>b</sup> CANGE de Constan. l. iv. p. 111, 112. <sup>c</sup> Man. chron. & chron. Alex. p. 734. <sup>d</sup> Zos. l. vi. p. 826. OROS. l. vi. c. 40. p. 223. SOZ. lib. ix. c. 11. p. 813. PHOT. p. 184. <sup>e</sup> Zos. p. 830. SOZ. PHOT. OROS. ibid. GREG. TUR. hist. Fr. l. ii. c. 9. p. 62.

To reward his son for his eminent services, he created him *and is d- Augustus*, honouring him, says *Zosimus*<sup>f</sup>, with a diadem. At *clared Au-* the same time he sent a solemn deputation to *Honorius*, *ex- gullus.* cussing his revolt, as if he had been forced by the soldiery to accept of the sovereignty, and demanding to be acknowledged by him as his partner in the empire. *Honorius*, not finding *Honorius* himself in a condition to make war upon the usurper, thought *acknow-* it advisable to comply with his request; and accordingly *leges* Con- sent him the imperial purple, honouring him, at the same *fluntine* time, with the title of *Augustus*. *Italy* was at this time *for his col-* threatened with a new invasion of the barbarians, under the *legue.* conduct of the famous *Alaric*, who, at the instigation of *Sti-* *Alaric* *licho*, leaving *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, where lands had been *threatens* granted to him and his *Goths*, passed unexpectedly the *Alps*, *Italy.* and, breaking into *Noricum*, threatened to invade *Italy*, and lay all waste before him, unless a certain sum, which he pretended to be due to him and his troops, were immediately sent him. Upon this demand, *Honorius*, who was then at *Rome*, assembled the senate, when several senators of great distinction were for rejecting his demand, and marching the army without delay against him, urging, that, to comply with an arrogant and unreasonable demand, was not buying a peace, but signing a contract of perpetual slavery. However, *Stili-* *The money* *cho*, who maintained a private correspondence with *Alaric* and *be demand-* his party, pleading with great warmth in his favour, as if the *ed is sent* money he demanded were really due, it was agreed, that four *him.* thousand pounds weight of gold should be sent him. *Lampadius*, who had with great liberty of speech opposed this motion, and by that means incurred the displeasure of *Stilicho*, as soon as the senate broke up, took sanctuary in a neighbouring church<sup>h</sup>. A few days after, *Honorius*, leaving *Rome*, set out for *Bononia*; whence, after a short stay, he removed to *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*, attended by one *Olympius*, who, by an outward shew of Christian piety, says *Zosimus*, had gained the confidence of the emperor, and was by him employed about his person.

As every one was now well apprised of the wicked designs *Stilicho* of *Stilicho*, *Olympius* thought himself obliged to disclose them *disgraced,* to the emperor; which he did accordingly on the road from *and put to* *Bologna* to *Pavia*; and so thoroughly convinced him of the *death.* treachery of his minister, that the prince, awaked, as it were, out of a deep lethargy, no sooner arrived at *Pavia*, than he dispatched an express to *Ravenna*, where *Stilicho* then was,

<sup>f</sup> Zos. p. 830.<sup>g</sup> Idem, p. 819. PHOT. p. 180.

GREG. TUR. ibid.

<sup>h</sup> Zos. p. 805. PHILOST. l. xii. c. 2.

P. 532. RUTIL. l. ii. p. 142.

with two different orders, the one commanding him to be executed, and the other to be put to death. Upon the arrival of the messenger, *Stilicho* took sanctuary in a church; but the next day, being in the presence of the bishop assured by the soldiers upon oath, that they had orders only to arrest him; he left his asylum, and delivered himself into their hands; which he had scarce done, when the messenger produced the warrant for his death; whereupon he was beheaded the same day, the twenty-third of *August* of the present year 408<sup>1</sup>.

Several of  
his friends  
are cut in  
pieces by  
the army.

It was no sooner known at *Pavia*, that the emperor had ordered him to be arrested, than the army encamped there, encouraged by *Olympius*, says *Zosimus*<sup>2</sup>, flew to arms, and in a tumultuous manner slew all those who were known to be well affected to the disgraced general, and, amongst the rest, *Limenius* prefect of *Gaul*, *Chariobaudes* commander of the troops in the same province, who had both been lately driven out of that province by *Constantine*, *Longinianus* formerly prefect of *Italy*, *Vincentius* general of the horse, *Salvius* and *Petrionius*, the one *comes domesticorum*, the other *comes largitionum*, another *Salvius* who was quaestor, *Nemorius* then *magister officiorum*, and many other persons of great distinction<sup>3</sup> (Y). *Stilicho* professed the Christian religion; but his son *Eudocius* was not only a pagan, but a devoted enemy to the

<sup>1</sup> Zos. p. 310. Soz. lib. ix. c. 4. p. 806. Oros. lib. vii. c. 38. p. 222. <sup>2</sup> Zos. p. 308, 809. <sup>3</sup> Zos. Sozr. Oros. ibid.

(Y) All authors, except *Zosimus*, and the poet *Claudian*, agree, that he was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge; to wit, that he maintained a private correspondence with *Alaric*; that he invited the barbarians into *Gaul*, hoping the emperor would reward his eminent services, after he had driven them out, with assuming him for his colleague; that he had formed a design of murdering the two princes *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, and seizing on both empires for himself; that, by a potion given to *Honorius*, he prevented his having any issue, &c. But *Zosimus* pretends these crimes to have been all feigned by his enemies, in order to prejudice *Honorius* against him, and procure his ruin, to which the credulous prince in the end consented. The same writer adds, that, after his death, several of his friends were cruelly tortured, and, amongst the rest, *Deuterius*, the emperor's great chamberlain, and *Peter* his chief secretary, who died on the rack without owning any of the several charges that were brought against him, or them, as privy to his wicked designs (7).

(7) Zos. p. 311. 319.

Christians ; nay, he used to brag amongst the pagans, says *Orosius*, who wrote about that time, that, if he ever attacked the empire, he would signalize the beginning of his reign the re-establishment of the pagan, and utter extirpation the Christian ceremonies<sup>m</sup>.

If what that author writes be true, the partiality which *Zosimus*, a zealous patron of paganism, shews for *Stilicho* and *Eucherius*, may be easily accounted for. The emperor had married in the beginning of this year *Thermantia*, *Stilicho*'s second daughter, *Maria*, his eldest daughter, whom *Honorius* had married in 398. being dead some years before<sup>n</sup> ; perhaps when the emperor was at *Rome* in 404. for her body was discovered in the *Vatican* church on the fourth of *February* 1544. with several things of great value : her body, when exposed to the air, mouldered away ; but the gold of her garments remaining, when the rest fell to ashes, weighed thirty-six pounds<sup>o</sup>. *Honorius* married *Thermantia* at *Rome*, where the match was concluded by *Serena*, alleging, says *Zosimus*, to her husband *Stilicho*, who was averse to it as incestuous, that the other sister died a virgin<sup>p</sup>. Upon the death of *Honorius* *Stilicho*, *Honorius* divorced his daughter, and sent her back dressed untouched to her mother *Serena*<sup>q</sup>. *Zosimus* writes, that she died soon after ; but, according to the chronicle of *Alexander* *Thermantia*, news of her death were brought to *Constantinople* on Friday the thirtieth of *July* 415<sup>r</sup>. Her body too was found in the *Vatican* in 1543. adorned with the imperial robes, and all the ensigns of majesty<sup>s</sup>.

As for *Eucherius*, when he heard the news of his father's death, he fled to a church for protection ; but, being dragged thence by the emperor's order, he was sent under a strong guard to *Rome*, and there executed<sup>t</sup>. Thus were the empire, says *Orosius*<sup>u</sup>, and the church, by the death of a few persons, delivered from the wicked attempts of their enemies. However, we could wish, for the reputation of *Honorius*, a pious and well-meaning prince, that the pretended criminals had been tried in due form ; for such as suffer without being heard, have a right to be deemed innocent. All the ecclesiastic writers suppose *Stilicho* to have been guilty ; but the crimes laid to his charge were never proved either in his lifetime, or after his death ; and hence *Zosimus* looks upon them

<sup>m</sup> OROS. p. 222.<sup>n</sup> ZOS. p. 804. PHOT. c. 80. p. 177.<sup>o</sup> ANAST. Childerici, p. 53. ARINGHII Rom. subter. l. ii. c. 9. p. 173. MABILL. iter Italic p. 145.<sup>p</sup> ZOS. p. 804.<sup>q</sup> Aldem, p. 811. 804. <sup>r</sup> Chron. Alex. p. 716. <sup>s</sup> ARING. MABILL. ibid.<sup>t</sup> PHILOST. hb. xii. c. 3. p. 533. <sup>u</sup> ZOS. p. 813.<sup>u</sup> OROS. p. 222.

*Stilicho's* as false imputations, and groundless suspicions. *Stilicho's* estate confiscated. *Stilicho's* estate was confiscated, and likewise the estates of all his avowed

isans, and of such as had been preferred by him for mo-

; and *Heliocrates* was sent to *Rome* to seize them, commission he discharged with great humanity and good nature, warning underhand those who were the least guilty to remove their effects out of the way: but his moderation cost him dear; for he was not only deprived of his commission, but sent in bonds to *Ravenna*; and would have been put to death, had he not found means to escape out of prison, and save himself in a church<sup>x</sup>. Such was the end of *Stilicho*, alter he had commanded in chief the *Roman* armies for the space of twenty-three years.

*His chara-  
cter.*

He was no doubt a person of extraordinary qualities, a great statesman, a valiant soldier, and experienced officer. He gained such an ascendant over *Honorius*, who was blindly guided by his counsels, that, till the time of his disgrace, he governed with a more absolute sway than the emperor himself. *Zosimus*, however partial to his memory, accuses him of rapine and oppression, of great partiality in the administration of justice, and of conveying by degrees into his own coffers the whole wealth of the empire<sup>y</sup>. *Stilicho* was succeeded in the administration by *Olympius*, the chief author of his ruin. He was a native of the country bordering on the *Euxine* sea, and not only professed the Christian religion, but outwardly affected an extraordinary piety, says *Zosimus*<sup>z</sup>, insinuating thereby, that his piety was counterfeit; but *St. Austin* entertained a very favourable opinion of him, as appears from the commendations he bestows upon him<sup>a</sup>; as did likewise *Symmachus*, though a zealous pagan<sup>b</sup>. *Olympiodorus* writes, that he owed his first preferment to *Stilicho*, who recommended him to *Honorius*<sup>c</sup>; which would render the return he made that minister highly criminal, if he had any thing in view but the public welfare. He had in *Stilicho's* life-time a considerable employment at court, and was, after his death, raised to the post of *magister officiorum*, or steward of the emperor's household, one of the greatest employments in the state<sup>d</sup>. Soon after his promotion, he wrote to *St. Austin*, desiring that zealous prelate to suggest to him from time to time what he thought would conduce to the good of the church<sup>e</sup>. In the very beginning of his administration, he caused several

*He fa-  
vours the  
church.*

<sup>w</sup> Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 40. leg. 20. p. 319.

p. 811. 819.

p. 810, 811.

<sup>b</sup> Sym. l. ix. ep. 60. p. 362.

<sup>d</sup> Zos. p. 808.

<sup>y</sup> Idem, p. 780. 789.

<sup>a</sup> Aug. ep. cxxiv. cxxix. p. 242. 245.

<sup>c</sup> Phot. c. 80. p. 177.

<sup>e</sup> Aug. ep. cxxix. p. 245.

<sup>x</sup> Zos.

<sup>z</sup> Idem,

laws to be enacted against the pagans, Jews, and heretics especially the *Donatists* in *Africa*. By a law dated the fourteenth of *November*, all those who were not of the catholic communion, or did not conform to the religion of the priests, were excluded from all employments at courts. When this law was enacted, one of the chiefs of the barbarians in the *Roman* service resigned his command; and his example, if *Zosimus* is to be credited<sup>h</sup>, was followed by many others, who were either pagans or *Arians*. Amongst the several laws of this year, relating both to civil and ecclesiastic matters, one was enacted forbidding all persons of quality to trade; not that trade was by any means looked upon as degrading, but because others, in dealing with men of power and authority, were liable to be injured by them without redress<sup>i</sup>.

WHEN the *Roman* soldiers quartered in the cities of *Italy* *The wives* heard of *Stilicho's* death, they flew to arms, and, out of hatred to him, inhumanly murdered the wives and children of *the* the barbarians, whom he had taken into the service, and whom *barba-* they on that account looked upon as privy to his wicked *riam in* designs, as public enemies. The barbarians, highly provoked at this unheard-of cruelty, vowed revenge; and, quitting the emperor's service, retired, to the number of thirty *the Roman* thousand and upwards, to *Alaric*, who, though thus reinforced, sent deputies to *Honorius*, offering to conclude a lasting peace with him, and never more to disturb the tranquillity of the empire, provided he would send him a sufficient sum *service* to pay his army their arrears<sup>k</sup>. *Honorius* refusing to comply *murdered* with his demand, he dispatched an express to *Ataulphus* or *Althaulphus*, his brother-in-law, who was quartered on the *These bar-* frontiers of *Pannonia*, ordering him to hasten with his troops, *barians* *join Alaric,* consisting of *Goths* and *Hunns*, into *Italy*. *re-enters* *Italy, and* *besieges* *Rome;*

In the mean time, *Alaric* himself, advancing with long *Year of* marches from *Noricum* to the *Po*, crossed that river without *the flood* opposition; and, passing in sight of *Ravenna*, where the *245* emperor then was, pursued his march, almost without halting, *Of Christ* till he arrived at *Rome*, which he immediately invested, blocking up all the roads and avenues leading to it, and placing *408.* guards at the mouth, and on the banks, of the *Tiber*, to prevent the inhabitants from receiving any supplies or provisions *Of Rome* by water<sup>l</sup>. By this means the city, which was crowded with *206* people, was soon reduced to great distress: a famine began to rage, which was attended with a plague, arising from the great *which is* *reduced to* *great* *heights,*

<sup>f</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. 5. leg. 44. p. 163.  
ibid. leg. 42. p. 163.

<sup>h</sup> Zos. l. v. p. 820.

Just. lib. iv. tit. 63. leg. 3. p. 395.

<sup>k</sup> Zos. l. v. p. 811.

<sup>i</sup> Idem, p. 814, 815. Soz. l. ix. c. 6. p. 807.

<sup>g</sup> Idem

<sup>l</sup> Cod.

and com-  
plies with  
the de-  
mands of  
Alaric.

er of dead bodies that lay in streets unburied in (Z).  
that as it will, the unhappy citizens were in the end obliged  
out deputies to treat with Alaric. These were *Basilus*,  
had been prefect of Rome in 391 and *John*, the empe-  
rator's first secretary.

RIC hearkened to their proposals, and agreed to raise  
the siege, and ever after continue faithful to the Romans,  
upon their delivering up hostages, and paying to him five thou-  
sand pounds weight of gold, thirty thousand of silver, four  
thousand silk garments, three thousand skins of purple dye,  
and as many pounds of pepper<sup>m</sup>. For the raising of the re-  
quired sum, the senators were taxed according to their estates;  
but, as they had not so much ready money by them, that  
wicked genius, says *Zosimus*<sup>n</sup>, which then governed the affairs  
of mankind, prompted those, who were concerned in levying  
the said sum, to the height of iniquity; for, to make good  
the deficiency, they had recourse to the ornaments of the tem-  
ples and images of the gods: some of the latter, that were of  
gold or silver, they melted down, and, among the rest, that  
of *Valour*; which being destroyed, the ancient Roman valour  
was utterly extinguished, as had been foretold by persons  
skilled in divine matters, and well versed in the rites and ce-  
remonies of their country. The treaty was ratified by *Hono-  
rius*, and the sum thus raised sent to Alaric, who thereupon  
raised the siege, and retired with his army into *Hetruria*.  
When he first appeared before Rome, the senate, with the  
consent and approbation of *Placidia* the emperor's sister, then  
in the city, caused *Serena* the widow of *Stilicho* to be put to  
death, upon a false supposition, says *Zosimus*, of her privately  
corresponding with the enemy<sup>o</sup>. *Leta*, the widow of the  
emperor *Gratian*, and her mother *Pissamene*, signalized their  
good-nature during the siege, relieving with great generosity,  
as *Zosimus* himself owns<sup>p</sup>, the famished citizens.

The siege  
raised.  
*Serena*, the  
widow of  
*Stilicho*,  
put to  
death.

WHILE the Western empire was thus miserably harassed  
by the barbarians, and rent into two empires by the usurpation

<sup>m</sup> Soz. l. ix. c. 6. p. 807. Aug. ep. cxxxiii. p. 218. <sup>n</sup> Zos.  
p. 815—818. <sup>o</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>p</sup> Zos. ibid. Soz. p. 808.  
Hier. ep. xi. xvi. p. 93. 121. <sup>q</sup> Idem, p. 114, 115. <sup>r</sup> Zos.  
ibid.

(Z) *Olympiodorus* writes, that the unhappy citizens were re-  
duced to the fatal necessity of  
feeding upon human flesh, and  
devouring each other (8); and  
*Zosimus*, that they were almost  
brought to that extremity (9).

(8) *Pbot.* p. 130.

(9) *Zos.* p. 815. 37

of *Constantine*, whom *Honorius* had been obliged to acknowledge for his partner in the sovereignty, a profound peace reigned over all the provinces subject to young *Theodosius*, not yet eight years old. They were chiefly indebted for the happiness they enjoyed to *Anthemius*, who, taking upon him the administration, discharged the office of prime minister with an integrity hardly to be matched in history. He was grandfather to *Philippus*, who had been prefect of the East under *Constantius*, which office *Anthemius* himself discharged from the year 405<sup>o</sup> to 414<sup>o</sup>. *Ammianus Marcellinus* mentions one *Simplicius*, the son of *Anthemius* the elder, and probably the father of *Anthemius* the younger, who was disgraced in 359<sup>o</sup>. The latter was *magister officiorum* before the year 404<sup>o</sup>. ambassador to the king of *Persia* before the year 405. consul in that year, and soon after *praefectus praetorio*<sup>o</sup>. He had at least one daughter, who was married to *Procopius*, by whom she had *Anthemius*, advanced to the empire in 465<sup>o</sup>.

ANTHEMIUS, who governed the Eastern empire during the minority of *Theodosius*, is commended by all the writers of those times as an experienced commander, an able statesman, a zealous Christian, and one who had nothing so much at heart as the glory of his prince, and the happiness of the people. He was, says *Symeon*, who constantly styles him the great *Anthemius*, in my opinion, and in that of all men, the greatest, the best, the most virtuous, disinterested, and well-meaning minister, that ever governed a state. *Procopius* writes, that *Arcadius*, either distrusting his brother *Honorius*, or apprised that the distracted state of his own affairs would divert him from minding those of the East, begged in his will *Isdegerdes* king of *Persia*, with whom he had entered into a strict alliance, to take upon him the care and tuition of the young prince: the same writer adds, that *Isdegerdes*, who was a prince of great generosity, sent ambassadors to acquaint the senate of *Constantinople*, that he accepted the charge, and was resolved to make war upon such as should presume to raise disturbances in the state. *Theophanes*, who wrote after *Procopius*, and has borrowed from him the greatest part of his history, adds, that *Isdegerdes*, not being at leisure to attend the administration in person, sent *Antiochus* to *Constantinople* in his room, a person of extraordinary abilities, and of an unblemished character, who discharged the trust reposed in

The happy  
him admini-  
stration of  
Anthe-  
mius in the  
East.

Whether  
Isdegerdes  
king of  
Persia was  
appointed  
guardian  
to the  
young  
prince.

<sup>o</sup> SOCR. l. vii. c. 1. p. 334.

<sup>o</sup> AMMIAN. l. ix. p. 151.

<sup>o</sup> COD. THEOD. tit. 6. p. 349.

<sup>o</sup> THEOD. c. 8. p. 813.

<sup>o</sup> SID. CAR. ii. p. 211, 292.

<sup>o</sup> CHRYS. p. 780. SOCR. SYN.

EP. LXXV. p. 200.

<sup>o</sup> SYN. CAR. p. 209. & EP. LXXII. p. 220,

221.

<sup>o</sup> PROCOP. BELL. PERS. l. i. c. 2. p. 7.



with the greatest integrity till year 414. when, *Pul-*  
*sia* taking upon her the administ he was deprived of  
 authority, and even of his life *Zonaras* follows *Pro-*  
*is* and *Theophanes* c, as does like *he Cedrenus* d (A). This  
 The Hunns Y he Hunns and *Squiri*, or *Syri*, northern nation, broke  
 and the sud into *Thrace*, under the conduct of *Ullin*, of whom  
*Squiri* we made mention above; but some of their officers  
 break into abandoning them to join the *Roma*, they retired with great  
*Thrace*; precipitation: however, the emperor's troops coming up  
 but the with the *Squiri* before they could reach the *Danube*, cut great  
 lotter are numbers of them in pieces, and took the rest prisoners. By  
 almost in- this overthrow, that nation was almost utterly extirpated e.  
 tirely cut off.

THE next consuls were, *Honorius* the eighth time, and  
*Theodosius* the third. In *Gaul*, *Constantine*, who reigned there,  
 caused himself to be acknowledged consul in the room of *Theo-*  
*dosius* f. As *Honorius*, under various pretences, declined de-  
 livering up to *Ataric* the promised hostages, and executing  
 some other articles of the treaty not mentioned by historians,  
 the senate sent *Attalus*, *Cæcilianus*, and *Maximianus* or *Maxi-*  
*milianus*, to represent to him in their name the evils that  
 might thence accrue to the empire, especially the capital. But  
 their remonstrances were utterly disregarded by the emperor,  
 misled, says *Zosimus*, by *Olympius*, and *Mari*'s enemies at

b THEOPH. p. 69.

c ZONAR. p. 43.

d CE

DREN. p. 334. e SOZ. l. ix. c. 6. p. 807. 809.

f GRU

TER. p. 2052.

(A) It is surprising, that such an event, one of the most remarkable in history, should by no historian be taken notice of before *Procopius*, who wrote an hundred and fifty years after, and is often guilty of no small mistakes, being misled by popular and ill grounded traditions, among which we may reckon this supposed last will of *Arcadius*; for *Agathias* tells us, that it was the common talk, having been handed down by tradition from father to son; but that he found it vouched by no writer; except *Procopius*, not even by those who

had given a particular account of the death of *Arcadius* (1). And truly *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Theodoret*, *Zosimus*, *Philostorgius*, both *Prosper*, and *Marcellinus*, take not the least notice of this memorable transaction. *Isidore* of *Pelusium*, and *Synefius* (2), mention an eunuch, by name *Antiochus*, who, passing from the service of a *Persian* lord, named *Narjes*, to that of *Theodosius* II. became preceptor to the young prince, which perhaps gave rise to the above-mentioned tradition.

(1) *Azath.* l. iv. p. 137.  
*Syn.* p. 84.

(2) *Isid.* *Isl.* l. i. c. 39. p. 11.

court<sup>g</sup>. However, *Attalus* to the post of *comes largitionum*, and *Cæcilianus* to that of *præfectus prætorio*<sup>h</sup>. In the mean time *Alaric*, provoked at the emperor's backwarness in complying with the articles of the late treaty, left *Truria*, and, approaching *Rome*, blocked it up a second time. his army being reinforced with forty thousand slaves, who had made their escape out of the city<sup>i</sup>. *Honorius* sent ten thousand chosen troops to the defence of the city; but they were intercepted by *Alaric's* parties, and all either cut off, or taken prisoners, except *Valens* their commander, *Attalus*, and about an hundred more, who with much difficulty escaped to *Rome*<sup>k</sup>. *Maximilianus*, one of the prisoners, was ransomed by his father with thirty thousand pieces of gold (B). In the mean time, *Ataulphus*, whom *Alaric* had sent for, as we have observed above, was advancing to join him; and had already passed the *Julian Alps*, and entered the province of *Ventia*, when *Honorius* dispatched against him all the forces quartered in the neighbouring towns, who cut in pieces eleven hundred of his men, with the loss only of fifteen; but, notwithstanding this check, *Ataulphus* pursued his march, and joined *Alaric*<sup>l</sup>. About this time, *Olympius* the prime minister was disgraced, divested of all his honours, and discharged, the enmuchs of the court blaming him to the emperor as the author of the present calamities. He was succeeded by *Jovius*, then prefect of *Italy*, a person highly commended by *Zosimus*<sup>m</sup>, which gives us room to believe him to have been a pagan; for he is scarce ever so lavish of his praises on those who professed the Christian religion. With *Olympius* several other offices were changed. *Attalus* was made prefect of *Rome*, and *Demetrius comes largitionum*, or treasurer, in his place.

THE soldiers, mutinying at *Ravenna*, demanded the heads of the two generals *Turpilio* and *Vigilantius*, and likewise of *Tur Terentius* and *Arfacius*, the emperor's two first chamberlains. Hereupon the timorous prince, at the instigation of *Jovius*, perhaps the author of the tumult, ordered the two generals to be conveyed on board a vessel, in order to be sent into exile; but the soldiers, who were charged to conduct them, put

<sup>g</sup> Zos. l. v. p. 817—819.

<sup>h</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 153.

<sup>i</sup> Zos. p. 819.

<sup>k</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>l</sup> Idem, p. 820.

<sup>m</sup> Idem, p. 824.

(B) *Zosimus* writes, that the six legions (3); so that a legion at thousand men, sent by *Honorius* this time consisted but of twelve to defend the city, made up five hundred men.

them both to death. *Terentius* was banished into the East, and *Arsacius* confined to the city of *Milan*<sup>n</sup>. *Eusebius* was made great chamberlain in the room of *Terentius*; *Valens* succeeded *Turpilio* in the post of general of the horse; and the office of *comes domesticorum*, held by *Vigilantius*, was given to *Alabichus* or *Allabichus*. These were all creatures to *Jovius*, whose authority was thus thoroughly established<sup>o</sup>. At the same time *Generides*, by birth a barbarian, was appointed general of the troops quartered in *Rhetia*, *Noricum*, *Dalmatia*, and *Pannonia*; which countries he protected with great fidelity against the barbarians, who attempted to invade them. *Zosimus* writes, that he was a pagan, and that for his sake *Honorius* revoked the law excluding the pagans from all employments<sup>p</sup>. The same law was revoked with respect to heretics, especially the *Donatists*, to whom some churches were restored, which had been formerly taken from them, the emperor following therein the advice of *Jovius*, of *Heraclianus* count of *Africa*, and of *Macrobius* the author of the *Saturnalia*, as is commonly believed, at that time proconsul of *Africa*<sup>q</sup>.

*ALARIC* being returned before *Rome*, as we have observed above, the senate sent a second deputation to the emperor, pressing him to execute the articles of a treaty, which he himself had ratified. *Alaric* approved of this step, and appointed a body of *Goths* to escort the deputies, among whom was *Innocent* bishop of the city. At the same time *Alaric*, by the advice of *Jovius*, with whom he had been intimately acquainted in *Epirus*, advanced with part of his army to *Ariminum*, or *Rimini*, that he might be nearer at hand to treat with the emperor, then at *Ravenna*. *Jovius* himself met him at *Rimini*; and, after some conferences with him, wrote to court, advising the emperor to comply with the articles formerly agreed to; or, if he thought them unreasonable, to satisfy *Alaric* by preferring him to the post of commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces. To this letter the emperor answered, that he was resolved never to prefer *Alaric*, nor any of his people. The emperor's letter being delivered to *Jovius*, while he was in *Alaric's* tent, and he with the utmost imprudence reading it out aloud, *Alaric* was so provoked at the prince's declaration, that he immediately decamped, bending his march towards *Rome*: but, soon after, changing his mind, he sent some bishops to *Honorius*, with very moderate proposals; for he offered to enter into a per-

*Honorius*  
refuses to  
comply  
with the  
proposals  
of *Alaric*.

<sup>n</sup> Zos. p. 820, 821.

<sup>o</sup> Idem ibid. Phot. p. 181.

<sup>p</sup> Zos. ibid.

<sup>q</sup> Hier. ep. viii. p. 65. Cod. Theod. tit. 4.

p. 199.

petual alliance with *Honorius*, and to defend the empire against all invaders, provided he would only send him a small sum to pay his men their arrears, that they might not mutiny when disbanded, and allow them to settle in *Rhætia* and *Vericum*, which provinces paid but an inconsiderable tribute, and nevertheless obliged the emperor, as they were exposed to the incursions of the neighbouring barbarians, to maintain numerous armies to defend them, which he took upon himself to do, without putting the empire to the least charge. These proposals, however reasonable, were rejected, *Jovius* having, by a second fault, cut off all means of an accommodation; for, apprehending the emperor might, from his late imprudent conduct, suspect him of privately favouring *Alaric*, he over-acted the contrary part, inducing the emperor to swear, that he would never make peace, but wage perpetual war, with *Alaric*: this he swore himself by the emperor's head, and obliged all the officers, both civil and military, to take the same oath. *Alaric*, though informed of these unaccountable proceedings, sent back the bishops to *Ravenna*, earnestly intreating the emperor, who had not sufficient forces to withstand him, not to suffer that stately metropolis, which for so many ages had been revered by all nations as mistress of the world, to become a prey to her enemies.

and  
swears  
never to  
make peace  
with him.

*Alaric's*  
moderation.

BUT the emperor continuing obstinate in his former resolution, *Alaric* pursued his march to *Rome*; and, approaching the city, acquainted the inhabitants with the emperor's invincible obstinacy, inviting them, at the same time, to consult their own safety by joining him against *Honorius*. This proposal they rejected at first with indignation; but *Alaric* having, after a few days siege, taken the castle at the mouth of the *Tiber*, in which all the public provisions were lodged, they immediately opened their gates, and received him into the city, which he entered, attended by a small guard, and obliged the citizens to renounce their allegiance to *Honorius*, and acknowledge, not himself, as he might easily have done, but *Attalus*, then prefect of the city, for emperor. *Attalus* was a native of *Ionis*, and greatly beloved by *Alaric*, and his *Goths*, because he had been baptized by *Segisarius* their bishop, and consequently professed the doctrine of *Arius*, though he was, in his heart, a pagan, according to *Philostorgius*. *Attalus*, thus created emperor by *Alaric*, made him, in return, commander in chief of all his forces, and *Ataulphus* his comes domesticorum, distributing the other great

He be-  
sieves  
Rome;  
which  
submits,  
and ac-  
knowledges  
*Attalus*  
for empe-  
ror.

Year of  
the flood  
2859.  
Of Christ  
409.  
OF Rome

Soz. l. ix. c. 7. p. 808, 809. Zos. p. 822—824. \* Soz. Zos. ibid. † Soz. c. 9. p. 311. ‡ Philost. l. vii. c. 3. p. 533.

employments amongst pagans and *Arians*. As it was a matter of the utmost importance to secure *Africa*, whence *Rome* was supplied with provisions, *Alaric* advised the new emperor to send thither, without delay, a considerable body of troops under the conduct of *Drumas*, who was by nation a *Goth*, but an officer of great experience and address: but *Attalus*, contrary to the advice of *Alaric*, sent one *Constantine*, or *Constans*, a person quite unacquainted with military affairs, and with him but a small number of troops, being assured by the auspices, says *Sozomen*, that *Africa* would immediately submit w. But *Constantine* was, upon his first landing, cut off; with all his men, by *Heraclianus*, who took care to place guards in all the ports of *Africa*, that no corn might be thence conveyed to *Rome*, which, by that means, was soon reduced to great streights.

The u-  
surper's  
troops de-  
feated by  
Heraclia-  
nus in  
Africa.

Honorius  
offers to  
acknow-  
lege Atta-  
lus;  
who insists  
upon his  
resigning.

Honorius  
receives a  
seasonable  
supply from  
Theodo-  
sius.

In the mean time *Attalus*, without waiting news from *Africa*, set out from *Rome* with the succours he received from *Alaric*, with a design to besiege the emperor in *Ravenna*; who, alarmed at his motions, dispatched *Jovius*, the prime minister, *Valens*, general of the foot, *Potamius*, the quaestor, and *Julian*, his first secretary, to wait his arrival at *Rimini*, and acquaint him, that the emperor was willing to acknowledge him as his partner in the empire. But *Attalus* would only grant *Honorius* his life, and the liberty of retiring to what island he pleased y. *Jovius*, in a private conference with *Attalus*, not only advised him to insist upon these terms, but suggested to him, that he ought to maintain the emperor, so as to prevent his having issue; which wicked suggestion was rejected with horror, if *Olympiodorus* is to be credited, by *Attalus* himself z. That treacherous minister returned to court; but, being sent back to the usurper with new proposals, he continued with him. *Honorius*, finding himself thus betrayed by his friends, and no way in a condition to oppose so many enemies at once, resolved to abandon *Ravenna*, and retire by sea into the East; but was diverted from that resolution by the seasonable arrival of four thousand men, sent him by his nephew *Theodosius*; which encouraged him to continue at *Ravenna*, and there wait the issue of the war in *Africa*. And truly his arms were attended there with uncommon success; for *Attalus* having, after the death of *Constantine*, sent thither a body of troops far more numerous than the first, *Heraclianus* cut them likewise in pieces; and not only continued to keep the ports blocked up, so that no provisions could be conveyed to *Rome*, but sent a seasonable supply of money to

w Soz. p. 810.

p. 828. Phot. p. 181.

x Zos. p. 829. Soz. ibid.

z Phot. ibid.

y Zos.

*Honorius*,

*Honorius*, which he immediately distributed among the soldiery, and, by that re-established his affairs. In the mean time *Alaric* reduced all the cities of *Liguria* and *Emilia*, except *Bononia*, which he was obliged to abandon, after having lain a considerable time before it. He called *Attalus* to be every-where proclaimed emperor, and urged the people to swear allegiance to him<sup>b</sup>.

WHILE these things passed in *Italy*, *Geroncius*, to whom *Constantine*, the son of *Constantine*, had committed the government of *Spain*, as we have related above, revolting, upon some disgust, from *Constantine*, set up one *Maximus* for emperor, whom *Olympiodorus* supposes to have been his son, *set up in* while other writers stile him his client or creature<sup>d</sup>. *Orosius* *Spain by* speaks of him as a person of a mean extraction, and altogether unknown<sup>e</sup>. It was no sooner found in *Gaul*, that *Geroncius* had revolted, than the *Vandals*, *Suevians*, *Alans*, and other barbarians, whom *Constantine* had suffered to remain in that province, as we have related above, flew to arms, probably at the instigation of the new usurper, and made themselves masters of several cities. The people, finding themselves thus harassed by the barbarians, and expecting no relief either from *Maximus* or *Constantine*, resolved to defend themselves. The *Britons* were the first, who, falling off from the empire, established a new form of government among themselves, after having driven out the barbarians, the *Germanians*, according to *Zosimus*, but more likely the *Scots* or *Irish*, who had invaded their country<sup>f</sup>. Thus they continued a free people till the year 421. or 422. when, overpowered by their warlike neighbours the *Scots*, they were forced to implore the protection of the emperor, and submit anew to the laws of the empire, as we shall relate hereafter. All the *Armorici*, says *Zosimus*, that is, in the language of *and the* the *Gauls*, the maritime people, followed the example of the *Armorici*. *Britons*; and, shaking off the *Roman* yoke, gave rise to a new state and government<sup>g</sup>, which, notwithstanding all their efforts, proved but short-lived. The barbarians, that is, the *The Van-* *Vandals*, the *Alans*, and the *Suevians*, meeting with greater opposition than they expected from the inhabitants of *Gaul*, *lans, and* who had taken arms in their own defence, and acquainted *Suevians* with the distracted state of *Spain*, which was represented to *enter* them as a wealthy and fruitful country, resolved to try whether *Spain* they could settle there. Accordingly they entered that country, and, having made themselves masters of it, divided the

<sup>a</sup> Zos. p. 829. OROS. l. vii. c. 42. p. 224.<sup>b</sup> Idem ibid.<sup>c</sup> PHOT. c. 80. p. 184.<sup>d</sup> SOZ. p. 814. GREG. TUR. p. 63.

OROS. p. 224. PROSP. ANN. 412.

<sup>e</sup> OROS. ibid.<sup>f</sup> Zos.f. vi. p. 827. <sup>g</sup> Idem ibid.

A tumult  
at Con-  
stantino-  
ple.

provinces among them. Nothing happened this year in the East worthy of notice, except a tumult at *Constantinople*, where the people rising, on account of the scarcity of bread, burnt the house of *Monaxes*, prefect of the city; but the senators, and other wealthy citizens, having, by voluntary contributions, raised a large sum for the relief of the poor, and the baker being publicly whipt through the city, as was frequently practised when bread grew dear, the tumult was quelled<sup>h</sup>.

A great  
famine  
rages in  
Rome.

THE following year 410. when *Varanes* alone was consul, is remarkable for the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*. *Varanes* began his consulship at *Constantinople*; but the Western empire, especially the city of *Rome*, was involved in such troubles, that *Honorius* was not at leisure to think of a consul. *Attalus*, however, raised *Tertullus*, a pagan, to that dignity; but he was acknowledged only by the partisans of the usurper; whence *Varanes* alone is named consul in the *fasti*, and in the laws, some of which are dated thus; *the year after the eighth consulship of Honorius, and the third of Theodosius*<sup>i</sup>. As *Heraclianus* continued to keep the ports of *Africa* blocked up, and the lands in *Italy* had not been tilled for several years, by reason of the wars, the *Roman* people were reduced to feed upon chestnuts; nay, human flesh was publicly sold, and several mothers were said to have devoured their children<sup>k</sup>. This obliged both *Alaric* and *Attalus* to hasten to *Rome*, in order to advise with the senate about the proper means of supplying the city. Most part of the senators were for sending into *Africa* a body of *Goths*, *Alaric* engaging, that *Drumas*, one of his officers, would reduce it with five hundred men only; but *Attalus* openly declared, that he would not by any means employ *Goths* in that war; which so piqued *Alaric*, who had already begun to look upon *Attalus* as one no-way qualified for the high station to which he had raised him, that he resolved to depose him, lest, by his obstinacy and imprudence, he should quite ruin his affairs. He was confirmed in this resolution by *Jovius*, who persuaded him, that *Attalus*, scorning to depend upon him, and to hold the empire upon precarious terms, was determined to destroy him.

THIS conduct of *Jovius* has induced some writers to believe, that he maintained a private correspondence with *Honorius*; nay, that he abandoned him with no other view but to betray *Attalus*<sup>l</sup>. Be that as it will, *Alaric*, finding the new emperor unequal to so great a charge, and provoked at

<sup>h</sup> Cod. Theod. tit. 5. p. 84. Lib. orat. i. p. 64. Chron. Alex. p. 716. <sup>i</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. 156. <sup>k</sup> Socr. l. ix. p. 810.

<sup>l</sup> Zos. l. vi. p. 830.

<sup>1</sup> PHILOST. p. 181.

his late declaration and misconduct with respect to the affairs of Africa, sent deputies more to *Honorius*, with very reasonable terms; which the emperor seeming inclined to comply with, *Alaric* publicly stripped the mock prince of all the ensigns of sovereignty, and sent them to *Honorius*. He would, however, deliver up either *Attalus*, or his son *Ampelius*; but insisted upon their being pardoned, since their crime was owing more to him than to them<sup>m</sup>. *Attalus* being thus deposed, *Alaric* approached *Ravenna*, and stopped at a place called the *Alps*, about nine miles from that city, in order to put the last hand to the treaty of accommodation between him and the emperor<sup>n</sup>. But this peaceable face of affairs was soon changed by an unlucky and unforeseen accident: *Sarus* the *Goth*, of whom we have made frequent mention, commanded a body of three hundred men in *Picenum*, without declaring either for *Honorius* or *Alaric*. However, *Ataulphus*, who bore him an irreconcilable hatred, resolved to destroy him, and with this view marched at the head of a strong party against him; which obliged him to declare for *Honorius*, and retire to *Ravenna*. *Olympiodorus* writes, that *Alaric* was so provoked at the kind reception *Sarus* met with from the emperor, that he would hearken to no terms<sup>o</sup>. On the other hand, *Sozomen* tells us, that *Sarus*, apprehending a peace would be prejudicial to him, fell unexpectedly upon the *Goths*, and put some of them to the sword<sup>p</sup>. However that be, it is certain, that *Alaric* departed in a great rage from the neighbourhood of *Ravenna*, and returned to his army, encamped near *Rome*, as soon as *Sarus* had joined the emperor<sup>q</sup>, restoring the purple, and other ensigns of majesty, to *Attalus*; but, in a few days, degrading him anew, as if he designed to traduce, and expose to ridicule, the imperial dignity<sup>r</sup>. *Socrates* writes, that, having shewed him to the soldiery with all the ensigns of sovereignty, he exposed him the very next day to public view in the dress of a slave<sup>s</sup>. To this was the majesty of the *Roman* empire now reduced.

*ALARIC* no sooner arrived before *Rome*, than he blocked it up on all sides, and, by that means, as provisions were already very scarce, reduced it in a few days to the utmost extremity. Some authors, and among the rest *St. Jerom*, write, that it held out a long time; while others say, *Alaric* reduced it with such expedition, that *Honorius*, when told by

<sup>m</sup> PHOT. c. 80. p. 181. ZOS. l. vi. p. 830. SOZ. p. 810. PHILOST. l. xii. c. 3. p. 533. <sup>n</sup> SOZ. p. 809. ZOS. p. 831.

<sup>o</sup> PHOT. p. 180. <sup>p</sup> SOZ. p. 811. <sup>q</sup> Idem ibid. PHILOST. p. 534. <sup>r</sup> OKOS. l. vii. c. 42. p. 224. <sup>s</sup> SOCR. l. vii. c. 19. p. 346, 347. <sup>t</sup> HIER. ep. 16. p. 121.



Year of the flood 2860. Of Christ 410. Of Rome 1208.

one of his courtiers, that *Rome* was lost, understood him of a favourite cock bearing that name, not being yet informed, that the city of *Rome* was besieged. There is likewise a disagreement among authors as to the manner in which it was taken. *Procopius* writes, that *Probus*, an illustrious Roman magistrate, pitying the unhappy condition of the people, reduced by the famine that had long raged in the city to the fatal necessity of devouring one another, opened the gates in the night-time to the enemy<sup>w</sup>. *Sozomen* says it was taken by treachery, without explaining himself farther<sup>x</sup>; but *Orosius* uses the word *irrupit*<sup>y</sup>; which seems to import, that the enemy broke in by force, or took the city by assault. Be that as it will, that proud and haughty city, stiled the metropolis of the universe, after having triumphed over so many nations, and extended her dominions from one end of the known world to the other, was, on the twenty-fourth of August of the present year 410. taken by a barbarian, who had not a foot of ground which he could properly call his own. As she had, for the space of one thousand one hundred and sixty-three years, pillaged the rest of the world, and enriched herself with the spoils of the plundered nations, she underwent, in the end, the same fate, and suffered, in her turn, the same calamities, which she had brought upon others.

Alaric orders his men to spare the lives of the citizens, especially such as should fly to the churches.

ALARIC, when upon the point of breaking into the city, addressing his soldiers, told them, That all the wealth lodged in it was theirs, and therefore he gave them full liberty to seize it; but, at the same time, he strictly enjoined them to shed the blood of none but such as they should find in arms; and, above all, to spare those who should take sanctuary in the holy places, especially in the churches of the apostles *Sr. Peter* and *St. Paul*, which he named because they were most spacious, and consequently capable of affording an asylum to great numbers of people. Having given these orders, he abandoned the city to his *Goths*, who treated it no better, according to *St. Jerom*, than the *Greeks* are said to have treated antient *Troy*<sup>z</sup>; for after having plundered it for the space of three, or, as others will have it, of six days, they set fire to it in several places; so that the stately palace of *Sallust*, and many other magnificent buildings, were reduced to ashes; nay, *Procopius* writes, that there was not in the whole city one house left intire<sup>a</sup>; and both *St. Jerom*<sup>b</sup>, and *Philostorgius*<sup>c</sup>, that the great metropolis of the empire was reduced

<sup>w</sup> PROSP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 2. p. 180. <sup>x</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>y</sup> Soz.

l. ix. c. 9. p. 811. <sup>z</sup> OROS. p. 222. <sup>a</sup> HIER. ep. 16. p.

121. <sup>b</sup> PROCOP. p. 179. <sup>c</sup> HIER. ep. 12. p. 100. <sup>d</sup> PHI-

LOST. p. 534.

to an heap of ashes and ruins. Though many of the *Goths*, *The miserable condition to which the city was reduced.* pursuant to the orders of their general, refrained from shedding the blood of such as made no resistance, yet others, more cruel and bloodthirsty, massacred all they met; so that the streets in some quarters of the city were seen covered with heaps of dead bodies, and swimming in blood<sup>d</sup>. However, not the least injury was offered to those who had fled to the churches; nay, the *Goths* themselves conveyed thither, as to places of safety, such as they were desirous should be spared<sup>e</sup>. Many of the statues of the gods, that had been left intire by the emperors, as excellent pieces of art, were on this occasion destroyed, either by the *Goths*, who, tho' mostly *Arians*, were zealous Christians, or by a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, which fell at the same time upon the city, as if it had been sent on purpose to complete, with them, the destruction of idolatry, and abolish the small remains of pagan superstition<sup>f</sup>. The learned bishop of *Meaux* wrote a famous treatise, shewing, that the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric* may be looked upon as one of the chief mysteries foretold by St. *John* in his revelations<sup>g</sup>. The pagans ascribed the calamities which *Rome* suffered on this occasion, to its having banished the gods, by whom it had been often protected against far more powerful enemies. But *Calumnies* St. *Austin* fully confuted in his 81st, 105th and 106th sermons, in another intituled *of the destruction of the city of Rome*<sup>h</sup>, and in his great work *de civitate Dei*, wherein he shews, that *Rome* had suffered far greater calamities before it embraced the true faith, and that it was preserved by the Christian religion from utter destruction<sup>i</sup>.

## C H A P. VI.

*The History of the Eastern and Western Empire, from the Taking of the City by the Goths, to the Death of Theodosius II.*

**A**LARIC, having staid, according to some, six, according to others, only three days in *Rome*, retired from thence into *Campania*, carrying with him immense wealth, and a great number of captives; among whom was *Placidia*, the sister of *Honorius*, whom he treated with all the respect due to *the wealth of Rome, into Campana.*

<sup>d</sup> PHILOST. p. 534. <sup>e</sup> HIER. & SOZ. *ibid.* <sup>f</sup> OROS. l. vii. c. 39. p. 222. & l. ii. c. 19. p. 164. <sup>g</sup> Explication de l'apocalypse. <sup>h</sup> AUG. *serm.* p. 546. & *Rom. excid.* p. 330. <sup>i</sup> *Idem de civ. Dei.*

her rank and sex. After he had ravaged and laid waste *Campania*, *Lucania*, *Samnum*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the country of the *Bruttii*, he approached the streights of *Sicily*, with a design to pass over into that island, and thence into *Africa*, which he intended to reduce; but the fleet he had prepared for that purpose being shipwrecked in the streights, he continued in the neighbourhood of *Rhegium*, deliberating what further measures he was to take; but before he came to any resolution, he was suddenly seized with a fit of sickness, which carried him off in a few days<sup>a</sup>. The *Goths* were deeply concerned for the death of their king (for they had given him that title, as we have observed above); and, fearing the *Romans* should offer some indignity to his bones, they turned the course of the *Busento* near *Cosenza* in the Farther *Calabria*; and, having buried him, with many rich spoils brought from *Rome*, in the bed of the river, they restored the waters to their natural current, and killed all the slaves they had employed in the work<sup>b</sup>. After this, they chose *Ataulphus* king in his room. He was brother-in-law to the deceased prince, who had married his sister. *Jornandes* writes, that he returned to *Rome*, and pillaged that city a second time<sup>c</sup>. But of this second destruction of *Rome*, as he styles it, no mention is made by any of the writers, who flourished at that time.

WHILE the barbarians were thus ravaging *Italy* on one side, *Constantine*, leaving *Gaul*, where he reigned, entered it on the other, giving out, that he was marching to the assistance of *Honorius*, though his real design was to strip him of the few provinces that were left him. With this view he was already advanced as far as *Verona*; but while he was preparing to pass the *Po*, in order to march to *Ravenna*, and there confer, as he pretended, with the emperor about the most proper measures in the present juncture, he received news of the unhappy, but deserved end of *Alabicus* or *Allobicus*, one of *Honorius's* generals, whom that prince had caused to be put to death, upon a well-grounded suspicion of his privately corresponding with the usurper<sup>d</sup>. This *Constantine* no sooner understood, than he repassed in great haste the *Alps*, and retired to *Arles*, where he found his son *Constans* driven out of *Spain* by the above-mentioned barbarians. *Geronicus*, who had joined them against him, pursued him into *Gaul*; but repasses the *Alps* in great haste, and retires to *Arles*.

<sup>a</sup> OROS. l. ii. c. 19. p. 164. SOCR. l. vii. c. 10. p. 347. PHIL-  
LOST. l. xii. c. 3. p. 543. AUG. CIV. DEI, l. i. c. 10. p. 8. JORN.  
rer. Goth. c. 30. p. 653. <sup>b</sup> JORN. ibid. <sup>c</sup> Idem, p. 654.

<sup>d</sup> SOZ. l. ix. c. 12. p. 814. PHOT. c. 80. p. 181. ZOS. l. v. p. 821.

which obliged *Constantine* to send *Edobicius*, one of his generals, to procure supplies among the *Franks* and *Germans*, and to commit the guard of *Vienne*, and the other cities of the *Rhone*, to his son *Constans*. But *Geroncius*, arriving at the mean time before *Vienne*, took the place; and, having put *Constans*, whom he found in it, to death, advanced without opposition to *Arles*, and there closely besieged *Constantine* himself. While the Western empire was thus involved in endless calamities, the provinces all over the East enjoyed a profound peace under the wise administration of *Anthemius*; so that nothing remarkable happened there, except the disgrace of one *Andronicus*, governor of the *Pentapolis*, who, by his tyrannical extortions, deserved to be first excommunicated by *Synesius* bishop of *Ptolemais*, the metropolis of that province, and afterwards removed by *Anthemius* from his government <sup>f</sup>.

THE following year 451. *Theodosius* alone was the fourth time consul, *Honorius* being diverted, by the troubles in the West, from naming any one to that dignity <sup>g</sup>. This year *Honorius* sent *Constantius*, an officer of great experience and address, and inviolably attached to the interest of his prince, into *Gaul*, with what troops he could spare, to make war upon *Constantine*, whom, after his entering *Italy*, the emperor no longer looked upon as his partner in the empire, but as a public enemy. *Constantius* was not by birth a barbarian, but a *Roman*; that is, he was born a subject of the empire, according to *Olympiodorus*, in the city of *Panaia* in *Illyricum* <sup>h</sup>. *Valesius* supposes, upon what authority we know not, that he was a native of *Nessus* in *Dacia*, the birth-place of *Constantine the Great* <sup>i</sup>. He was a man of extraordinary parts, well-shaped in his person, agreeable in his conversation, frank, generous, an enemy to all dissimulation and restraint, disinterested, brave, and equally capable of commanding an army, and governing the state <sup>k</sup>. He was no sooner named for this expedition, than he set out at the head of a considerable army for *Gaul*, where he was joined, upon his first arrival, by most of the troops of *Geroncius*, then busied in reducing the city of *Arles*, in which was *Constantine* himself, as we have related above.

*GERONCIUS*, finding himself abandoned by his men, raised the siege in great haste, and fled into *Spain*, where the few soldiers who attended him, provoked at his unseasonable severity, attacked him in the house where he was lodged; which

<sup>c</sup> Soz. l. ix. c. 12. p. 814. Phot. p. 184. Oros. p. 224. <sup>f</sup> Synes. c. 74. p. 220. <sup>g</sup> Idat. Prosp. Cassiod. &c. <sup>h</sup> Phot. c. 80. p. 193. <sup>i</sup> Val. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 107. <sup>k</sup> Phot. p. 185. Oros. c. 43. p. 224. Soz. l. ix. c. 16. p. 817.

where he  
lays vio-  
lent hands  
on himself.  
Maximus  
taken, but  
his life  
spared.

he defended, though assisted only by one friend, and a few slaves, with great resolution and intrepidity, killing three hundred of the aggressors. In the end the slaves, consulting their own safety, made their escape; which *Gerontius* too might have easily done, had he been able to prevail upon himself to forsake his wife, whom he tenderly loved. When he found himself overpowered, he resolved to lay violent hands on himself. His wife, by name *Nonnichia*, apprised of this resolution, earnestly intreated him to put her to death, rather than suffer her to fall into the hands of the incensed soldiery. Moved with her tears, he first dispatched her, then his friend, and lastly himself<sup>l</sup>. It is surprising, that *Sozomen* should commend this in *Nonnichia*, as an action worthy of the Christian religion, which she professed<sup>m</sup>. As for *Maximus*, whom *Gerontius* had set up for emperor, as we have related above, he was secured by his own men, and brought to *Constantius*, who stripped him of the ensigns of majesty, but spared his life, looking upon him as a person of himself inoffensive, and incapable of giving the least umbrage<sup>n</sup>. He retired into *Spain* amongst the barbarians, and was still alive when *Orosius* wrote his history, that is, in 417<sup>o</sup>.

The Ger-  
mans,  
coming to  
the assist-  
ance of  
Constant-  
ine, de-  
feated.

To return to *Constantius*: he pursued a siege of *Arles*, which *Gerontius* had begun. *Constantine*, who was in the place with his second son, by name *Julian*, held out for the space of four months, in expectation of the succours which *Edobicus* was sent to procure amongst the *Franks*, and other German nations. *Edobicus* arrived at length, at the head of an army far more numerous than that of *Constantius*; which so terrified the emperor's generals, that they were for abandoning the siege, and retiring to *Italy*. But their retreat being cut off by the enemy, they were forced to put the whole to the issue of a battle. *Ulpilas* therefore, who commanded under *Constantius*, passing the *Rhone* with a strong detachment of foot, concealed himself among the woods, till the enemy passed, and were ready to engage *Constantius*; when, falling unexpectedly upon their rear, while *Constantius* charged them in front, they were immediately put to the rout. *Edobicus* fled to the house of a *Gaulish* lord, by name *Ecdices*, who, notwithstanding the many favours he had received at his hands, struck off his head, and carried it to *Constantius*, who ordered the traitor to depart the camp that instant, lest his presence should draw down from Heaven some misfortune upon the whole army<sup>p</sup>. *Constantius* returned without loss of

<sup>l</sup> OROS. p. 224. SOZ. p. 815. <sup>m</sup> PHOT. p. 185.

ibid.

<sup>n</sup> OROS. ibid.

<sup>o</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>p</sup> Idem, p. 223.

PHOT. c. 80. p. 184. GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 9. p. 65. SOZ. l. ix. c. 14. p. 815.

time before *Arles*, which still held out with great obstinacy, till news were brought to the *Roman* camp, that *Jovinus*, having usurped the imperial title in *Farther Gaul*, was advancing full march to *Arles*, at the head of a formidable army, consisting of *Alemans*, *Fanks*, *Burgundians*, and *Alans*, with a design to fall on the emperor's army. Upon this intelligence, *Constantius* thought it adviseable to comply with the terms which had been proposed before by the besieged, but rejected by him; to wit, to grant a general indemnity, and to promise, upon oath, that the lives of *Constantine* and *Julian* should be spared. Hereupon the gates were opened, and the victorious army received into the town. *Constantine* had some time before divested himself of the purple, and, taking sanctuary in a church, caused himself to be ordained priest, thinking that character would screen him from the emperor's just resentment. *Constantius* nevertheless caused both him and his son to be secured, and sent into *Italy*; where they were, by the emperor's orders, beheaded about thirty miles from *Ravenna* 4. *Honorius* would not grant them their lives, because they had put to death his two cousins *Didymius* and *Vetricinianus*; but, as they had been promised indemnity by his lieutenant, the Christian as well as the pagan writers look upon this action as a breach of faith unworthy of a prince. About the same time that *Constantine* divested himself of the purple, *Jovinus*, or, as he is styled by *Sozomen* and *Philostorgius*, *Jovianus*, assumed it at *Mundiacum*, says *Olympiodorus* 1; which some take to be *Mentz*. He was descended from one of the most illustrious families in *Gaul*, and is said to have caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at the instigation of *Goar* king of the *Alans*, and *Guntarius*, or *Gomlicarius*, prince of the *Burgundians* 2. It appears from his medals, that he made himself master of *Treves* 3; but his reign was short-lived, as we shall see presently. In the East, the tranquillity which the people had long enjoyed there, was disturbed this year by the *Ausurians*, a *Moorish* nation, who, breaking into the *Pentapolis*, laid waste that province; but were soon driven out by *Anyfius*, who had succeeded *Andronicus* in that government. The *Saracens* likewise committed great disorders on the frontiers of *Egypt*, *Palæstine*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, but retired of their own accord.

THE following year 412. when *Honorius* was consul the 19th time, and *Theodosius* the fifth, the *Goths* at length left *leave*

1 PHOT. SOZ. GREG. TUR. *ibid.* 2 PHOT. c. 80. 3 SOZ. p. 816, 817. OROS. p. 224. T. p. 184. 4 SYNES. *catast.* p. 299. & ep. 78. p. 223, 224.

Italy, and Italy, either in virtue of a treaty between *Honorius* and *Ataulphus*, their new king, as *Jornandes* seems to suppose <sup>u</sup>, or because they had already quite drained that country of its wealth,

Gaul. Year of which, from the sequel of the history, appears more probable.

the flood 2862. However that be, quitting *Italy*, they broke into *Gaul*, ravaging the countries through which they passed. Upon their

Of Christ arriva in that province, *Attilus*, whom *Ataulphus* had brought

412. thither with him, advised the *Goths* to join *Jovinus* against

Of Rome *Honorius*, and divide *Gaul* between them. *Ataulphus* and

1210. *Jovinus* met upon that proposal; but all we know of their

interview is, that *Jovinus* was not at all pleased to see *Ataulphus* and his *Goths* in *Gaul* <sup>w</sup>. *Sarus*, whom we have often

mentioned, having about this time revolted from *Honorius*,

because he refused to punish the authors of the murder of one

of his officers, by name *Bellerid*, was going into *Gaul*, to

offer his service to *Jovinus*; which coming to the ears of

*Ataulphus*, his implacable enemy, he went to meet him, at

the head of a thousand men. *Sarus*, though attended only

by twenty persons, defended himself with such resolution,

that it was with the utmost difficulty that he was taken alive;

after having killed with his own hand great numbers of the

enemy. *Ataulphus* caused him soon after to be put to death;

which, as he was a brave and experienced officer, created a

misunderstanding between *Jovinus* and *Ataulphus*. *Jovinus*

soon after took his brother *Sebastian* for his partner in the em-

pire, contrary to the opinion of *Ataulphus*, who was so pro-

voked at his promotion, that he dispatched privately deputies

to *Honorius*, offering to restore to him his sister *Placidia*, and

to send him the heads of the two usurpers, provided he would

supply his men with a certain quantity of corn.

THE emperor having readily complied with his demand,

*Ataulphus* soon found an opportunity of dispatching *Sebastian*;

but *Jovinus*, upon the news of his death, fled to *Valence*,

where he was closely besieged, and, in the end, forced to

submit to *Ataulphus*, who delivered him up to *Dardanus*

prefect of *Gaul*, by whose order he was put to death at *Nar-*

*bonne* <sup>x</sup>. *Idatius* ascribes the defeat of the two usurpers to the

generals of *Honorius*, who had perhaps joined *Ataulphus*.

*Dardanus*, at this time prefect of *Gaul*, is highly commended

by *St. Jerom* and *St. Austin*, who wrote several letters to

him; but *Apollinaris Sidonius*, who is likewise honoured with

the title of *Saint*, paints him as a person of a most infamous

character, in whom centred all the vices of the three usurpers,

*Sarus*  
taken pri-  
soner by  
*Ataul-*  
*phus*, and  
put to  
death.

*Jovinus*  
is taken,  
and put to  
death.

<sup>u</sup> *JORN. rer. Goth. c. 31. p. 655.*

<sup>w</sup> *OROS. p. 224. PHOT.*

*p. 184. x OROS. ibid. PHOT. ibid. SEZ. l. ix. c. 15. p. 817.*

*Constantine, Jovinus, and Geroncius* <sup>γ</sup> (A). This year *Theodosius*, or rather *Anthemius*, caused the walls of all the frontier towns of *Illyricum* to be repaired <sup>z</sup>.

THE next consuls were *Lucius* and *Heraclianus*: but the name of the latter was blotted out of the *fasti*; for he reigned this very year from *Honorius*, and, causing himself to be proclaimed emperor in *Italy*, which he had with so much bravery defended against *Attalus*, he equipped a fleet there of seven hundred sail, according to some, of three thousand seven hundred, according to others, if there is no mistake in the numbers <sup>2</sup>. *Orosius* writes, that his fleet was more numerous than those of *Xerxes*, of *Alexander*, or any other monarch mentioned in history <sup>b</sup>. With this formidable armada he sailed from *Africa*, and, landing safe in *Italy*, marched strait to *Rome*, which his approach threw into the utmost consternation; but count *Marinus* marching out to meet him, at the head of all the troops he could assemble, the usurper, seized with a sudden panic, betook himself to flight, and, hastening on board one of his vessels, returned alone to *Carthage*. Upon his flight, his men immediately submitted, and were received into favour by *Honorius*, who soon after published a law, dated the fifth of *July*, and addressed to the people of *Africa*, wherein he declared *Heraclianus* a public enemy, and empowered every one to apprehend him, and put him to death, where-ever they found him <sup>c</sup>. He was, soon after his return to *Carthage*, discovered by some soldiers in an ancient temple, and by them immediately cut in pieces <sup>d</sup>. His estate was confiscated, and bestowed upon *Constantius* <sup>e</sup> cut in pieces.

<sup>γ</sup> SID. l. v. ep. 9. p. 139.  
leg. 29. p. 322.

MARC. chron.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 1.

<sup>b</sup> OROS. p. 224.

<sup>c</sup> Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. 40. leg. 21. p. 320.

<sup>d</sup> OROS. ibid.

IPAT. chron.

<sup>e</sup> PHOT. c. 89. p. 185.

(A) From an ancient inscription discovered near *Sisteron* in *Provence*, it appears, that *Dardanus*, or *Claudius Postumius Dardanus*, as he is styled there, had been governor of *Vienne*, and its territory, prefect of *Gaul*, quæstor, and, in the end, raised to the rank of patrician; that his wife's name was *Nevia Galla*; and that his brother, *Claudius Lepidus*, who is distinguished in the inscription with the title of count, had been governor of Ger-

mania Prima, and treasurer. This inscription was made in honour of *Dardanus*, and his wife *Galla*, for having built a castle on a steep rock which stood on their estate, that the country-people, in the sudden irruptions of the barbarians, might have a safe place to retire to with their families and effects. This castle was then called *Theopolis*; but is known at present by the name of *Rochetaillé*.



The Burgundians allowed to settle in Gaul.

The same year the *Franks* made an irruption into *Gaul*, set fire to the city of *Treves*, and laid waste the neighbouring country <sup>f</sup>. The *Burgundians*, who had entered *Gaul* in 407. with the *Vandals* and *Alans*, made themselves this year masters of the country now known by the name of *Alsace* or *Alsatia*. *Constantius*, who had reduced the rest of *Gaul* after the death of the two usurpers *Constantine* and *Maxentius*, marched against them; but they demanding leave to settle in *Gaul*, as friends and allies of the *Roman* people, the *Roman* general, not caring to reduce them to despair, persuaded the emperor to grant them part of the country which they had conquered <sup>g</sup>. *Ataulphus* had promised to restore to *Honorius* his sister *Placidia*, taken prisoner in *Rome*, but treated by him, as she had been by *Alaric*, with the utmost respect. *Constantius*, hoping the emperor would give her to him in marriage, was continually pressing *Ataulphus* to comply with this article; but, as *Honorius* had not yet sent to the *Goths* the corn he had promised them, *Ataulphus*, who desired to marry *Placidia* himself, refused to part with her, till the emperor had executed his promise, which he was not at that time in a condition to do: however, the *Romans* promised to send the corn as soon as *Placidia* was restored, and *Ataulphus* to restore *Placidia* as soon as the corn was sent <sup>h</sup>.

*Ataulphus* makes himself master of Narbonne and Toulouse.

AFTER matters had continued for some time in this situation, *Ataulphus*, at last, thinking himself deluded by the *Romans*, began hostilities anew; and, having reduced the cities of *Narbonne* and *Toulouse*, advanced as far as *Marseilles*; but met there with such vigorous resistance from count *Bonifacius*, that he was forced to abandon the enterprise, and retire, after having lost great numbers of his men, and been himself wounded. From *Marseilles* he bent his march to *Bordeaux*, where he was received as a friend <sup>i</sup>. In the East, one *Lucius*, a pagan, who commanded the troops attending the court, provoked at the zeal of young *Theodosius* in extirpating idolatry, resolved to save it from utter ruin by assassinating his prince. With this design he went to the palace, and was thrice upon the point of drawing his sword; but was deterred from executing his wicked purpose by a woman of an extraordinary stature, and threatening aspect, who, as often as he put his hand to his sword, appeared to him, holding the em-

*Lucius attempts the life of Theodosius.*

<sup>f</sup> GREG. T. IV. l. ii. c. 9. p. 63. <sup>g</sup> OROS. c. 43. p. 224. VAL. p. 136. BUCH. de Belg. p. 440. COINT. annal. eccles. Fran. ann. 407. <sup>h</sup> PHOT. c. 80. p. 185. <sup>i</sup> RUTH. l. i. p. 137. PHOT. p. 185. VAE. ibid. HIER. ep. xi. p. 93.

peror in her arms (B). This year the city of *Constantinople* was surrounded with the walls, which *Socrates* styles the great nople *sur-walls*<sup>k</sup>. Those which had been built by *Constantine* the rounded *Great* were pulled down, and this new work, 20 miles in *with new* circuit, completed in two months<sup>l</sup>. But this we can hardly believe upon the authority of *Nicephorus*, an historian not much to be relied on. It was called the *new wall*, and the wall of *Theodosius*<sup>m</sup>. The emperor published this year several laws against the *Re-baptizers*, the *Eunomians*, the *Sabbatians*, and the *Protopaschites*, that is, against those, who, in the celebration of *Easter*, differed from the church as to the day, and therefore stiled themselves *Protopaschites*, as if they followed the primitive practice and institution.

THE next consuls were *Constantius* and *Constans*, both generals, the former in the West, and the latter in the East. This year the negotiations between *Honorius* and *Ataulphus*, interrupted by the taking of *Narbonne* and *Toulouse*, were resumed. But the more the *Goth* was pressed by *Constantius* to send back *Placidia*, the higher he raised his demands, that the emperor refusing to comply with them, he might have a more plausible excuse for detaining her. In the end, by means of one *Candidianus*, he prevailed upon her to marry *Ataulphus*; and the nuptials were celebrated at *Narbonne*, in the month of *January* of this year 414. with the utmost pomp and solemnity. *Placidia* appeared on that occasion sitting on a bed of state, and *Ataulphus* in the *Roman* dress. He yielded to the royal bride the most honourable place, and presented her with fifty basins filled with pieces of gold, and fifty with jewels and precious stones of an inestimable value, part of the spoils brought from *Rome*. *Attalus* assisted at the ceremony, and sung the *epithalamium*, or nuptial song<sup>n</sup>; a degrading function for one who had been vested with the imperial dignity! This marriage was generally looked upon as an accomplishment of *Daniel's* prophecy, that the king of

<sup>k</sup> SOCR. l. vii. c. 1. p. 334.<sup>l</sup> NICEPH. l. xiv. c. 1. p. 438.<sup>m</sup> CANGE de Conf. p. 38—40.<sup>n</sup> OLYMP. apud Phot. p. 188.

IDAT. chron.

(B) Thus *Damascus*, a pagan writer, who flourished about the latter end of the present century. *Photius*, who copied it from him, calls it a most remarkable event, and not to be questioned, since related by a pagan writer<sup>(1)</sup>: but it is not, however remarkable, taken notice of by any other historian.

(1) Phot. c. 242. p. 1072.

the north should marry the daughter of the king of the south (C). *Honorius* did not, it seems, consent to this marriage; *He obliges* for soon after *Ataulphus* obliged *Attalus* to resume the purple, and caused him to be acknowledged emperor by his *Goths*. *Attalus to resume the purple.* However, he wished for nothing so much as to conclude a lasting peace with *Honorius*; and seems to have set up *Attalus* anew, with no other design but to intimidate the emperor, and oblige him to grant to him, and his *Goths*, more favourable terms (D). But *Constantius*, and his party at court, defeated all the measures taken by *Ataulphus* and *Placidia* to bring about an accommodation: they would not suffer the emperor to hearken to any overtures, however reasonable; so that the war being renewed, *Ataulphus* was, in the end, obliged to quit *Gaul*, and retire into *Spain* (E). *Honorius* published a law this year, dated the twenty-third of *March*,  
*Ataulphus obliged to*

<sup>o</sup> IDAT. chron.  
 ibid.

<sup>p</sup> OLYMP. apud Phot. p. 184.

<sup>q</sup> Idem

(C) At *St. Gille* in *Languedoc* was found an inscription made by the neighbouring people in honour of *Ataulphus* and *Placidia*, their princes and sovereigns, as they are stiled, for having chosen *Heraclea*, that is, according to some, the present *St. Gille*, for the place of their residence (2). In this inscription, which both *Spon* and *du Cange* look upon as genuine, *Ataulphus* is stiled the most powerful king of kings, and the most just conqueror of conquerors: he is likewise commended for having driven out the *Vandals*, probably some of that nation, who had remained in *Gaul*. *Placidia* is stiled *Cæsarea*, as if she had enjoyed the rank and honours peculiar to the *Cæsars*.

(D) *Orosius* writes, that at first he had nothing less in view than the utter ruin of the *Roman* empire, and establishing the empire of the *Goths* in its room;

of giving the name of *Gothia* to that country, which was then called *Romania*, and founding such a monarchy among his countrymen, as *Augustus Cæsar* had introduced among the *Romans*: but being by long experience convinced, that the *Goths* were incapable of being governed by laws, he began to think, that the only means of acquiring a great name was to restore, instead of destroying, the *Roman* empire; and, with this view, he courted the friendship of *Honorius*, especially after he had by *Placidia*, his son, to whom he gave the name of *Theodosius* (3).

(E) *Valesius* is of opinion, that he withdrew in virtue of a treaty between him and *Constantius* (4); but the expression of *Orosius*, that "he was forced to quit *Gaul*," seems to import, that he was driven out by force (5).

(2) *Spon* p. 157. (3) *Oros.* l. vii. c. 43. p. 224.  
 l. iii. p. 130. (5) *Oros.* ibid.

(4) *Val. rer. Franc.*

forbidding any one to molest such as should take sanctuary in churches, on pain of being prosecuted and punished as guilty of high treason<sup>1</sup>. The law dated the twentieth of May <sup>quit Gaul, and retire into Spain.</sup> allows every one full liberty to kill such lions as they should find on their grounds, but not to hunt them, in order to take them alive, and sell them. These lions were kept for the public shews; but *the interest of our people*, says the emperor in that law, *must be preferred to our diversion*<sup>2</sup>.

WHILE these things passed in the West, *Pulcheria*, sister to the emperor *Theodosius*, being declared *Augusta* in the East, is declared on account of her extraordinary wisdom and piety, took upon *Augusta*, her the administration, *Anthemius* thinking her better qualified for it than himself, though she had just then entered only upon her the sixteenth year of her age, and was but two years older than the emperor. And truly, as she was endowed with most extraordinary parts, and eminent for piety, her administration proved equally advantageous to the state and the church. *Theodosius II.* excelled, perhaps, in piety and religion, even his grandfather *Theodosius the Great*, which all authors agree to have been in great part owing to the uncommon care *Pulcheria* took in inspiring him with those religious maxims, by which she ruled her own actions<sup>3</sup>. In the very beginning of her administration, she persuaded the young prince to dismiss the eunuch *Antiochus*, of whom hereafter, and to remit whatever was due to the exchequer from the year 368. to 407<sup>4</sup>.

THE following year, when *Honorius* was consul the tenth time, and *Theodosius* the sixth, *Theodosius* the son of *Ataulphus* and *Placidia* died in *Spain*, whither his father had retired with his *Goths*; and was buried in a silver coffin near *Barcelona*, in a place of prayer, says *Olympiodorus*<sup>5</sup>, that is, in a church. *Ataulphus* himself did not long survive him; for he was killed this very year at *Barcelona*, in the month of *August* or *September*, since the news of his death were brought to *Constantinople* on a *Friday* the twenty-fourth of the latter month<sup>6</sup>. He was stabbed in his stable by one of his own countrymen and domestics, named *Dobbius*, whose former master, a leading man among the *Goths*, *Ataulphus* had caused to be murdered several years before<sup>7</sup>. *Jornandes* supposes him to have waged war with the  *Vandals* in *Spain*, and to have been killed three years after he had reduced that country

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Just. l. i. tit. 12. leg. 2. p. 107. <sup>2</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 12. leg. 1. p. 392. <sup>3</sup> Soz. p. 800. <sup>4</sup> THEOPH. p. 70.

ISTID. Pelus. l. i. ep. 36. p. 11. Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. 28. p. 203.

<sup>5</sup> OLYMP. apud Phot. p. 88. <sup>6</sup> Idem ibid. PHILOSTORG.

l. xii. c. 4. p. 534. <sup>7</sup> Idem ibid.

by one *Vernulphus*, whose former master *Ataulphus* had murdered<sup>2</sup>. But in what relates to *Ataulphus*, we have all along followed *Olympiodorus*, a cotemporary historian, who, generally speaking, agrees with the other writers of those times. *Photius* has transmitted to us an abstract of his work. We are surprised, that *Giannone* in his history of the kingdom of *Naples*, should to his authority prefer that of *Jornandes*, a writer of a much later date, who seldom agrees with other historians, and often disagrees with himself. *Ataulphus*, in dying, charged his brother, not named by our historian, to send back *Placidia* to the *Romans*, and to live in friendship with them<sup>3</sup>. But the *Goths*, instead of his brother, chose for their king *Sigeric*, the brother of *Sarus*, who immediately ordered the six children that *Ataulphus* had had by a former wife, to be inhumanly murdered, revenging, by that piece of cruelty, the death of his brother<sup>4</sup>. He even obliged *Placidia* to walk with other captives twelve miles before his chariot. But he was assassinated by his own people the seventh day after his election<sup>5</sup>, and *Vallia* chosen in his room, after he had caused all those to be murdered who stood in competition with him for the crown<sup>6</sup>. This year *Theodosius*, by a law dated the seventh of *December*, excluded the pagans from all employments both civil and military<sup>7</sup>. By another law, dated the nineteenth of *October*, he deposed *Gamaliel*, patriarch of the *Jews*, for having abused his authority<sup>8</sup>. *Gamaliel* is supposed to have been the last patriarch of that nation, which was thenceforth governed by primates chosen by the councils of the provinces, whereas the patriarchal dignity was hereditary.

He is succeeded by *Sigeric*, who causes all his children to be murdered, and is murdered himself. The pagans excluded from all employments, both civil and military.

*Placidia* married to *Constantius*.

THIS year *Theodosius*, leaving *Constantinople* for the first time, after the twenty-second of *July*, retired to *Eudoxiopolis*, called formerly *Silymbria*, on the sea-coast between *Constantinople* and *Heraclea*, and continued partly there, partly at *Heraclea*, till the twenty-ninth of *September* 8. The following year 417. when *Honorius* was consul the eleventh time, and *Constantius* the second, the emperor, to reward the services of that brave general, gave him in marriage his sister *Placidia*; an honour to which he had been long aspiring. *Placidia* could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to give her consent; but the emperor, taking hold of her hand, gave it, in spite

<sup>2</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 31. p. 655.

<sup>3</sup> OLYMP. apud Phot.

p. 188. <sup>4</sup> Idem ibid. OROS. p. 224. Soz. l. ix. c. 9. p. 811.

<sup>5</sup> OLYMP. ibid. OROS. p. 224. <sup>6</sup> OROS. ibid. PROSP. chron.

<sup>7</sup> Cod. Theod. l. xxi. tit. 10. leg. 21. p. 293. <sup>8</sup> Idem tit. 8. leg.

22. p. 239. <sup>9</sup> SOCR. l. viii. c. 36. p. 381. Cod. Theod. chron. p. 163.

of her, to *Constantius* <sup>b</sup>. They were thus married on the first of *January* of the present year, when *Constantius* entered upon his second consulship. A few months after, *Honorius*, leaving *Ravenna*, repaired to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph, causing *Attalus*, brought for that purpose from *Lipari*, to walk before his chariot. When the triumph was over, *Attalus* was remanded to the place of his exile, and *Honorius* returned soon after to *Ravenna* <sup>c</sup>. In the East nothing remarkable happened this year, besides an earthquake, which overturned several houses at *Constantinople*, and the city of *Cybra* in *Phrygia* <sup>k</sup>.

THE following year, *Honorius* being consul the twelfth time, and *Theodosius* the eighth, *Vallia* died, leaving behind *Vallia* him one daughter, married to a *Suevian*, by whom she had king of the *Ricimer*, who completed the ruin of the Western empire. Goths The deceased prince was succeeded by *Theodoric*, called by *dies*, and some *Theodorus*, and by others *Theodorides* <sup>l</sup>. In the East one *is succeed-* *Plintha*, by nation a *Goth*, revolted, but was defeated in *Pa-* *ed by* *læstine* <sup>m</sup>; which is all we know of this war. *Plintha*, not- *Theodo-* withstanding his defeat, must have concluded an advantageous *ric*. peace with *Theodosius*; for he was raised the following year to the consular dignity, and preferred to the post of general of the *Roman* horse and foot, in which he acquitted himself with great reputation and fidelity <sup>n</sup>. In the consulship he had *Monaxius* for his colleague, another of *Theodosius*'s officers; so that both consuls were, in 419. subjects of the Eastern empire, as they had been in 417. of the Western. Of the two consuls, one was, generally speaking, chosen in the East, the other in the West; and he named the first, who was first in rank: if they were equal, each named in the first place his own consul. This year *Honorius*, by a law dated from *Ravenna* the twenty-second of *November*, extended the right and privileges of an asylum to all places within fifty paces of the church, declaring those guilty of sacrilege, who should arrest any one within that space <sup>o</sup>.

ON the second or third of *July* of this year, *Placidia* was *Valenti-* delivered at *Ravenna* of a son, who was named *Valentinian*, *nian III.* and succeeded *Honorius* in the empire <sup>p</sup>. Nothing happened *born.* this year in the East, which historians have thought worthy of notice, except an attempt upon the life of *Aetius*, prefect of *Constantinople*, who was attacked by an assassin, named

Year of the flood  
2868.  
Of Christ  
418.

Of Rome  
1216.

<sup>b</sup> OLYMP. p. 192. <sup>c</sup> Cod. Theod. chron. p. 164. <sup>k</sup> Chron. Alex. p. 718. <sup>l</sup> JORN. p. 659. OLYMP. p. 193. <sup>m</sup> PHI-  
LOST. l. xii. c. 8. p. 166. <sup>n</sup> SACR. l. v. c. 23. p. 292. <sup>o</sup> Cod.  
Theod. p. 36. <sup>p</sup> IDAT. MARC. PROSP. OLYMP. p. 192.  
CANGE Byz. fam. p. 66, 67.

*Ovryachus*, as he was returning from the great church <sup>9</sup>. We are not told what gave occasion to this attempt, nor what became of the assassin. By a law, dated the twenty-fourth of September, *Theodosius* declared those guilty of death, who should teach the barbarians the art of building ships, to which they were yet strangers <sup>1</sup>.

THE following year, when *Theodosius* was consul the ninth time, with *Constantius* the third, the army mutinied in the East, and put to death their general, by name *Maximinus*, as we read in the chronicle of *Marcellinus*: but of this mutiny no mention is made by any other writer.

Constantius is raised to the empire, but dies soon after.

Year of the flood 2871.

Of Christ 421.

Of Rome 1219.

Theodosius marries Eudocia.

Her birth, education, &c.

In the West nothing remarkable happened this year; but, under the following consuls *Agricola* and *Eustatius*, the emperor *Honorius*, on the eighth of February, raised *Constantius* to the imperial dignity, declared him his colleague, and gave the title of *Augusta* to his wife *Placidia* <sup>2</sup>. The images of *Constantius* and *Placidia* were sent to *Constantinople*, with the news of their promotion; but *Theodosius* refused, for what reason we know not, to acknowledge them; which would have kindled a war between the two empires, had not *Constantius* died soon after, that is, on the second of September, after having reigned seven months wanting six days. He was

buried at *Ravenna*, where he died of a pleurisy, in a mausoleum, built by his widow *Placidia*, near the church of St. *Vitalis* <sup>3</sup>. The same year the emperor *Theodosius* married *Eudocia* on the seventh of June, on which occasion there were great rejoicings at *Constantinople* <sup>4</sup>. *Eudocia* was the daughter of an *Athenian* philosopher, by name *Heraclitus*, upon whose death her two brothers *Gesius* and *Aurelianus* defrauding her of the share that was due to her of her father's estate, she went to *Constantinople* to implore the protection of *Pulcheria*. As she had been instructed by her father with extraordinary care in several languages, and in every branch of literature, and was besides remarkable for her beauty and engaging behaviour, *Pulcheria*, after several conferences with her, began to think her a proper match for her brother *Theodosius*, whom accordingly she persuaded to marry her. Thus the modern Greeks; but the antient writers tell us, that she was the daughter, not of the philosopher *Heraclitus*, but of *Leontius*, an *Athenian* sophist, or professor of eloquence at *Athens* <sup>5</sup>. Before the nuptials were celebrated, *Theodosius*

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Alex. p. 720.

p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> THEOPH. p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> PHILOST. l. xii. c. 12.

<sup>4</sup> MABIL. it. Ital. p. 39, 40.

<sup>5</sup> Chron. Alex. p. 724.

<sup>6</sup> Cod. Theod. l. ii. tit. 40. leg. 24.

OLYMP. p. 192. MAR. chron.

OLYMP. p. 193. IDAT. chron.

<sup>7</sup> Socr.

l. vii. p. 360.

caused her to be baptized by *Atticus*, bishop of *Constantinople*, who changed the name of *Athenais*, which she bore before, into that of *Eudocia*<sup>a</sup>. As *Eudocia* had been brought up to letters, she used to divert herself with making verses; and this very year she composed a poem on the victory gained by the *Romans* over the *Persians*<sup>2</sup>; of which hereafter (F). The two brothers of *Eudocia*, informed of her good fortune, and conscious to themselves of their behaviour towards her, absconded; but she, instead of resenting the injury they had done her, invited them both to court, and raised them to great preferments<sup>3</sup>. What *Codinus*, a modern *Greek* author, writes of the seven philosophers, who, he says, attended *Eudocia* to *Constantinople*, has the air of a fable<sup>b</sup>.

THIS year the peace, which had long subsisted between the *Romans* and *Persians*, was broken, and a war kindled between the two empires on the following occasion. *Vararanes V.* who in 420. had succeeded his father *Isdegerdes* in the kingdom of *Persia*, having, at the instigation of the *Magi*, raised a bloody persecution against the *Christians* in his dominions, great numbers of them took refuge in the *Roman* territories, and repaired to *Constantinople*, where they were received with great kindness by *Atticus*, bishop of that city, and by him recommended to the emperor, who was so far

<sup>a</sup> EVAG. l. i. c. 20. p. 297. <sup>2</sup> SOCR. l. vii. c. 21. p. 360.  
<sup>3</sup> ZONAR. p. 44. Chron. Alex. p. 724. <sup>b</sup> Vide CODIN. de off. Constantin. eccles. p. 30, 31.

(F) She likewise put into hexameter verse the five books of *Moses*, with those of *Joshua*, of the *Judges*, and of *Ruth*. This performance, which consisted of eight books, is highly commended by *Photius*, as is likewise the paraphrase, which the same prince wrote in verse upon the prophecies of *Zachariah* and *Daniel*, and *Photius* found, with a poem on St. *Cyprian* and St. *Justin*, done, without all doubt, says that writer; by the same hand (6). The reader will find in *Photius* a long abstract of that poem (7). *Zonaras* mentions another work

of the same empress, which he calls *Homer's rhapsody*. It contained the history of our Saviour, and intirely consisted of verses borrowed from *Homer*. It was begun by a patrician, says *Zonaras*, but ended by *Eudocia* (8). Some take this patrician to have been one *Pelagius*, who was killed in the reign of *Zeno*, about the year 480. and is said to have been the author of a rhapsody (9). But he was a pagan, as appears from *Cedrenus* (1), and consequently can hardly be thought to have been the author of that work, or any part of it.

*Phot.* c. 133. f. 413—416.  
 p. 37. *Conc. Byz. fam.* p. 71.  
 p. 354.

(7) *Idem.* p. 420.

(8) *Zon.*

(9) *Vell. post. Græc.* p. 78.



from delivering them up when re-demanded by the *Persian* ambassadors, that, on the contrary, he declared his resolution of defending them, and the religion they professed, with the whole strength of the empire. Some misunderstanding had before arisen between the two princes, the *Persian* king refusing to send back some workmen, whom he had hired out of the *Roman* territories, to dig in mines of gold, which he had lately discovered. Besides, the *Persians* had plundered and insulted some *Roman* merchants trading to their country <sup>a</sup>.

NarSES,  
the Persian  
general,  
defeated  
by Arda-  
burius.

UPON these provocations, as *Vararanes* continued to persecute the Christians in his dominions, *Theodosius* proclaimed war with the *Persians*; and without loss of time, dispatched *Ardaburius*, an *Alan* by nation, at the head of a considerable army, into *Azazene*, a *Persian* province beyond the *Tigris*, which he laid waste, after having gained a complete victory over *NarSES*, whom the king of *Persia* had sent with a numerous army to oppose him. The battle was fought on the third of *September*, and the news of the victory brought on the sixth of the same month to *Constantinople*, tho' seven hundred miles distant from the borders of *Persia*, by a famous courier of those times, named *Palladius*. He traveled with the same surprising expedition to what part soever he was sent; whence of him it was pleasantly said, that he had found means to reduce the *Roman* empire to a petty state <sup>d</sup>. *NarSES*, after his defeat, abandoning the province of *Azazene* to the mercy of the enemy, marched with incredible expedition into *Mesopotamia*, with a design to invade the empire on that side, which was then destitute of troops, and unprepared for a defence. <sup>e</sup> But *Ardaburius*, aware of his design, followed him close, and obliged him to shelter himself within the walls of *Nisibis*, which place he immediately besieged. In the meantime, the king of *Persia*, having received intelligence of the defeat of his general, and the danger both he and the city of *Nisibis* were in, assembled all his forces; and, entering *Mesopotamia*, laid siege to *Theodosiopolis*, with a design to divert *Ardaburius* from that of *Nisibis*. But the besieged, having at their head *Eunomius*, bishop of the place, defended it with such vigour and resolution, that the *Persians*, after having battered it with an incredible number of machines for a whole month without intermission, were obliged to drop the enterprize, and retire <sup>c</sup>. The enemy were soon after reinforced with a numberless multitude of *Saracens*, under the conduct of *Alamundarus*, a renowned warrior, who, to raise the drooping spirits of the *Persian* monarch, boasted, that in

Ardabu-  
rius be-  
sieves Ni-  
sibis;  
and the  
king of  
Persia  
Theodo-  
siopolis:

<sup>c</sup> Socr. l. vii. c. 18. p. 353.

<sup>d</sup> Socr. c. 19. p. 557, 558.

<sup>e</sup> Idem ibid. THEODORET. l. v. c. 37. p. 243.

a short time he would deliver into his hands, not only the Romans who besieged *Nisibis*, but *Antioch* itself, the metropolis of *Syria*. But not long after, his men, being seized with a panic, and not knowing whither to fly, threw themselves headlong into the *Euphrates*, where an hundred thousand of them are said to have perished. The Romans, seized at the same time with the like fear, upon a false report, that the king of *Persia* was advancing to the relief of *Nisibis* with a great number of elephants, burnt all their machines, raised the siege, and retired in the utmost confusion into the Roman dominions †.

THE following year, when *Honorius* was consul the thirteenth time, and *Theodosius* the tenth, the war was pursued with uncommon success against the *Persians*. From *Socrates*, who only hints at the military preparations, as foreign to his main purpose, it appears, that *Ariabindus*, one of the Roman generals, killed in a single combat a *Persian* famed for his valour; that *Ardaburius* put to the sword seven *Persian* commanders, surprised in an ambuscade; and that *Avitianus* cut in pieces the few *Saracens* who had escaped being drowned in the *Euphrates* &c. Notwithstanding these advantages, *Theodosius*, imagining the *Persians*, thus weakened and disheartened, would hearken to an accommodation, and give over persecuting the Christians, in whose defence he had taken arms, sent ambassadors to *Vararanes*, with very reasonable proposals; which the *Persian* would have accepted with joy, had he not been diverted from it by the *Immortals*, that is, a corps of ten thousand chosen men, so called, because they had never been conquered. These persuaded the king to keep the Romans in suspense, with a design to surprise them in the mean time; for they imagined they would not at that juncture be upon their guard. With this view they divided themselves into two bodies, one of which lay concealed among the woods, while the other advanced in order to attack the enemy, and draw them into the ambuscade; but *Procopius*, who commanded a separate body of Romans, observing their motions from an eminence where he was posted, and apprised of their design, attacked them in the rear, while *Ardaburius* charged them in front; by which means they were surrounded, and all to a man put to the sword. *Vararanes* was no sooner informed of this new calamity, than, calling the Roman ambassadors, he agreed to the terms they had proposed, and concluded a peace with the empire for an hundred years; which lasted, according to *Evagrius*, till the twelfth year of the

but are  
both seized  
with a  
panic, and  
retire.

The Ro-  
mans gain  
great ad-  
vantages  
over the  
Persians.  
Year of  
the flood  
2872.  
Of Christ  
422.  
Of Rome  
1220.

A peace  
concluded  
between  
the Ro-  
mans and

† SOCR. l. vii. p. 357—360.

‡ Idem, c. 18. p. 357.

Persians  
for 100  
years.

reign of *Anastasius*; that is, to the year 502<sup>h</sup>. The chief article of this treaty was, that the *Persian* king should recal the banished Christians, restore them to their estates, and put a stop to the cruel persecution he had raised against them.

Placidia  
obliged to  
quit the  
court, and  
retire into  
the East,  
with her  
son Valen-  
tinian.  
Honorius  
dies.

Year of  
the flood  
2873.  
Of Christ  
423.  
Of Rome  
1221.

THE following year, when *Marinianus* and *Asclepiodotus* were consuls, a misunderstanding arose between *Honorius* and his sister *Placidia*, whom the emperor had entertained at court, ever since the death of her husband *Constantius*, with such tenderness and affection, as gave occasion to some very scandalous reflections. Some authors write, that the great sway she bore in the administration giving no small jealousy to the other courtiers, they persuaded the emperor, that she corresponded privately with the *Goths*, who still looked upon her as their queen, and betrayed to him all his counsels<sup>i</sup>. However that be, it is certain, that the extraordinary affection he had hitherto shewn her being this year changed into an aversion no less extraordinary, *Placidia* thought it adviseable to quit the court, and retire, with her son *Valentinian*, and her daughter *Honorina*, to *Constantinople*; where she was kindly received by her nephew *Theodosius*, tho' he had formerly refused to acknowledge her husband *Constantius* for emperor, and to give her the title of *Augusta*<sup>k</sup>. Soon after, *Honorius* died at *Ravenna* of a dropsy, having reigned twenty-eight years since the death of his father *Theodosius*, and thirty-one since the time he was first created *Augustus*. He died, according to *Theophanes*, on the fifteenth, according to *Olympiodorus*, on the twenty-seventh of *August*, of the present year 423<sup>l</sup>. His body is said to have been found in 1542. with those of his two wives, *Alexia* and *Thermantia*, the daughters of *Stilicho*, in the church of *S. Peter* at *Rome*<sup>m</sup>. If so, it must have been conveyed thither from *Ravenna*, where his mausoleum, supposed to have been built by his sister *Placidia*, is still to be seen. Of the writers who flourished in his reign, we shall speak in our note (G). *Honorius* no sooner expired, than an

express

<sup>h</sup> EVAGR. l. i. c. 19. p. 276. THEODOR. l. v. c. 39. p. 245. SOCR. c. 21. p. 359. <sup>i</sup> OLYMP. p. 196. <sup>k</sup> Idem ibid. CASSIOD. chron. <sup>l</sup> THEOPH. p. 72. OLYMP. ibid. <sup>m</sup> MAMILL. it. Ital. p. 145.

(G) Under *Honorius* flourished *Olympiodorus*, who wrote in *Greek* the history of that prince, from the year 407. the thirteenth of his reign, to his death. His work consisted of twenty-two books, and was inscribed to *Theodosius II. or the younger* (2). The reader will find an abstract of it in *Photius* (3), who censures

express was dispatched to *Theodosius* with the news of his death, which that prince concealed for some days, and, in the mean time,

the stile as low, and altogether unworthy of an historian. However, both *Zosimus* and *Sozomen* seem to have copied it in several places, with some alteration in the phrase and expression. The author was a native of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, and a pagan by religion. He was sent, with others, in 392. on an embassy to a king of the *Huns*, named *Doratus*. Of this voyage (for he went by sea) he gives us an account, and likewise of his journey to *Athens*, and of another to *Syene* in *Egypt*, and to the country of the *Blemyes* (4). This is all we know of him. *Renatus Profuturus Prigeridus* wrote likewise the history of the reign of *Honorius*, from the year 406. to the death of that prince: but of his work only a few passages have reached our times, quoted by *Gregory of Tours* (5). *Claudian* may be ranked among the historians who have written of *Honorius*; for of him we have learnt several particulars of that prince's reign. He was a native of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, as he himself tells us in different places (6), and not the son of a merchant at *Florence*, as some modern writers have endeavoured to prove. He first applied himself to *Greek* poetry; and a fragment of a poem written in that language on the battle of the *Ants* has reached our times (7). His first *Latin* poem was on the consulship of the two brothers

*Olybrius* and *Probinus*, who were consuls in 395. He continued to write on different subjects till the sixth consulship of *Honorius* in 404. He was sent by the citizens of *Rome* in 396. to congratulate *Honorius* on his third consulship (8). He was honoured by the *Roman* senate with a statue, which, in consideration of his excellency in poetry, was erected in the square of *Trajan* (9). This honour was conferred upon him before he wrote his poem on the battle of *Pollentia*, fought in 403 (1). He was then tribune and notary, or secretary of state, and enjoyed the title of *clarissimus*, which was given to the *Roman* senators. Having, by means of *Serena*, *Stilicho's* wife, married a lady possessed of great wealth in *Africa*, he thenceforth became a professed admirer, or rather adorer, of that great general and statesman, inveighing at the same time with much bitterness against his rivals *Junus* and *Eutropius* (2); neither does he spare his countryman *Adrian*, who was *praefectus praetorio* in 405. and 412. having probably been ill used by him; for, in an epistle addressed to him to appease his wrath, he complains, that his family was undone; that of his friends some had been put to the rack, and others banished; and that he himself was reduced to beggary (3). To avoid the ill treatment he met with from *Adri-*

(4) *Pbot.* p. 177 — 193. p. 62 — 64.

(5) *Claud.* p. 236.

(6) *Claud.* p. 39.

(7) *Idem*, epig. 29. p. 261.

(8) *Creg. Tur. hist. Franc.* l. ii. c. 9. p. 238.

(9) *Idem*, epig. 9. p. 241.

(1) *Idem*, epig. 9. p. 241.

(2) *Idem*, ep. 2. p. 233.

(3) *Idem*, ep. 1. p. 357.

time, gave private orders to a body of troops to advance into the neighbourhood of *Salonæ* in *Palmatia*, that they might be

an, he retired, perhaps, to the East; for *Evagrius* ranks him among the poets who flourished under *Theodosius II* (4). He was, as appears from his poems, an adorer of *Jupiter*, and all the other pagan gods. *Orosius* calls him most obstinate pagan; but at the same time commends him as an excellent poet (5). *St. Austin* likewise speaks of him as a person greatly attached to the pagan superstition (6). Hence such pieces, as contain Christian sentiments, are, by the best critics, thought not to have been written by him, tho' they pass under his name, but perhaps by *Claudian Mamertus*, a Christian poet of *Vi.*

*Baillet* prefers *Claudian* to all the poets, who have written ever since the age of *Augustus*, tho' he is not, in the opinion of that writer, without some faults. His stile is sometimes flat, and sometimes sublime, and most of his poems filled with youthful fallies (7). In all his poems there are several most beautiful passages. His invectives, especially the two books against *Eutropius*, are most esteemed by the learned (8). It is uncertain, whether or no the poem on mount *Atna* was written by him. *Rutilius*, or, as he is stiled at the head of his poem, *Rutilius Claudius Numatianus*, flourished in the reign of *Honorius*. He was a native of *Gaul*, according to some, of *Toulouse*. His father

had been governor of *Hetruria*, quaestor, *comes largitionum*, and prefect (9). The *Hetruscans*, by whom he was greatly beloved, on account of his good-nature, and impartiality in the administration of justice, erected several statues to his honour at *Pisa*, and in other places. He was dead when his son wrote his poem. *Rutilius* bore two of the greatest employments in the state, to wit, the office of *magister officiorum*, and that of prefect of *Rome* (1). In his poem he declares himself a pagan, and a sworn enemy to the monks, especially to those who lived in the island of *Capraria* or *Capraia*, on the coast of *Tuscany*. A young nobleman of his acquaintance having renounced a plentiful estate, and abandoned his friends, relations, and even his wife, to lead a retired life among them (2). *Rutilius* left *Rome*, where he had lived many years, to return to *Gaul*, where he had not been ever since the barbarians entered that country in 407. He set out from *Rome* in 417, or 420. about the month of *October*; and, embarking on the *Tiber*, repaired to *Porto*, where he waited a whole fortnight for the new moon, and setting of the *Pleiades* (3). Those who are skilled in astronomy, may learn from thence the precise year and day of his departure. In 417, and 420. it was new moon in the latter end of *October*. At

(4) *Evag.* l. i. c. 19. p. 278.  
*civ. Dei*, l. v. c. 26. p. 142.

p. 485—492.

(5) *Idem*, p. 131. 138.

(6) *Idem*, p. 490. 491.

(7) *Idem*, p. 137.

(8) *Oros.* l. vii. c. 35. p. 221.

(9) *Baill. jugemens de sçavans*, tom. vi.

(1) *Rut.* p. 128. 137. 139.

(2) *Idem*, p. 131. 132.

be ready at hand to prevent the disturbances, which, he apprehended, would be raised in the West by the death of Ho-

*Porto*, twelve miles distant from *Rome*, he heard, or imagined to hear, the shouts of the people in the circus. He embarked there on board a small vessel, for the convenience of landing when he pleased to visit his friends, and of lying every night ashore (4). He landed at *Circumcellæ*, now *Civita Vecchia*, and went to view certain hot waters three miles from thence, called the baths of *Taurus*. Putting to sea again, he discovered the ruins of *Gravisæ*, and *Cosa*, or *Cassa*, two cities famous in former ages. The inhabitants of the latter are said to have been forced by prodigious swarms of rats, to quit their habitations, and abandon the place of their nativity (5). He came ashore likewise at *Port-Ercole*, beyond which he saw the island of *Elba*, more useful, says he, on account of its iron mines, than the *Tagus* for its golden sands. From *Port-Ercole* he pursued his voyage to *Piombino*, and from thence to *Volterra*, where he went to see the fine house of *Albinus* prefect of *Rome*, and the salt pits at a small distance from it. At *Volterra* he found *Vistorinus* his intimate friend, who, having abandoned *Toulouse*, the place of his nativity, after the settling of the *Goths* there, had retired to *Italy*, and led a country-life in the neighbourhood of *Volterra*. He had been formerly vicar to the prefect of *Britain*, which office he discharged to the

great satisfaction of the people. *Honorius*, upon his retiring from *Toulouse*, had invited him to court, and given him the title of *count*; but he preferred a retired life to all the honours the emperor could confer upon him (6). From *Volterra* he sailed to the island of *Gorgona*, and from thence to the port of *Pisa*, where he landed, and went to the city of *Pisa*, to see one of his old friends, by name *Protadius*, who, having lost a great estate in *Gaul*, seized, no doubt, by the barbarians, enjoyed greater happiness on a small farm he had in *Umbria*, than he had ever done when possessed of immense wealth, and large territories, in his own country. He had been prefect of *Rome*, and had been distinguished with several other great employments (7). Several letters written to him by *Symmachus* have reached our times (8). From the port of *Pisa*, where *Rutilius* was obliged to continue some time, by reason of the bad weather, he pursued his voyage to *Portus Lunæ*, now *Lerice*, as is commonly believed (9). Thus far his *itinerary*, that is, the poem in which he describes his voyage. It was divided into two books, of which the latter is almost entirely lost. It has all the elegance and beauty that can be expected in a performance of that unpolished age, and informs us of several things relating to the history of those times (1). Some gross mistakes,

(4) *Rut.* p. 131, 132.

(5) *Idem.* p. 133.

(6) *Idem.* p. 137.

(7) *Idem.* p. 138.

(8) *Sym.* l. iv. cp. 17. 34. 57. p. 150. 174. cp. 3.

32, 336.

(9) *Rut.* p. 141.

(1) *Voss. hist. Lat.* l. iii. c. 2. p. 740.

*norius*, who had left no children to succeed him. Having taken this step, he made public the death of his uncle, and at the

that are to be found in it, are, without all doubt, owing partly to the transcribers, partly to ignorant critics, who have strangely mangled and confounded several passages. The author betrays, throughout the whole work, an inveterate hatred both to the *Jews* and Christians; whence we may conclude *Lachalius*, *Lucilius*, and his other heroes, to have been pagans. *Lucilius* wrote some satires, in no respect inferior, if we may depend upon the judgment of *Rutilius*, to those of *Turnus* and *Juvenal* (2); but none of them have reached our times. One *Flavius*, said by St. *Jerom* to have written in verse a treatise on physic, is supposed by *Vossius* to have flourished in the reign of *Honorius*, and likewise the author of a comedy, stiled *Querulus Plauti*, which is inscribed to one *Rutilius* (3). About this time flourished *Macrobius*, or, as he is stiled at the head of his works, *Aurelius Theodosius Ambrosius Macrobius*; for all the persons he introduces in his *Saturnalia*, lived under *Theodosius I.* and his son *Honorius*. He was born in a country where the *Latin* tongue was not common, that is, in *Greece*, or in the *East* (4). To his name is added, in an antient manuscript, the word *Sicetinus*, denoting perhaps his country (5); but to us quite unknown. He is distinguished with the title of *illustrious*, peculiar to

the first officers of the empire (6). Hence most writers conclude him to be the *Macrobius*, who was great chamberlain to *Theodosius II.* in 422. for whose sake that prince equaled the office of great chamberlain to those of the *praefectus praetorio*, and the *magister militiae* (7). But against this opinion may be objected, that *Macrobius*, the author of the *Saturnalia*, had a son, by name *Eustathius*; whereas the great chamberlains were, generally speaking, eunuchs. Besides, we cannot persuade ourselves, that *Theodosius II.* would have suffered a pagan (for such was the writer we are speaking of) to enjoy that office, which obliged him to be always about the emperor's person. The opinion of those is better founded, who suppose the *Macrobius*, who was proconsul of *Africa* in 410. to be the author of the *Saturnalia*. One *Macrobius* was vicar of *Spain* in 399. and 400. but stripped of his employment, and punished for some neglect with respect to the posts (8). The work by which *Macrobius* is chiefly known, is his *Saturnalia*, that is, a collection of antiquities made by him for the instruction of his son, and supposed to have been uttered in a familiar conversation among friends, during the *Saturnalia*, or the feasts of *Saturn*. The persons he introduces were the most famous then at *Rome* for their learning and erudition.

(2) *Rut. p.* 137.  
*Sat. l. i. c. 8. p.* 161.  
*p.* 1:9.  
. 61. *p.* 565.

(3) *Voss. bist. Lat. l. iii. c. 2. p.* 746.

(5) *Witb. append. ad dypt. Leod. p.* 4.

(7) *Cod. Theod. tit. 2. p.* 82.

(8) *Iacm. l. viii. tit. 3.*

(4) *Macrobius*  
(6) *Macrobius*

the same time caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of the West in his room <sup>n.</sup>

THEO-  
DORUS  
himself to  
be pro-  
claimed  
emperor of  
the West.

OLYMP. p. 196. SOCR. l. ii. c. 23. p. 363. IDAT. chron.

He addresses his work to his son, for whose sake he undertook it. He relates most things in the terms of the authors from whom he borrowed them, by reason he could not express himself with ease in the *Latin* tongue; and truly, when he speaks himself, he plainly betrays his small knowledge of that language (9). Besides the *Saturnalia*, he wrote two books on the dream of *Scipio*, which he likewise inscribed to his son, for whose instruction he undertook that, as he had done the other work. These two books were translated into *Greek* by *Maximus*, surnamed *Planudes* (1). Another book passes under the name of *Macrobius*, on the conformity and disagreement of the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues (2). *Macrobius* wrote indeed a book on that subject; but the work which has reached our times, was done by *John Erigines*, who flourished in the ninth century, and followed the plan of *Macrobius*, whom he copied, changing some things, and adding many of his own (3). One of the chief persons introduced by *Macrobius* in his *Saturnalia*, is *Servius*, who had lately begun to teach polite literature at *Rome*, and is painted as a person of great learning, and at the same time universally beloved on account of his modesty (4). He is introduced speaking

mostly of *Virgil*, whose inimitable *Æneid* he explained daily to the *Roman* youth. *Maurus Servius Honoratus*, the author of the learned comment on that poet, is, without all doubt, the *Servius* of *Macrobius*; but most authors are of opinion, that what has reached us, is but an abridgement of that learned work; nay, some take it to have been compiled from *Servius*, and several other antient critics. It is generally held in great esteem, tho' not quite free from faults (5). In the fifth or sixth century flourished a grammarian, named *Martianus Mineus Felix Capella*, who published several philological pieces, partly in prose, and partly in verse, which are still extant, and divided into seven books. He is said in the manuscript copies to have been honoured with the proconsular dignity. He was a native of *Carthage*; and truly his barbarous and uncouth style plainly shews, that he was no *Roman*. In his allegorical marriage of *Mercury* with the sciences, there is a great deal of erudition; but the invention is low and mean (6). *Securus Melior Felix*, who professed the Christian religion, and taught rhetoric at *Clermont in Auvergne*, was at the trouble of correcting in 534. one of the copies of *Capella's* works. *Felix* is styled in

Vide Baillet. tom. ii. p. 27, 28.

(1) Idem, p. 601, 604, 736.

(2) Idem, l. vii. c. 7. p. 478.

(3) Vide Baillet. tom. ii. p. 712, 713.

(4) Macrobius, p. 17.

(5) Idem, Sat. l. i. c. 2. p. 166.

(6) Idem, p. 29 — 32.

(7) Idem,

(8) Idem,

(9) Idem,



John, the  
deceased  
emperor's  
chief se-  
cretary,  
assumes  
the purple.

THIS did not deter *John*, the deceased emperor's chief secretary, from assuming the purple in *Rome*, being, no doubt, encouraged in his usurpation by *Cassinus*, then commander in chief of all the troops in the West; for he was afterwards disgraced and banished, as one of the usurper's chief friends and abettors. The new tyrant was immediately acknowledged, not only in *Rome* and *Italy*, but likewise in *Gaul* and *Dal-*

that manuscript *V. SP. Com. C. fist.* that is, *Vir spectabilis, com. consistorianus*, a man of rank and one of the consistorial, or the emperor's counsellors (7). *Cappella* was greatly esteemed in *France* about the end of the sixth century, as appears from *Gregory of Tours* (8). *Sophater Charisius*, who published five books of observations on the grammar, still extant, flourished, according to *Baillet*, in the time of *Honorius*, and before him a grammarian named *Diomedes*, whose works have likewise reached our times; but strangely mangled by *Johannes Casarius*, who published them, with many observations of his own. *Charisius* is quoted by *Priestian*, who wrote about the end of the fifth century (9). About the same time *Fabius Fulgentius Planciades* published an explication of some words, addressed to one *Calcidius*, another grammarian. He is styled, and indeed deservedly, both by *Vossius* (1) and *Baillet* (2), one of the most ignorant, impertinent, and trifling authors that ever wrote. He ascribes to *Tacitus*, and other writers, works never before heard of. *Cave* calls him an arrant trifler (3); and all other critics speak of him with the utmost contempt. In the reign of *The-*

*odosius* I. or his children, was published, as is commonly believed, what we call the map or tables of *Peutinger*, which are a kind of itinerary made by some quarter-master, if we may so call him, for the use of those who conducted the *Roman* troops from one place to another. The author seems to have been altogether ignorant, both of geography and mathematics. These tables belonged to one *Conrad Peutinger* in *Augsburg*, and are thence called the tables of *Peutinger*; but they were published by *Velfer*, who had them engraved by *John Moret* of *Antwerp*. The reader will find them in the *theatrum geographicum* of *Bretius*, published at *Amsterdam* in 1619, and among *Velfer*'s works, published at *Nuremberg* in 1682. A civilian, by name *Eusebius*, described the war of *Gainas* in a poem, which he styled *Gainades*; and the same subject was handled by another poet, named *Ammonius*, who read it to *Theodosius* II. in 438. Both these poems were greatly esteemed (4); but neither of them has reached our time. *Vossius* supposes them to have been written in the *Greek* tongue, and ranks the authors among the *Greek* poets (5).

(7) *Witt.* p. 4.

(8) *Vide Voss.* p. 713, 714.

(9) *Vide Bail.* tom. iii.

p. 30—4.

(1) *Voss. bist. Lat. l. i. c. 30.* p. 159.

(2) *Bail.* p. 38.

(3) *Cave script. eccl.* p. 24.

(4) *Ser.* p. 309.

(5) *Pid.*

*Witt. Græc. l. i. c. 9.* p. 77, 78.

*matia* ; which encouraged him to dispatch ambassadors to *Theodosius*, to acquaint him with his promotion : but that prince refusing to acknowledge him, and having even ordered his ambassadors to be arrested, and thrown into prison, he began to prepare for war, and sent the famous *Aetius*, with large sums, to draw the *Hunns* over to his assistance. That celebrated commander, who governed the Western empire with an absolute sway during the reign of *Valentinian III.* was a native of *Doroferum* in *Mæsur*, and the son of *Gaudentius*, who, tho' by birth a *Scythian*, was raised to the highest employments in the empire, and married an *Italian* lady of great distinction, called by some *Italia* °. By her he had *Aetius*, who served at first among the emperor's domestics, or the troops of his household, and was given as an hostage to *Alaric*, after the battle of *Pollentia* in 403. and afterwards to the *Hunns*, with whose chiefs he, by that means, became acquainted. Upon his return from the country of the *Hunns*, he married the daughter of *Carpilio*, captain of the guards ; and had by her two sons, *Gaudentius*, who, after the death of *Valentinian*, was taken by *Genferic*, and *Carpilio*, whom *Valentinian* sent with the character of ambassador to *Attila* P. *Aetius* was a person of a majestic mien, of a tall stature, and a robust constitution, which enabled him to bear with patience the greatest fatigues and toils attending a military life. He is no less commended by the antients on account of his prudence, address, and penetration in state-affairs, than for his courage, intrepidity, and experience in war. He was quite free from avarice, had but little ambition, and was such a lover of justice, that no recommendations, however pressing, were capable of making him swerve from what to him appeared equitable. Such is the character given him by *Frigeridus*, a writer who flourished in his time, as quoted by *Gregory of Tours* 4. *Procopius* writes, that *Aetius* and *Bonifacius*, who defended, as we have observed above, *Marseilles*, when attacked by *Ataulphus*, were the two greatest commanders in the whole empire, and that they deserved to be called the last *Romans* 5. *John*, upon his usurping the empire, committed to *Aetius* the care of his palace ; and then sent him to engage the *Hunns* in his cause, with orders to fall upon the rear of the troops of *Theodosius*, if they entered *Italy*, while he himself charged them in front 6. On the

*Aetius's character.*

*He sides with the usurper.*

\* VAL. rer. Franc. l. iii. p. 220. P CASSIOD. l. i. ep. 4. p. 4. PRIS. leg. p. 53. SIDON. p. 169. OROS. p. 305. ° GREG. TUR. p. 50. P PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 183. 5 OLYMP. p. 96. PROSP. chron.

second of *January* of the present year, *Eudocia* was declared *Augusta* <sup>1</sup>.

THE next consuls were *Cassius* and *Victor* (H). This year *Theodosius*, having drawn together all the forces of the Eastern empire, ordered them to march to the frontiers of *Dalmatia*, under the conduct of *Ardaburius*, his son *Aspar*, and *Candidianus*. With them he sent *Placidia*, and her son *Valentinian*, allowing the former to resume the title and ensigns of *Augusta*, which had been given her by her brother *Honorius*, but she had quitted upon her entering the dominions of *Theodosius*; and the latter to wear the habit peculiar to the *nobilissimi*; which title had some time since been given to the sons of emperors, before they were created *Cæsars*. This was renouncing all pretensions to the empire of the West, and tacitly yielding it to *Placidia* and *Valentinian*. Before they left *Constantinople*, *Theodosius* betrothed his daughter *Licinia Eudoxia*, born in 422. to young *Valentinian*, born on the second or third of *July* in 419. When this ceremony was over, *Placidia* set out from *Constantinople* with her son, who, upon his arrival at *Theffalonica*, received the ensigns peculiar to the *Cæsars*, at the hands of *Helio, magister officiorum* to *Theodosius*, by whom he had been sent thither for that purpose <sup>2</sup>.

THE following year, *Theodosius* being consul the eleventh time, with *Valentinian*, the army of *Theodosius* having crossed *Pannonia* and *Illyricum*, appeared unexpectedly before *Salonæ*, which was taken by storm. There it was agreed among the generals, that *Aspar* should lead the cavalry, with *Placidia* and *Valentinian*, by land to *Aquileia*, while the foot, under the command of his father *Ardaburius*, was conveyed thither by sea. This scheme was so well executed on the side of *Aspar*, that, arriving at *Aquileia*, before the enemy had the least notice of his march, he entered the place without opposition; but the fleet being dispersed by a violent storm, *Ardaburius* was driven ashore, and taken by the usurper's soldiers, who immediately carried him to their emperor, then at *Ravenna*, by whom he was received with great joy, and treated with the utmost civility, the usurper hoping, by his

*Aspar takes Aquileia from the usurper.*

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Alex. p. 726.

<sup>2</sup> OLYMP. p. 169. PROSP. chron. PHILOST. p. 573. GREG. TUR. p. 57.

(H) The former was general of the troops in the West. Of the latter we find no farther mention in history. In an ancient inscription, *John* the usurper is stiled consul, he being probably acknowledged in the West, and not *Victor*, whom we may suppose to have belonged to the Eastern empire (6).

means, to prevail upon *Theodosius*, with whom *Ardaburius* bore a great sway, to acknowledge him for his colleague. As he was allowed to converse with whom he pleased, he gained over the chief officers, who had already begun to be tired of their new prince; and, privately acquainting his son *Aspar* with the security in which the tyrant lived, advised him to advance speedily with his best troops to *Ravenna*. *Aspar* immediately set out from *Aquileia* with the cavalry; and, being conducted through the marshes, which surrounded *Ravenna* on the land-side, by a shepherd, whom *Socrates* supposes to have been an angel, he entered the city, finding the gates open and unguarded, and, with the assistance of the officers gained over by his father, secured the tyrant before he had time to make his escape, and sent him in chains to *Placidia* and *Valentinian*, then at *Aquileia*, who ordered first his right-hand, and then his head, to be cut off <sup>w</sup> (1). Thus ended the usurpation of *John*, after he had borne the title of emperor about a year and six months, according to *Philostorgius* <sup>z</sup>. Three days after his death, *Aetius* entered *Italy*, with an army of sixty thousand *Hunns*, who being met by *Aspar*, a bloody battle was fought, without any considerable advantage on either side; but, in the mean time, *Aetius*, informed of the death of the usurper, thought it advisable to make the best terms he could for himself. Accordingly, *Placidia* promising not only to receive him into favour, but to distinguish him with the title of count, he submitted, and prevailed upon the *Hunns* to return into their own country <sup>y</sup>. *Caslinus*, who was supposed to have favoured the usurpation of *John*, was sent into exile <sup>z</sup>.

*He surprises Ravenna, and takes the usurper, who is put to death.*

*Aetius submits, and is received into favour.*

WHEN news of the captivity and death of the usurper were brought to *Constantinople*, *Theodosius* declared his cousin, young *Valentinian*, emperor, and *Placidia* regent of the empire during her son's minority. He intended to have taken a progress into *Italy*, in order to invest him there with the sovereignty, and with that design advanced as far as *Thessalonica*; but was seized in that city with a malady, which obliged

*Valentinian III. declared emperor of the West, and his mother Placidia regent.*

<sup>w</sup> SOCR. p. 363. PHILOST. p. 538. OLYMP. p. 197. <sup>x</sup> PHILOST. *ibid.* <sup>y</sup> Idem *ibid.* CASSIOD. *chron.* <sup>z</sup> PROSP. *chron.*

(1) *Procopius* writes, that, after his hand was cut off in the circus, he was, by way of derision, carried about the streets on an ass, exposed to the outrages and insults of the incensed multitude (7).

Year of the flood 2875. Of Christ 425. Of Rome 1223. *Thrace ravaged by the Hunns.* him to return to *Constantinople*; whence he dispatched *Helio* to *Rome*, where *Valentinian* then was, with the purple and imperial diadem, which the young prince received on the twenty-third of *October* of the present year 425<sup>a</sup>. In the East, *Thrace* was laid waste by the *Hunns*, probably the same who came to the assistance of the usurper *John*, and even threatened *Constantinople* with a siege; but their leader, by name *Rougas*, or *Roilas*, being killed with lightning, and great numbers of them being daily swept away by a plague, which broke out in their army, the rest withdrew of their own accord, dreading, not the valour of the *Romans*, says *Socrates*, but the power of Heaven, which had evidently espoused the cause of *Theodosius* <sup>b</sup>.

*The Goths removed from Pannonia into Thrace.* THE following year 426. when *Theodosius* was consul the twelfth time, and *Valentinian* the second, nothing remarkable happened in either empire. But, under the next consul, *Hierius* and *Ardaburius*, the *Goths*, who had held *Pannonia* ever since the year 377. when they first entered that province, were by *Theodosius* transferred from thence into *Thrace*; where they continued for the space of fifty-eight years, that is, till they made themselves masters of *Italy*, under the conduct of *Theodoric* <sup>c</sup>. This gives us room to believe, that *Theodosius*, in yielding the Western empire to *Valentinian*, retained *Pannonia*, which comprised that part of the present *Austria* and *Hungary*; that lies on the *Roman* side of the *Danube*, and had hitherto belonged to the empire of the West. Great disturbances happened this year in *Africa*, which were attended with the loss of that province. The celebrated count *Bonifacius*, who is styled by *St. Austin* the joy of the church, the bulwark of *Africa*, and the glory of the empire, had been rewarded by *Honorius*, for his gallant behaviour at *Marseilles*, with the command of the troops in *Africa*; which province he defended with great bravery against the repeated attempts of *John*, tho' acknowledged by all the other commanders, and governors of provinces. *Placidia*, highly pleased with his conduct and loyalty, called him to court, upon the death of that tyrant; and, after bestowing upon him the highest encomiums, preferred him to the post of *comes domesticorum*, and sent him back into *Africa* with an unlimited power. This gave no small jealousy to his rivals at court, especially to *Felix*, commander in chief of the *Roman* forces, and to *Aetius*, who, after his departure, persuaded *Placidia*, that he had preserved *Africa* for himself, and only waited an opportunity of establishing there an independent sovereignty. *Aetius* added,

<sup>a</sup> SOCR. l. vii. c. 24. p. 364. OLYMP. p. 197. IDAT. chron.

<sup>b</sup> SOCR. p. 387. <sup>c</sup> THEOPH. p. 81. MARC. chron.

that the empress might, when she pleased, oblige him to pull off the mask, by recalling him from his government; for he was very sure *Bonifacius* would disobey her orders.

HEREUPON the credulous princefs immediately ordered *Bonifacius* to repair to *Rome*, but *Actius* having written to *He is* him before, that the empress sought his ruin, and, in order forced, by to compass it, would soon recal him, advising him at the the trea- same time, with great protestations of friendship, to consult chery of his own safety, he, upon the receipt of *Placidia's* letter, *Aetius* concluded *Actius* to be his true friend; and, following his ad- and *Felix*, vice, refused to comply with the orders he had received. Here- to revolt. upon *Placidia*, no longer questioning the truth of *Actius's* information, declared *Bonifacius* a public enemy, and dispatched a strong body of troops against him, under the command of *Mavortius*, *Galbio*, and *Sinex*, who besieged *Bonifacius*, in what place we are ~~no~~-where told, and kept him shut up, till, quarreling among themselves, *Mavortius* and *Galbio* were killed by the treachery of *Sinex*, and he in a folly by *Defeats* *Bonifacius*, who gained a complete victory, without the loss the troops of one man. *Placidia*, being resolved, notwithstanding the ill sent a- success of her three generals, to pursue the war with vigour, gainst him. committed the whole management of it to *Sigisvult*, by nation a *Goth*; who, without loss of time, passing over into Another *Africa*, with a great number of his countrymen, made himself army sent master of *Carthage* and *Hippo*. *Bonifacius*, finding the em- to reduce press obstinately bent upon his ruin, and himself not in a him. condition to contend with the whole strength of the empire, had recourse to the *Vandals*, who, ever since the defeat of *He recurs* *Castinus* in 422. had peaceably enjoyed the province of *Bætica* to *Genferic* or *Andalusia*, and were at this time governed by *Genferic*, ric king of the *Van-* dals;

(K) *Genferic* was, according to *Jornandes* (8) and *Procopius* (9), of a low stature, and lame by a fall from his horse: he thought much, and spoke little; was an enemy to pleasure and debauchery; had a wonderful address in gaining the affections of the people, and sowing dissensions among his enemies. He was remarkably brave and courageous; but no less ambitious

and passionate; well skilled in the art of war, and long inured to the hardships and toils attending it. He renounced the catholic faith, which he first professed, to embrace the doctrine of *Arius*, which prevailed among his countrymen the *Vandals* (1). His brother *Gonderic* left several sons behind him; but he caused them all to be put to death, together with their mother (2).

(3) *Jorn. c. 26. p. 657.*  
(2) *Malel. l. 3. c. 10.*

*Procop. p. 134.*

(1) *Idaz. p. 17.*

who passes  
over into  
Africa.

Aetius is  
commander  
in chief  
of all the  
forces of  
the West-  
ern empire.

Year of  
the flood  
2880.

Of Christ  
430.  
Of Rome  
1228.

Placidia  
acquainted  
with the  
true cause  
of the re-  
volt of Bo-  
nifacius.

WITH this barbarian *Bonifacius*, who  
formerly so much extolled by *St. Austin*<sup>a</sup>,  
own defence, to enter into a treaty, whereof the  
perhaps the only article was, that, upon their affiance, *Africa*  
should be divided between *Genseric*, says *Procopius*  
falsely, supposing him still alive, *Genseric*, and himself<sup>c</sup>. The  
treaty being agreed to, *Genseric*, having assembled a great  
number of vessels, ordered all his *Vandals*, women and chil-  
dren, as well as men, to embark; and, abandoning *Spain* in  
the month of *May* of the year 528. while *Felix* and *Taurus*  
were consuls, crossed the streights of *Gibraltar*, and landed  
in *Africa*<sup>d</sup>. The *Romans* took possession anew of the pro-  
vinces which the *Vandals* had abandoned and held them till  
they were driven out by the *Suevians*, the *Suevians* were  
in their turn by the *Goths*, who, by that means, came to settle  
that part of *Spain* &c. The same year *Aetius* was sent  
to *Gaul*, to make war upon the *Franks*; but of this war  
we shall speak hereafter. Nothing happened this year in the  
East worthy of notice, except the publishing of a law, by  
which all brothels were suppressed in *Constantinople*<sup>e</sup>. *Flo-*  
*rentius* and *Dionysius*, consuls for the year 429. were succeeded  
by *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, the former the thirteenth time,  
and the latter the third time, consul. During the consularship of  
the two princes, *Aetius* was raised to the chief command of all  
the troops of the Western empire, in the room of *Felix*, who  
was at the same time created a patrician; but soon after killed  
in *Ravenna* by the mutinous soldiery, stirred up against him  
by *Aetius*, jealous of his great credit at court. The same year  
*Aetius* gained considerable advantages over the *Juthungi*, whose  
country bordered on *Rætia*; over the inhabitants of *Nori-*  
*cum*, who had revolted; and over the *Goths* in *Gaul*, attempt-  
ing to raise new disturbances in that province<sup>f</sup>.

THE following year, when *Bassus* and *Antiochus* were con-  
suls, *Aetius* intirely reduced the *Norici*, and likewise the *Vin-*  
*Of Rome delici*, who had joined the former in their revolt. From *No-*  
*ricum* he passed into *Gaul*, to awe the *Franks*, who were said  
to be in arms<sup>g</sup>. This year *Placidia* discovered at length the  
true cause of the revolt of *Bonifacius*. Some of that general's  
friends, greatly surpris'd at his entering all on a sudden into  
an alliance with the enemies of the empire, after having de-  
fended it against the barbarians with so much zeal and inte-

<sup>a</sup> AUG. ep. 70. p. 14. <sup>b</sup> PROSP. chron. IDAT. p. 18. <sup>c</sup> VULG. perle. <sup>d</sup> Vandal. p. 3. <sup>e</sup> PROCOF. p. 19. <sup>f</sup> IDAT. p. 18. <sup>g</sup> l. xv. tit. 8. leg. 13. p. 38. <sup>h</sup> IDAT. p. 338. <sup>i</sup> IDAT. p. 338. <sup>j</sup> IDAT. p. 338. <sup>k</sup> IDAT. p. 338.

greatly pleased to see of the emperor to pass over into *Africa*, and to confer with him in person, and hear what he could allege in his own defence. *Bonifacius* was overjoyed to see them, and produced upon their charging him with treason and rebellion, the letter which *Aetius* had written to him protesting, that nothing but his own safety and preservation could have induced him to turn his arms against his prince and country. With this letter they returned to *Placidia*, who was thereby fully convinced of the treachery of *Aetius*; but, not thinking it advisable to provoke him, as he was then at the head of a victorious army in *Gaul*, she concealed her indignation for the present, and contented herself with expressing, in a letter to *Bonifacius*, her sincere detestation of the injury that *Aetius* had done him; withal assuring him of her favour and affection for the future; and exhorting him to return to his duty, and, consulting with his usual zeal, the safety of the empire, drive out the barbarians, whom, for his own safety, he had called in. This *Bonifacius* readily undertook, offering them immense sums, provided they quitted *Africa*, and returned to *Spain*; but, as they had already reduced the whole country, except three cities, to wit, *Carthage*, *Hippo*, and *Cirta*, *Genferic* first returned him a scoffing answer; and then falling upon him, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged *Bonifacius* himself to fly to *Hippo*: which place the barbarians immediately invested; but were obliged the following year, for want of provisions, to raise the siege, after it had continued for the space of fourteen months, *Genferic* attacking the town almost daily with incredible fury, and *Bonifacius* defending it with equal vigour and intrepidity.

*He endeavours to persuade the Vandals to retire from Africa. Most of Bonifacius's men cut in pieces by Genferic.*

THE next year *Aetius* was raised to the consulship, *Placidia* still pretending to be unacquainted with his treacherous conduct towards *Bonifacius*. He had for his colleague *Valerius*, the preceding year prefect of *Constantinople*. This year *Bonifacius*, reinforced with powerful succours sent him both by *Placidia*, and *Theodosius*, offered battle to the *Vandals*; who, readily accepting it, cut most of his men in pieces, and took an incredible number of prisoners, and obliged the rest to shelter themselves among the rocks and mountains. Among the prisoners was *Aspar*, who afterwards attained to the empire. *Aspar* when he returned on this occasion the Eastern troops, who had been sent to *Africa*, and returned to *Constantinople*, and *Bonifacius* to *Italy*, being invited thither by *Placidia*, upon his return, the barbarians overtook *Aspar*, and slew him, where dreadful

*Bonifacius and Aspar defeated by Genferic, who overruns all Africa.*



A civil war between Bonifacius and Aetius, in which the former is killed.

ravages, and unheard-of cruelties; which struck the inhabitants of *Hippo* with such terror, that they abandoned their city, which was first pillaged, and then set on fire, by the victorious enemy<sup>m</sup>. *St. Austin*, bishop of the place, died the year before, in the fourth month of the siege. *Carthage* and *Cirta* were now the only places in all *Africa* held by the *Romans*. *Bonifacius*, upon his arrival at *Ravenna*, was received with extraordinary demonstrations of kindness and esteem by *Placidia*, and raised to the chief command of the army, in the room of *Aetius*; who, finding his treachery discovered, and dreading the power of *Bonifacius*, assembled the forces under his command, in order to destroy his rival. *Bonifacius*, at his approach, marched out at the head of a body of chosen troops to meet him. Hereupon a battle ensuing, *Bonifacius* received a wound, of which he died three months after<sup>n</sup> (L). *Aetius*, dreading the resentment of *Placidia*, withdrew to the court of *Rugula*, or *Rouas*, king of the *Hunns*; whence he returned soon after, at the head of a numerous army of barbarians; but the empress promising not only to pardon him, but restore him to his former post, he dismissed the barbarians, and returned to court, where he was this very year raised to the rank of a patrician<sup>o</sup>.

Honoria, sister to Valentinian, privately corresponds with Attila.

THE following year, *Theodosius* being consul the fourteenth time, with *Petronius Maximus*, a dreadful fire broke out at *Constantinople*, which lasted three days, and consumed all the public granaries, with many other stately edifices, and great part of the city<sup>p</sup>. In the following consulship of *Aspar* and *Ar cobindus*, *Honoria*, sister to the emperor *Valentinian*, having suffered herself to be debauched by one of her domestics, named *Eugenius*, was banished the court, being then sixteen years old, and sent to *Constantinople*, her mother *Placidia* having discovered, that, by means of her eunuchs, she maintained a private correspondence with *Attila*, who had succeeded *Rouas* king of the *Hunns*; that she had even sent him a ring, and was daily pressing him to enter *Italy* at the head of a powerful army, and marry her. The following year 435. *Theodosius* being consul the fifteenth time, and *Valentinian*

<sup>m</sup> PROCOPIUS. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 185. PROSPER. chron.  
<sup>n</sup> MARC. chron. <sup>o</sup> PROSPER. IDAT. chron. <sup>p</sup> SOCR.  
 l. vii. c. 39. p. 385.

(L) Thus *Marcellinus*, who writer adds, that *Bonifacius* on his death-bed exhorted his wife *Pelagia* to marry no man but *Aetius*, if his wife should die before her husband.

the

the fourth, a peace was at length concluded with the *Vandals* in *Africa*, to whom the *Romans* yielded great part of *Numidia*, all the province *Proconsularis*, and likewise *Bizacene*. This treaty was signed at *Hippo*, on the eleventh of *February*, by *Genferic*, and by *Trigetius*, who had succeeded *Bonifacius* in *Africa*. The king of the *Vandals* delivered up to the *Romans* his son *Huneric* by way of hostage. The same year *Actius* gained a great victory over the *Burgundians*, who, having been allowed in 413. to settle in that part of *Gaul* which borders on the *Rhine*, had revolted from the *Romans*, and plundered *Belgic Gaul*. *Gondicarius* their king was obliged to submit to such conditions as the conqueror thought fit to impose upon him and his people. But *Gondicarius* did not long enjoy the peace which *Actius* had granted him, being soon after, that is, in the beginning of the following year, when *Anthemius Isidorus* and *Senator* were consuls, attacked by the *Hunns*, and cut off, with twenty thousand of his men. *Socrates* writes, that, of the unhappy *Burgundians*, three thousand only were left alive, who, having embraced the Christian religion, and received the sacrament of baptism, went, full of courage and confidence, to attack the enemy, of whom they killed a thousand, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitate flight. Thus *Socrates*. But *Orosius* assures us, that the *Burgundians* had embraced the Christian religion before the year 417. The *Goths*, who had been allowed to settle in *Aquitain*, as we have observed above, and had *Theodoric* for their king, not satisfied with the countries that had been allotted them, made themselves masters of several neighbouring cities belonging to the *Romans*, and even laid siege to *Narbonne*; which, however, they were forced to raise, either this year 436. or the following, as *Idatius* will have it, count *Litorius* coming seasonably to the relief of the place with a numerous body of *Hunns*, who, falling upon the *Goths*, put them to flight, and entered the city, each horseman carrying with him two bushels of corn.

WHILE these things passed in the West, *Theodosius* completed the ruin of idolatry in the East, by a law enacted in 435. ordering all the temples, oratories, and places consecrated to the worship of the idols, to be pulled down, and forbidding his subjects, on pain of death, to practise any of the pagan ceremonies, either in public or private. By this

Year of the flood 2885.

Of Christ 435.

Of Rome 1233.

The Romans yield great part of Africa to the Vandals.

20,000 Burgundians cut off by the Hunns.

The Goths besiege Narbonne; but are obliged to drop the enterprise, and retire.

Theodosius's edict against all manner of idolatrous worship.

<sup>a</sup> PROSP. chron. PROCOPIUS. p. 386.

<sup>b</sup> IDAT. p. 21.

SID. car. vii. p. 338.

<sup>c</sup> IDAT. p. 25. VALES. rer.

Franc. l. iii. p. 126—138.

<sup>d</sup> SOCR. l. vii. c. 30. p. 371.

372.

<sup>e</sup> OROS. l. vii. c. 32.

<sup>f</sup> IDAT. p. 21. SID.

car. vi. p. 346.

Eudoxia  
the daugh-  
ter of  
Theodo-  
sius mar-  
ried to  
Valentini-  
an III.

Year of  
the flood  
2287.

Of Christ  
437.  
Of Rome

1235.  
who yields  
to Theo-  
dosius  
West-Illy-  
ricum.

law the very foundations of the temples were to be intirely demo-  
lished, and the sign of the Christian religion, no doubt the cross,  
to be set up in the place where they had stood \*. *Theodosius*  
passed part of the year 436. at *Cyzicum*. The following year  
437. when *Aetius* was consul the second time, with *Sigisvultus*,  
or *Sigisvult*, the *Saxon* pirates began to infest the coasts  
of the *Armorici* †. *Eudoxia*, the daughter of *Theodosius* by  
the empress *Eudocia*, had been betrothed to *Valentinian* in  
424. as we have related above ; and this year the nuptials were  
celebrated with great solemnity at *Constantinople*, on the  
twenty-ninth of *October*, *Valentinian* being then eighteen  
years and five months old. The ceremony was to have been  
performed at *Thessalonica* ; but *Valentinian*, out of complai-  
sance to the royal bride, proceeded to *Constantinople* ; which  
city he entered on the twenty-first of *October* ‡. *Theodosius*,  
in giving, or, as others will have it, in betrothing, his daugh-  
ter to *Valentinian*, obliged the young prince to yield to him  
*West-Illyricum*, comprehending the *Upper* and *Lower Panno-*  
*nia*, *Dalmatia*, and the two *Noricums*, to wit, *Mediterra-*  
*neum* and *Ripense* §. The two *Pannoniae* comprised that part  
of *Austria* and *Hungary* that lies on the *Roman* side of the  
1235. *Danube* ; and the two *Noricums* the archbishoprick of *Salz-*  
*burg*, with *Styria* and *Carinthia*. As for *East Illyricum*, it  
had belonged to the emperors of *Constantinople* ever since the  
time of *Gratian*, who yielded it to *Theodosius the Great*. *Val-*  
*entinian* left *Constantinople* in the latter-end of this year ; and,  
having spent the winter at *Thessalonica*, returned early in the  
spring to *Ravenna*. He had by *Eudoxia* two daughters, to  
wit, *Eudocia* and *Placidia*.

THE following year, *Theodosius* being consul the sixteenth  
time, with *Acilius Glabrio Faustus*, *Justinian* published his  
famous code, that is, a collection of all the best and most  
useful laws that had been enacted by the lawful princes his pre-  
decessors (M). In the following consulship of *Theodosius*, the  
seventeenth

\* Cod. Theod. tit. leg. 25. p. 296. THEODOR. lib. v. c. 36.  
p. 749. † SID. car. vii. p. 342. ‡ SOCR. l. vii.  
c. 44. p. 388. Chron. Alex. p. 570. § SOCR. ibid. Chron.  
Alex. JORN. de reg. suc. p. 92, 93,

(M) Eight able civilians were employed in this work, at the head of whom was *Antiochus*, who had been consul in 431. Such laws as were not contained in this code, were declared to be of no force. It was immediately received in the West ; nay, it met with better success there than in the East, where it obtained only for the space of about ninety years, that is, to the reign of

seventeenth time consul, and of *Festus, Litorius* the Roman general laid siege to *Toulouse*<sup>b</sup>; but his men were cut in pieces by *Theodoric*, and he himself taken prisoner. However, *Theodoric* concluded a peace with the *Romans* upon very reasonable terms, as we shall relate hereafter. The same year *Merida*, then the metropolis of *Lusitania*, was taken by *Richila*, who the year before had succeeded his father *Hermeric*, king of the *Suevians*, in *Galicia*<sup>c</sup>. But the loss of *Carthage* in *Africa*, surprised on the twenty-third of *October* of the present year by *Genſeric* king of the *Vandals*, proved a more fatal blow to the Western empire. By the taking of that important place, which had belonged to the *Romans* for the space of five hundred and eighty-five years, the *Vandals* remained masters of the *Proconsularis*, of *Byzacene*, *Getulia*, and part of *Numidia*. However, *Valentinian* maintained, so long as he lived, the two *Mauritanias*, to wit, *Cæsariensis* and *Sitifensis*, with *Tripolitana*, *Tingitana*, and that part of *Numidia* in which *Cirtha* stood.

IN the East nothing worthy of notice happened this year, except the journey which the empress *Eudocia* undertook to *Jerusalem*, in compliance with a vow she had made to visit the holy places there<sup>c</sup>. She passed through *Antioch*, where, in the presence of the senate and people, she pronounced a speech in commendation of that city from a throne of gold enriched with precious stones<sup>d</sup>. At her departure, she presented the magistrates with a very considerable sum, for the relief of the indigent citizens. The inhabitants of that metropolis acknowledged the kindness she had shewed them by erecting two statues to her honour, placing the one, which was of brass, in the *Museum*; and the other, which was plated over

<sup>b</sup> IDAT. p. 22.  
I. i. c. 20. p. 277.

<sup>c</sup> SOCR. l. vii. c. 47. p. 390.

<sup>d</sup> EVAG.

of *Justinian*, who abrogated this, and published a new code: but in the West it was received by *Theodoric*, and the *Ostrogoths*, who made themselves masters of *Italy* about the end of the fifth century, and likewise by *Alaric* king of the *Visigoths* or *Westrogoths* in *Languedoc* and *Spain*.

The laws that were afterwards added to the code by *Theodosius*, and some other princes, were called *novellæ*. *Theodosius*, in publishing the code, enacted, that the laws made by one prince should be of no force in the dominions of the other, unless confirmed and signed by him (3).

(3) *Prosp. chron. Doviât. bist. jur. civ. c. 1. Rittershut. in jur. Just. c. 3. Cod. Theod. nov. 1. p. 1.*

with gold, in the senate<sup>e</sup>. At Jerusalem she presented Juvenal bishop of the place with great sums, to be distributed among the poor, and with a cross of gold, adorned with precious stones, to be set up on mount Calvary; for which the bishop is said to have presented her in his turn with the right hand of St. Stephen the protomartyr<sup>f</sup>.

Sicily ravaged by Genseric.

Year of the flood 2289.

Of Christ

439.

Of Rome

1237.

The Burgundians removed by Aetius to the present duchy of Savoy.

THE following year, when Valentinian was consul the fifth time with Anatolius, Genseric made a descent upon Sicily in the month of June; and, meeting with little or no resistance, ravaged the open country, committing unheard-of cruelties, and even laid siege to Palermo: but, not being able to reduce the place, he returned to Africa with an immense booty &c. The same year count Gensorius, who had been sent by Valentinian to negotiate a peace between the Suevians in Galicia and the natives of that country, was besieged by Rechila in Mersola on the Guadiana, where he resided, and, upon the reduction of the place, taken prisoner<sup>h</sup>. About the same time Aetius, removing the Burgundians from the banks of the Rhine, allotted them settlements in the present duchy of Savoy, and rewarded a body of Alans, who had served the Romans with great fidelity under the conduct of their king Eocoric or Eoric, with lands on the Loire<sup>i</sup>. These Alans are supposed to have settled afterwards with the Britons in Armorica<sup>k</sup>. Bucherius takes Sangiban king of the Alans, mentioned by Jornandes, to have been the successor of Eocoric<sup>l</sup> (N). In the East, Paulinus, the empress Eudocia's chief favourite,

<sup>e</sup> EVAGR. l. i. c. 20. p. 277. Chron. Alex. p. 731. <sup>f</sup> CEDREN. p. 337. THEOPH. p. 74. MARC. chron. <sup>g</sup> PROSP. IDAT. & chron<sup>o</sup> Alex. p. 730. <sup>h</sup> IDAT. p. 21. 23. <sup>i</sup> PROSP. chron. VALES. rer. Franc. p. 173. JORN. rer. Goth. c. 37. p. 665. <sup>k</sup> VALES. ibid. <sup>l</sup> BUCH. Belg. p. 492.

(N) As Salvianus wrote at this time his treatise on judgments, we shall transcribe out of that piece a passage, wherein the author acquaints us with the chief virtues and vices of the several barbarous nations then infesting the empire. "The Goths (says that writer) are treacherous, but chaste: the Alans are not so chaste, but less treacherous: the Franks are lyers, but kind to strangers: the Saxons are ex-

ceeding cruel, but wonderfully chaste. But though the Saxons are cruel (continues Salvianus), the Gepide are void of humanity, the Huns lewd and deceitful, the Alemans drunkards, the Alans lovers of plunder, and the Franks deceitful and perfidious to such a degree, as to look upon false oaths as ornaments of speech; yet these vices are not so criminal in the barbarians as in the Romans, who are instructed  
" in

favourite, who by her interest had been raised in 430. to the Paulinus high post of *magister officiorum*, was this year put to death by put to the emperor's order at *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* <sup>m</sup>. And this death by is all we find in the antient writers concerning this remarkable event (O). <sup>the emperor's order.</sup>

THE

•      <sup>m</sup> MARC. chron.

“ in the morals of the Christian religion (4).” The same writer observes elsewhere (5), that though the *Goths* would not suffer their own people to frequent brothels, yet, in the countries allotted to them, they kept up those infamous places for the sake of the *Romans* who lived among them, and claimed the scandalous privilege of frequenting them without restraint. •

(O) The more modern *Greeks* ascribe his death to the jealousy of *Theodosius*; and tell us, that the emperor being presented with an apple of an uncommon size, and extraordinary beauty, he immediately sent it, as a rarity, to *Eudocia*, and she to *Paulinus*, in whose conversation she took great delight, as he was a man of learning, and the empress herself well versed in all the branches of literature. *Paulinus*, not knowing by whom it had been sent to the empress, thought it a proper present for the emperor, and accordingly carried it to him. This raised some jealousy in *Theodosius*, who thereupon dismissed *Paulinus*; and, sending for *Eudocia*, asked her what was become of the apple. The empress, not caring to own she had given it to *Paulinus*, answered, she had eat it. Upon this, the emperor,

producing it, commanded *Paulinus* to be immediately executed, and from that time shewed himself so indifferent towards the empress, that she begged leave soon after to return to *Jerusalem*, and to continue in that city, which was readily granted her. Thus *Constantine Manasses*, *Zonaras*, *Nicephorus*, *Glycas*, and *Codinus* (6). That *Eudocia* retired about this time to *Jerusalem*, is very certain; and likewise, that there was a misunderstanding between her and the emperor, who caused a priest by name *Severus*, and a deacon named *John*, whom *Eudocia* had carried with her from *Constantinople* to *Jerusalem*, to be murdered, for no other reason, but because the empress lived in great intimacy with them, and made them frequently rich presents. This giving either jealousy to the prince, or occasion to scandalous reflections, *Theodosius* dispatched *Saturninus*, his *comes domesticorum*, to *Jerusalem*, with private orders to dispatch the two favourite ecclesiastics. *Eudocia* was so affected with their death, that, not mistress of her temper, she caused, in her turn, *Saturninus* to be murdered; which provoked the emperor to such a degree, that he ordered all the great officers of

(4) *Socr. de ind. lib. v. p. 107.*(5) *Idem, l. vii. p. 160.*(6) *Ma-**rasius p. 5. Zonar. tom. iii. p. 37. Niceph. lib. xiv. c. 23. f. 48. Glyc. p. 211. Codin. orig. Constantinop. p. 11.*

The consul  
Cyrus  
stripped of  
his consul-  
ar orna-  
ments by  
the empe-  
ror.

Theodo-  
sius sends a  
powerful  
fleet and  
army  
against  
Genserik

THE following year, *Cyrus* alone was consul: he excelled in polite learning, especially in poetry; and, having by that means gained the favour and protection of *Eudocia*, who took great delight in verses, he had been raised by her interest to the first employments in the state. As he entered the circus this year with the consular ornaments, the people, by whom he was greatly beloved, received him with such acclamations, that the emperor, who was present, caused him out of jealousy, a few days after, to be stripped of all his employments, and his estate to be confiscated, giving out, that he was inclined to paganism, and that he aspired to the empire. Hereupon *Cyrus* fled for refuge to a church, and caused himself to be ordained priest. The emperor, respecting his new character, granted him his life, and soon after suffered him to be ordained bishop, and to be raised to the see of *Cotyea* in *Pbrygia* <sup>n</sup>. As *Genferic* king of the *Vandals* was now become very formidable, *Theodosius* resolved in the end to assist *Valentinian*, his cousin and son-in-law, against so powerful an enemy. Accordingly he fitted out a fleet, consisting of eleven hundred large ships; and, putting on board of it the flower of his army, under the conduct of *Arcovindas*, *Ansilus*, and *Germanus*, he ordered them to land in *Africa*, and, joining the Western forces there, to drive *Genferic* out of the countries he had usurped. They steered their course to *Sicily*, in order to pass more easily from thence over into *Africa*. But in the mean time, *Genferic* having sent a solemn embassy to *Theodosius*, and pretending to be desirous of concluding a

<sup>n</sup> ZON. p. 35. THEOPH. p. 83. Chron. Alex. p. 736.

her court to quit her service, and return to *Constantinople*: which was reducing her to the condition of a private person. Thus she lived at *Jerusalem* to her death, which happened in 460. She is said to have solemnly declared on her death-bed, that she was altogether innocent as to the crime of which *Theodosius* had suspected her and *Paulinus* (7). As she was possessed of immense wealth, which the emperor left untouched, she built at *Jerusalem* a great number of churches,

monasteries, and hospitals, adorned the city with many stately edifices, and, at a vast expence, repaired the walls which in most places were intirely ruined. She was buried in a magnificent tomb in the church of *St. Stephen*, which she had built in the neighbourhood of *Jerusalem* (8). Her piety is greatly extolled by most writers, especially by *Cassiodorus*, who styles her of all women the most pious, the most religious (9).

(7) *Evagr. lib. i. c. 21. p. 277, 278. Cedren. p. 343. Theophan. p. 83. (8) Evagr. l. i. c. 22. p. 280. Ced. p. 337. Chron. Alex. p. 732. Nicéph. l. xiv. c. 50. p. 558, 559.*

(9) *Cassiod. ps. l. p. 174.*

peace with the two empires, the *Roman* generals waited on the coast of *Sicily* the result of the negotiations, which *Genferic* craftily spun out till the season proper for action was over.

WHILE his ambassadors were still at *Constantinople*, the *Persians*, with an open breach of the treaty made between the two empires in 422. entered the *Roman* territories in an hostile manner; which obliged *Theodosius* to recal his forces, and *but he is Valentinian* to conclude a peace with *Genferic*, which he could *obliged to* not obtain but by yielding to him all the countries in *Africa* *recal* which he had seized, and we have mentioned above P. *Anathem, and* *tolius* and *Aspar* were dispatched against the *Persians*, who, *Valentinian to* finding the *Romans*, whom they expected to surprize, upon their guard, hearkened to an accommodation; so that a peace was concluded, whereof one of the chief conditions was, that neither the *Persians* nor the *Romans* should for the future raise any new fortifications on the frontiers. The same year *Arfaces*, king of *Armenia*, dying, divided his kingdom between his two sons *Tigranes* and *Arfaces*; but, by his last will, bequeathed the far greater part to *Tigranes*. Hereupon *Arfaces* had recourse to *Theodosius*, who, threatening to make war upon *Tigranes*, terrified the young prince to such a degree, that, flying to the protection of the *Persian* king, he yielded to him his share, preferring the ease and quiet of a retired life to all the charms of a crown. *Arfaces*, on the other hand, dreading the power of the *Persians*, put *Theodosius* in possession of his share, upon certain conditions, one of which was, that his family should enjoy for ever an intire liberty, and an exemption from all tribute and taxes. Thus ended *The end of the antient kingdom of Armenia.* the kingdom of *Armenia*, after it had continued for many ages, and given occasion to much bloodshed, and endless wars, waged by the *Romans* first with the *Parthians*, and afterwards with the *Persians*. It began and ended in an *Arfaces*. The share of *Tigranes* belonging to the *Persians* was called *Persarmenia* and *Armenia Persica*. The part of *Arfaces* held by the *Romans* was thenceforth governed by a particular officer, with the title of *comes Armeniæ*, or count of *Armenia*.

THE same year the *Hunns*, taking advantage of the wars *The Hunns invade* in which the *Romans* were engaged with the *Vandals* and *Persians*, passed the *Danube*, and with a formidable army fell upon *Thrace*. They had invaded that province in

o THEOPH. p. 87. Chron. Alex. p. 7:0. P Idem, p. 88.

q AGATH. p. 237. PROCOF. bell. Pers. p. 8.

r PROCOF. de ædif. l. iii. c. 1. p. 52, 53.

s PROCOF.

t i. p. 29. THEODORET. p. 964.

u THEOD. p. 77.

PROCOF. p. 29.



425. under the conduct of *Rougas* their king, as we have related above; but he being killed with lightning, and at the same time a plague breaking out, and raging with great violence in his army, the barbarians repassed the *Danube* of their own accord, not caring, says *Socrates*<sup>a</sup>, to engage in a war with the *Romans*, whose cause Heaven had evidently espoused. *Rougas* was succeeded by *Roas* or *Rouas* in 434. who concluded a peace with the *Romans*, whereof one of the conditions was, that they should pay him a yearly pension of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold. A few years after, the *Hunns* resolving to drive out the *Boischi*, and other barbarous nations dwelling on the banks of the *Danube*, under the protection of the *Romans*, *Rouas* dispatched one *Eilas* to the court of *Constantinople*, threatening to make war upon *Theodosius*, if he lent them the least assistance. Hereupon the two generals *Plintha* and *Dionysius* were appointed by the emperor to treat with the king of the *Hunns*, and divert him, if possible, from the resolution he had taken. But in the mean time *Rouas* dying, and his nephew, the famous *Attila*, of whom we shall speak at large in the history of the *Hunns*, succeeding him, the ambassadors were ordered to treat with *Attila*. But in the room of *Dionysius*, who could not agree with *Plintha*, was sent the quæstor *Epigenes*, a man of great experience in negotiations.

*Rouas king of the Hunns dies, and is succeeded by Attila.*

*The Romans conclude a peace with the Hunns upon most shameful conditions.*

THE ambassadors had an interview with the two princes in the neighbourhood of *Margum*, a city on the *Danube* in *Upper Mæsia*, at a place where the *Margus* or *Margis* falls into that river. The *Romans* were obliged to confer with them on horseback, the *Hunns* refusing to dismount. The peace was confirmed, but upon such conditions as plainly betrayed the weakness and deplorable condition of the empire. These were, 1. That the *Romans* should deliver up to *Attila* and *Bleda* such *Hunns* as had taken, or should for the future take, refuge in the *Roman* dominions. 2. That the *Roman* prisoners, who should make their escape from the *Hunns* without paying their ransom, should in like manner be delivered up, or eight pieces of gold be paid for each of them. 3. That, instead of three hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold, the *Romans* should for the future pay annually seven hundred. 4. That the *Romans* should not assist any nation whatsoever, when attacked by, or at war with, the *Hunns*. In compliance with this shameful treaty, the *Romans* immediately delivered up to *Attila* some princes of the royal blood of the *Hunns*, who were by his orders crucified like the mean-

est of slaves, in the sight of the *Romans*, for no other crime but because they had abandoned their own country to serve in their armies. *Attila*, being, in virtue of this treaty, at full liberty to make what conquest he pleased, reduced all the northern countries, his authority being acknowledged even by the several barbarous nations lying north of the *Euxine* sea \*. Having thus extended his dominions, he resolved to take advantage of the wars in which *Theodosius* was engaged this year with the *Persians* and *Vandals*; and accordingly, without any regard to the above-mentioned treaty, he passed the *Danube* at the head of a very numerous and formidable army; and, entering *Thrace*, made himself master of several cities and strong-holds, and, among the rest, of *Viminacium*, a place of great importance on the *Danube*, and of *Margum*, which was betrayed to him by the bishop of the place. Elated with this success, he dispatched a messenger to *Theodosius*, requiring, or rather commanding, him to deliver up forthwith all the *Hunns*, who had taken refuge in the *Roman* dominions, to pay part of the tribute that had been owing for some time, and to settle what should be paid him for the future.

*Attila, notwithstanding the treaty of peace, passes the Danube;*

*THEODOSIUS* could not prevail upon himself to abandon those, who, after the declaration of war, had forsaken *Attila*, and come over to him. Whereupon *Attila* began to ravage the country, putting all to fire and sword, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. He took by storm *Retiarium* on the *Danube* in *Upper Mæsia*, *Sigidunum*, *Naißus*, and *Sirmium*, formerly the capital of *Illyricum*, with several other cities and strong-holds; insomuch that *Theodosius*, not thinking himself safe at *Constantinople*, retired the following year 442. when *Eudoxius* and *Dioscorus* were consuls, into *Asia* †. As to the issue of this war, we are left quite in the dark. All we know is, that this very year a peace was concluded between *Attila* and *Theodosius*, who thereupon returned to *Constantinople*, and entered that city on the twenty-seventh of *August* ‡.

*and makes himself master of several cities.*

*Year of the flood 2291. Of Christ 441. Of Rome 1239.*

The following year, *Maximus* being consul the second time, with *Paterius*, *Theodosius*, leaving *Constantinople*, visited the province of *Pontus*, where he caused the public edifices, and walls of *Heraclea*, to be repaired †. As he was one day, during this progress, marching on foot, greatly tormented with heat, dust, and thirst, an officer of his guards presented him with a beautiful cup full of fresh and excellent liquor;

\* PRISC. hist. Goth. de legat. p. 45—48. † Idem, p. 34—57 Chron. Alex. p. 730. PROSP. MARCEL. chron. ‡ MARC. PROSP. chron. Cod. Theod. tit. x. leg. 9. p. 898. § PASC. p. 315 Cod. Theod. nov. tit. 30. p. 13.

but the emperor, returning the officer thanks in a most obliging manner, declared, that he would not by any means refresh himself, when it was not in his power to refresh those who attended him <sup>a</sup>.

Arcadia dies.

The eunuch Antiochus disgraced.

IN 444. when *Theodosius* was consul the eighteenth time, with *Albinus*, died *Arcadia* the sister of *Theodosius* <sup>b</sup>. The same year the eunuch *Antiochus*, the emperor's great chamberlain, being convicted of extortion, and abusing his authority to the oppression of the people, was by *Theodosius* degraded from the rank of a patrician, and confined to the monastery of St. *Euphemia* at *Chalcedon*, stripped of the great wealth he had amassed, and deprived of all the honours which he had enjoyed <sup>c</sup>. *Theophanes* writes, that *Theodosius* made him pope, meaning, perhaps, that he obliged him to take holy orders. Upon his disgrace, the emperor enacted a law excluding all eunuchs from the dignity of patrician <sup>d</sup>.

The Romans defeated by the Suevians in Spain.

The Britons recur and Picts in vain to Aetius.

THE following year, when *Valentinian* was consul the sixth time with *Nomus*, nothing remarkable happened in the East; but in the West, *Vitus* being sent with a considerable army into *Spain*, to support the *Romans*, that is, the natives, against the *Suevians*, most of his men were cut off by *Rechila*, and he obliged to save himself by flight, and abandon the inhabitants to the mercy of those barbarians <sup>e</sup>. The next year, *Aetius* being consul the third time with *Q. Aurelius Symmachus*, the *Britons*, no longer able to withstand the *Scots* and *Picts*, had recourse to *Aetius*, who governed the Western empire almost with an absolute sway. To move him to compassion, they wrote him a letter with the following direction, *The groans of the Britons to the consul Aetius*; but could not, with all their groans and tears, prevail upon him to lend them the least assistance (P). In the East a dreadful plague raged this and the following year, when *Ardaburius* and *Alypius* were consuls; and violent earthquakes were felt in most provinces, which overturned several cities, and great part of the new walls of *Constantinople*, with 57 towers, and many stately edifices, not only in that city, but likewise at *Antioch* and

<sup>a</sup> PASC. p. 395. MARC. chron. <sup>c</sup> ZONAR. tom. iii. p. 34. THEOPH. p. 83. <sup>d</sup> Cod. p. 48. <sup>e</sup> SID. car. v. p. 315. IDAT. p. 24. <sup>f</sup> GILD. excid. Britan. c. 6. p. 118.

(P) The learned *Usser* thinks, supposes the *Hunns* to have at that *Valentinian* was then under ready broken into the Western apprehension of a war with *Attila* (1). The Venerable *Bede* empire (2); but he was therein certainly mistaken.

† (1) *Usser. eccles. Brit. antiq. p. 1204.*

(2) *B: d. bist. c. 13. p. 156.*

*Alexandria* <sup>2</sup>. The same year, 447. *Attila*, upon what pro-  
 vocation we know not (for both emperors readily complied  
 with all his demands, however unjust and arrogant), broke  
 into *Thrace* with a formidable army, consisting of *Hunns*,  
*Goths*, *Gepidæ*, *Alans*, and many other barbarous nations,  
 commanded by their respective kings. *Attila*, whom they all  
 obeyed, at the head of this numerous host, over-ran without  
 opposition *Ilyricum*, *Thrace*, both *Dacias*, *Mæsia*, and *Scy-  
 thia*. He took and plundered above seventy cities, and, among  
 the rest, *Philippopolis* in *Thrace*, properly so called, *Arcadio-  
 polis* in the province of *Europe*, and *Marcianopolis*, the capi-  
 tal of *Lower Mæsia*. They extended their ravages on one  
 side to the *Euxine* sea, and on the other to the streights of  
*Thermopylæ*, which part *Thessaly* from *Achaia* or *Greece*. In  
 the mean time *Arnegisclus* governor of *Mæsia* and *Thrace*,  
 having drawn together all the troops quartered in those two  
 provinces, marched against *Attila*; and, engaging him in  
*Lower Mæsia*, on the banks of the river *Utiis*, which falls  
 into the *Danube* near a city of the same name, cut off great  
 numbers of his men; but, falling unluckily from his horse, he  
 was himself killed, after having sold his life dear, and his army  
 put to the rout <sup>h</sup>. Another battle was fought in the *Cherson-  
 sus* near *Gallipoli*, probably by the generals *Aspar* and *Arco-  
 bindus*, who were both sent against *Attila* <sup>i</sup>. But no better  
 success attended the *Romans* in this than in the other engage-  
 ment; so that *Theodosius* was obliged the following year 448.  
 when *Zeno* and *Posthumbianus* were consuls, to send *Anatolius*,  
 with one *Vigilius*, who understood the language of the *Hunns*,  
 to *Attila*, to sue for peace, which he was strictly enjoined to  
 conclude upon any terms.

A PEACE was accordingly agreed to, and ratified by the  
 emperor, on the following terms, highly opprobrious to the  
 Roman name; to wit, 1. That the *Romans* should pay im-  
 mediately to *Attila* six thousand pounds weight of gold, and  
 every year two hundred. 2. That they should send back to him  
 all his deserters, and receive none for the future. 3. That they  
 should deliver up the *Roman* captives, who had escaped without  
 paying their ransom, or pay for each of them 12 pounds weight  
 of gold. 4. That the *Romans* should send no ambassadors to  
*Attila*, till they had delivered up to him all his deserters and  
 fugitives <sup>k</sup>. Pursuant to this ignominious treaty, six thousand  
 pounds weight of gold were sent immediately to *Attila*, with

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Alex. p. 374. EVAGR. lib. i. c. 17. p. 275. NI-  
 CEPH. l. xiv. c. 48. p. 543. <sup>h</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 44.  
 p. 553. THEOPH. p. 88. Chron. Alex. p. 734. PRISC. p. 35,  
 36. <sup>i</sup> PRISC. p. 34. <sup>k</sup> Idem ibid. & p. 51—53.  
 THEOPH. p. 88.

Attila  
seeks a  
pretence to  
qua. rel  
with Va-  
lentinian.

all the *Hunns* who had taken refuge in the *Roman* dominions, among whom were several princes, who chose rather to be killed by the *Romans*, than to fall into the hands of *Attila* <sup>1</sup>. This year a misunderstanding arose between *Attila* and *Valentinian*, on account of some sacred vessels which *Attila* falsely pretended to have been stolen from him by one *Silvanus*, a banker in *Rome*. *Silvanus*, who was the lawful owner of these vessels, had sold them to the church. But, as they were pieces of exquisite workmanship, *Attila*, coveting them, or rather seeking a pretence to quarrel with *Valentinian*, claimed them as stolen from him by *Silvanus*, and with great arrogance pressed the emperor either to restore the vessels, or deliver up to him *Silvanus*. Hereupon count *Romulus* was sent with *Promotus*, governor of *Noricum*, and *Romulus*, an officer of distinction, to the court of *Attila*, to convince him, if possible, that the vessels in dispute had never belonged to him, or, if he continued to claim them, to pay him their value in gold. *Attila* received the ambassadors in a very obliging manner, entertaining them at his own table with the ambassadors of *Theodosius*, who arrived at his court much about the same time. But the only answer that he returned to their reasoning and arguments was, that the vessels belonged to him; and that he was determined to do himself justice, and declare war, if *Valentinian* did not either restore them, or deliver up to him *Silvanus*, who had stolen them. But, notwithstanding these menaces, he did not make war upon *Valentinian* till three years after, though that prince could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with either of his demands.

Theodo-  
sius at-  
tempts to  
get Attila  
murdered;

THE following year, when *Protopogenes* and *Asturius* or *Asterius* were consuls, one *Edecon* being sent by *Attila* with the character of ambassador to *Theodosius*, the eunuch *Chrysaphus*, the emperor's great chamberlain, discovering him to be greatly taken with the splendor of the court, and desirous to continue among the *Romans*, promised him great wealth and preferments, provided he dispatched *Attila*; which he promising to do, *Theodosius* consented to the wicked attempt, and charged *Vigilius*, interpreter to the *Roman* ambassadors at the court of *Attila*, to be assisting to him in that under-

who spares  
the conspi-  
rators, and  
makes  
peace with  
the empe-  
ror.

taking. But *Edecon*, either apprehensive of the dangers attending such a desperate attempt, or deceiving the whole time the emperor and his minister, upon his return discovered the plot to *Attila*, who thereupon caused *Vigilius* to be seized, and dispatched his secretary *Oristes* to reproach *Theodosius* with his treachery, and demand *Chrysaphus*, the chief author and contriver of the conspiracy, to be delivered up to him. But *Nomus*, who was sent ambassador to the king of the *Hunns*

On this occasion, with several other persons of great distinction, gained his esteem and affection to such a degree, that he promised to live in peace and amity with: *Theodosius*, pardoned *Chrysaphus*, set *Vigilius* at liberty, and dismissed the ambassadors, loaded with rich presents<sup>m</sup>. Thus *Priscus*, who was an eye-witness of what he wrote, having attended the ambassadors at the court of *Attila* <sup>n</sup>.

THE following year, 450. when *Valentinian* was consul the seventh time, with *Avienus*, *Theodosius* was so bruised with a fall from his horse in hunting, that, being with difficulty carried in a sedan to *Constantinople*, he died there the next day, the twentieth of *June*, according to *Theophanes* <sup>o</sup>, or the twenty-eighth of *July*, as we read in *Theodorus* <sup>p</sup>, who is followed by most chronologers. According to this opinion, he died in the fiftieth year of his age, after having reigned forty-two years and near three months after the death of his father, and forty-eight since he had received the title of *Augustus*. He was buried on the thirtieth of *July*, in the same tomb with his father *Arcadius* <sup>q</sup>. He is generally commended as a prince of exemplary piety; but all own him to have had but slender parts, and to have been intirely guided by those about him, especially by the eunuchs of the court, who, abusing his authority, oppressed the people to such a degree, that many in his reign chose rather to abandon their native country, and live among the *Huns*, and other barbarians, than bear the tyrannical government of those who, by the eunuchs, were set over them (Q). He was a great friend to the church; but yet, misled by ill-meaning men, countenanced the declared enemies of the orthodox faith, as the reader will find in the account which the ecclesiastic writers give us of the two councils held by his orders at *Ephesus*, and of the progress which the heresy of *Eutyches* made in his reign.

<sup>m</sup> PRISC. p. 57—68.    <sup>n</sup> Idem, p. 72.    <sup>o</sup> THEOPH. p. 568.  
<sup>p</sup> THEOD. p. 88.    <sup>q</sup> Idem ibid.

(Q) Authors give us the following instance of his inattention to public affairs: As he had been used, when yet a child, to sign all the acts that were brought to him by his ministers without reading them, he continued the same custom even after he was married; till his sister *Pulcheria*, to apprise him of the evil consequences that might attend it, caused an act to be drawn up, whereby he yielded to her for

ever the empress *Eudocia* as her slave. This act the emperor signed without perusing it, or inquiring what it contained; which he had no sooner done, than *Pulcheria* desired him to read it; when, ashamed of his past indolence and neglect, he resolved to be upon his guard for the future, and to sign no papers till he was well informed what they contained (3).

(3) *Theoph.* p. 87. *Constant. Meff.* p. 56. *Zon.* p. 36. *Suid.* p. 577.

Of

Theodo-  
sius dies.  
Year of  
the flood  
2300.  
Of Christ  
450.  
Of Rome  
1248.

His cha-  
racter.

Of the writers who flourished under *Theodosius*, we shall speak in our note (R).

(R) We are chiefly indebted to the ecclesiastic writers *Sozomen*, and *Phil. Sorgi* history of the reign of the younger. *Socrates* was born in *Constantinople* about the year 380. and spent most part of his life in that city (4). He speaks of what happened after the year 395. as of things that had happened in his time (5). He tells us, that, when he was yet very young, he knew a *Novatian* priest, by name *Auxano*, who remembered the council of *Nice*, and lived to the reign of *Theodosius* the younger, that is, to the year 408 (6). *Socrates* studied grammar under *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, two pagan priests of *Alexandria*, who had retired to *Constantinople*, when the temples of the idols were pulled down in their own country, which happened in the year 389. He probably studied eloquence under *Troilus*, who in his time taught it with great applause at *Constantinople*; for he bestows mighty encomiums upon that sophist (7). He begins where *Eusebius* ended his history, but repeats the transactions of the first year of *Constantine's* reign, that is, of the year 306. and carries his work down to the seventeenth consulship of *Theodosius* II. that is, to the year 439. so that it comprises the space of an hundred and thirty-four years. He addresses it to one *Theodorus*, by whose orders he undertook it.

*Theodosius* was probably a bishop himself; for he calls him a person consecrated to the worship of God (8). He writes in a familiar, plain and easy style. At first he followed *Rufinus*, especially in his first two books, copying even his mistakes; but these he corrected, after having perused the works of *Athanasius*. He informed himself with great care of the truth of what he relates, copying what had happened before his time from the authors that were most esteemed, and relating only such events of his own time as he himself had either seen, or learnt from persons of unquestionable veracity (9). As he speaks of the *Novatians* with great respect, and even pretends, that some of their bishops wrought miracles, several writers conclude from thence, that he himself held the tenets of *Novatus*. But, on the other hand, he blames the *Novatians* for separating from the church (1), and in express terms disapproves the suppressing of the office of penitentiary in the church of *Constantinople*, against which office the *Novatians* had always exclaimed (2). *Socrates* wrote in *Greek*, but seems to have been acquainted with the *Latin* tongue. His history is quoted by *Liberatus*, and the seventh oecumenical council. *Sozomen*, or *Salaminus Hermias Sozomenes*, as he is styled by *Photius*, was not, as some have conjectured from the

(4) *Socr.* l. v. c. 24. p. 297.

(5) *Idem*, l. vi. c. 1. p. 299.

(6) *Idem*,

l. i. c. 13. p. 41.

(7) *Idem*, l. ii. c. 1. p. 79. & *prol.* p. 6.

(8) *Idem*,

*prol.* p. 7.

(9) *Idem*, l. ii. c. 1. p. 79.

(1) *Idem*, l. ii. c. 38.

p. 144.

(2) *Idem*, l. v. p. 278.

first of the names, a native of *Salamis* in the island of *Cyprus*, but a village in the territory of *Gaza*, named *Bethulia*, as appears from the account he gives of the conversion of his father to the Christian religion. The title of *scholasticus* was conferred upon him by *Phocas* (3), and others, gives us reason to believe, that he was well versed in polite literature. He resided at the bar in *Constantinople* (5), and was at the same time assessor or counsellor to *Isidore*, prefect of the East in 432, and 436 (6). He was well acquainted with the civil law, as is plain from his works. He wrote first in two books the ecclesiastical history, from the ascension of our Saviour to the deposition of *Licinius* in 323 (7), which work has been long since intirely lost. He afterwards undertook his great history, which was to comprise whatever had happened worthy of notice from the third consulship of *Crispus* and *Constantine Cæsar*, that is, from the year 324, to the seventeenth consulship of *Theodosius* the younger, in 449 (8). Whence it is manifest, that the work, which has reached our times, is imperfect, since it ends in the year 415. Some think he was prevented by death from pursuing his design. *St. Gregory* writes, that the history of *Sozomen* was not received by the church of *Rome* on account of the many fallhoods it contained, and of the great commendations the author bestowed

on *Theodosius* & *Nestorius*. He is not indeed without faults; but, notwithstanding some mistakes, there are to be found in his work, many commonly referred to the other historians of those times. *Vossius* compares his history with that of *Socrates*, will find, that the one has evidently copied from the other, most likely *Sozomen* from *Socrates*; for the latter seems to have written before the former. When *Socrates* wrote, the house in which *Arius* died was still standing; whereas *Sozomen* observes, that an *Arian*, having bought it, had pulled it down, and built another in its room (9). Besides, the candour and simplicity with which *Socrates* writes, would not, in our opinion, have allowed him to copy his history from another without owning it. Though *Sozomen* bestows great commendations on some *Novatian* bishops, as *Socrates* had done; yet he condemns in several places their tenets (1). About the beginning of the sixth century, *Cassiodorus* caused the histories of *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret*, to be translated into the *Latin* tongue by one *Epiphanius*, that *Greece* alone, says *Cassiodorus*, might not possess so valuable and necessary a work. He divided them, thus translated, into twelve books, commonly known by the name of *historia tripartita*. Before him, *Theodoret* the reader had begun to compile an history in *Greek* from the three above-mentioned historians. But of that

(3) *Soz.* l. v. c. 25. p. 617. (4) *Phoc.* c. 30. p. 17. (5) *Soz.* p. 105. (6) *Phoc.* *Relat.* l. i. c. 300. p. 830. (7) *Sto.* l. i. c. 1. p. 401. (8) *Phoc.* l. i. c. 397. 403. (9) *Socr.* l. i. c. 38. p. 74. (1) *Soz.* *Relat.* l. i. c. 16. p. 726. & l. viii. p. 754. &c.



work only the two first books, comprising the reigns of *Constantine* and *Constantius*, have reached our times. It does not appear, that the author wrote any more; and those, which he wrote, have never yet been printed. *Philostorgius*, born about the year 368. in the province of *Cappadocia Secunda*, wrote an ecclesiastical history, or rather, under that name, an apology for the *Arians*, especially the *Eunomians*, whose tenets he himself held. He began his work, which was divided into twelve books, with the death of *Constantius Chlorus*, the father of *Constantine the Great*, and carried it down to the accession of *Valentinian III.* to the empire, that is, to the year 425. This work has been long since lost; but an abstract of it, which may be called a large history, has been conveyed to us by *Photius* (2), who commends the style, but thinks the author often too diffuse and tedious. The whole is a continued satire on the catholics, and a panegyric on the *Arians*. *Philostorgius* seldom agrees with other writers, and relates several remarkable events, quite unknown to those who lived at the same time with him; such as the miracles wrought by *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, by *Theophilus* the *Indian*, by *Leontius* of *Tripoli*, &c. whence *Photius* styles him a *fabulous and lying writer* (3). However, he is often quoted by *John* of *Antioch*, who wrote about the beginning of the seventh century, by *Nicetas Coniates*, who flourished in the thirteenth century,

by *Nicephorus*, and others. *Suidas* likewise has copied several passages from him. *Philostorgius*, besides his history, wrote a long panegyric on *Eunomius*, and an apology for the Christian religion against *Porphyrius*; but neither of these works has reached our times. About the same time flourished *Philip* of *Sida* in *Pamphylia*, who wrote a very diffuse history from the creation to his time, consisting of eight hundred and sixty-four books, which he intitled the *Christian history*. Of this voluminous work, which has been long since lost, *Photius* speaks with great contempt (4). The same author wrote another extensive work, wherein he confuted, or attempted to confute, the writings of the emperor *Julianus* (5); but the performance has undergone the same fate as the other. The author was a deacon of the church of *Constantinople*, and thought himself highly injured, because he was not preferred to that see (6). *Priscus*, who attended *Maximus*, when sent ambassador to *Attila* in 449. wrote the history of the war between that prince and *Theodosius*; the history of *Marcian's* reign; an account of the journey of *Anthemius* to *Rome*, of the war carried on in the reign of *Leo* against *Genseric*, and of the unhappy end of *Aspar*, and his children, put to death by the emperor *Leo* in 471 (7). *Suidas* ascribes to him eight books of the *Byzantine* history, and of the war with *Attalus*, meaning, no doubt, *Attila* (8). *Priscus* was a native of *Panss*, or *Panium*,

(2) *Phot.* c. 40. p. 25.(3) *Idem.* p. 16. 25.(4) *Idem.* p. 21.(5) *Socr.* l. vii. c. 27. p. 368.(6) *Idem* *ibid.*(7) *Evagr.*

l. i. c. 17. p. 273. l. ii. c. i. p. 233.

(8) *Suid.* p. 590.

reckoned among the cities of the province of *Thrace* in *Europe* (9). He was a sophist, or professor of eloquence (1). He visited *Rome*, where he saw the king of the *Franks* (2), no doubt, *Merouée*; and traveled likewise to *Thebais* and *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. In the latter city he was an eye-witness of the disorders which attended the election of the holy bishop *Proterus* to that see, and greatly contributed to the appeasing of them by the good advice he gave to *Florus* prefect of *Egypt*. *Euphemius*, *magister officiorum* to the emperor *Marcian*, advised with him in all matters of importance (3). His history is said to be still extant, and lodged in some libraries (4). Hitherto only some fragments of it, relating to embassies, have been published, which are to be found among the works of the other *Byzantine* historians. Some passages of his history are quoted by *Jornandes* (5). He wrote with great exactness and elegance (6). *Suidas* mentions

his declamations and letters (7). The history of *Theodosius* the younger was likewise written by one *John*, who is often quoted by *Evagrius*, and by him styled orator, or professor of eloquence (3). He is thought to have been a native of *Antioch*, because he is frequently quoted by *Evagrius* in what relates to the history of that city (9). His history ended with the seventh year of *Justin I.* of the Christian era 525. whence we must distinguish him from another historian of the same name, whose history began with the death of *Justinian*, and was carried down to the reign of *Mauritius* (1). Another historian, named likewise *John*, a follower of *Eutyches*, wrote in five books the ecclesiastical history, from the time of *Nestorius* to the defeat of *Basiliscus*; that is, from the year 428. to 477. To his ecclesiastical history he added five books (2), the contents of which are to us quite unknown.

- (9) *Theoph.* p. 100. *Evagr.* p. 74. (1) *Evagr.* l. i. c. 17 p. 27c.  
 (2) *Idem* *ibid.* (3) *Idem*, l. ii. p. 295. *Prisc.* p. 41. (4) *Voss.*  
*bist. Græc.* l. iv. c. 18. p. 483. (5) *Jorn.* *ver. Gotb.* c. 24. 34. 35.  
 42. 49. (6) *Evagr.* l. i. c. 17. p. 275. *Idem* l. ii. c. 16. p. 308.  
 (7) *Suid.* p. 590. (8) *Evagr.* p. 61. (9) *Idem*, l. i. c. 17.  
 l. ii. c. 12. l. iii. c. 14. 28. (1) *Idem*, p. 274. & 383. (2) *Phot.*  
 c. 41. p. 38.

## C H A P. VII.

*The History of the Eastern and Western Empire, from the Death of Theodosius II. to the total Failure of the Western Empire in Augustulus.*

IF the laws at this time in force, concerning private estates and inheritances, had obtained with respect to kingdoms and empires, the right of *Eudoxia* to the imperial crown had been indisputable; that princess being the only child of the deceased emperor; but not the least regard was had either to

Pulcheria  
resolves to  
marry  
Marcian,

who is de-  
clared em-  
peror.

her, or to the emperor *Valentinian* her husband : and truly neither of them seems to have laid any claim to the Eastern empire, though *Theodosius* left no issue male behind him. As *Pulcheria* had shared the sovereignty with her brother, and bore the title of *Augusta*, she remained by his death sole mistress of the empire ; and no person was more capable of governing it well. However, as no woman had yet reigned alone in either empire, she resolved to marry, notwithstanding the resolution she had taken, or the vow she had made, to continue a virgin to her death. Pursuant to this resolution, as soon as the death of *Theodosius* was publicly known, she sent for *Marcian*, a person famous for his exemplary piety, and extraordinary qualifications ; and told him, that she designed to raise him to the sovereignty, by marrying him, on condition that he would suffer her, agreeably to the resolution she had taken, to live and die a virgin. *Marcian* readily complying with this condition, she sent for the patriarch *Anatolius*, and the senate, and in their presence declared *Marcianus* emperor. Her choice being approved by them, and applauded by all the officers at court, both civil and military, the new emperor was crowned at the palace of *Hebdomon*, on the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of *August* of the present year 450<sup>a</sup>. His election was immediately notified to *Valentinian* ; and he approving it, his images were, according to custom, sent into the West, and received at *Rome* on the thirtieth of *March* of the following year<sup>b</sup>. After this, the marriage was celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence, *Pulcheria* being then in the fifty-first, and *Marcian* in the fiftieth year of his age<sup>c</sup>.

His birth,  
education,  
employ-  
ments, and  
character.

HE was a native of *Thrace* or *Illyricum*, and descended from a family of no great distinction, but remarkable for their attachment to the orthodox faith<sup>d</sup>. As his father served in the army, he resolved to follow the same profession ; and, pursuant to this resolution, set out for *Philippopolis* in *Thrace*, in order to lift himself there. On his journey, he found the body of a man lately killed lying on the public road ; and, prompted by his good-nature, could not proceed, till he had decently interred it. This some persons, accidentally coming by, observed, and immediately acquainted the magistrates of *Philippopolis* with what they had seen ; who thereupon caused *Marcian* to be seized and examined, and would have condemned him, had not the true author of the murder been

<sup>a</sup> THEOD. p. 551. EVAGR. lib. ii. c. 1. p. 275. THEOPH. p. 89. Chron. Alex. p. 738. <sup>b</sup> EVAGR. p. 285. <sup>c</sup> Idem

ibid. <sup>d</sup> Idem, p. 283. NICEPH. lib. xv. c. 1. p. 595.

seasonably discovered and convicted<sup>c</sup>. *Marcian*, thus set at liberty, lifted himself among the troops quartered at *Philippopolis*, and served still as a private man in 421. when, upon the breaking out of the war between the *Romans* and *Persians*, the corps in which he served was ordered into *Syria*; but *Marcian*, falling sick as they marched through *Asia*, continued a long time indisposed at a place called *Sydemas*, and thence repaired to *Constantinople*, where he lifted himself among the troops that were commanded by *Ardaburius*, and his son *Aspar*, who, discovering him to be a man of uncommon parts, raised him to the post of their secretary. With that character he attended *Aspar* in 431. into *Africa*, where he was taken prisoner by *Genferic*, with many persons of distinction, *Aspar* himself having narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. All the captives of note were, by *Genferic's* orders, brought into the palace, where while they were waiting in an open court till the king was at leisure to view them, *Marcian*, lying down on the ground, fell asleep; and an eagle at the same time appearing over him, says *Evagrius*, and intercepting with his extended wings the scorching rays of the sun, afforded him a friendly shade. This *Genferic* observed from his apartment, and, concluding from thence, that he was destined by Heaven to the empire, he granted him his liberty, after having obliged him to swear, that he would never make war upon the *Vandals*<sup>f</sup>. From *Africa* he returned to *Constantinople*, where he was, according to *Theophanes*<sup>g</sup>, honoured with the senatorial dignity. *Theodorus* styles him only tribune; but adds, that he distinguished himself in war<sup>h</sup>. He had by his first wife, who died before his accession to the empire, but one daughter, named *Euphemia*, whom, when he was raised to the sovereignty, he married to *Anthemius*, afterwards emperor of the West. All writers agree, that *Marcian* was a prince of most exemplary piety, a zealous patron of the orthodox faith, a father to his people, a sincere friend to virtue, an enemy to all vice and irreligion; in short, a person endowed with every great and good quality becoming a prince. Some writers prefer him even to *Constantine* and *Theodosius the Great*. He preferred none but persons of known abilities, and unblemished characters; whence the reader will find, in the writers of those times, great encomiums bestowed, not only upon him, but upon all those who were employed by him in the administration. In the West died the same year 450. *Pulcheria*, *Pulcheria*, mother to the emperor *Valentinian*; and was in-mother to

<sup>c</sup> EVAGR. p. 283.  
p. 81.

<sup>f</sup> Idem, p. 284.

<sup>g</sup> THEOPH.

<sup>h</sup> THEOD. l. i. p. 551.

*the emperor* Valentinian, is blamed by some writers for yielding, or inducing her son to yield, *West-Illyricum* to *Theodosius*. She had governed the Western empire with an absolute sway for the space of twenty-six years, *Valentinian* suffering her to rule, to the hour of her death, with the same authority which she had enjoyed in his minority.

*Attila assembles a formidable army.* THE following year 451. *Attila* assembled one of the most numerous and formidable armies we find mentioned in history. It consisted of *Huns*, *Gepidæ*, *Ostrogoths*, *Rugians*, *Gelons*, *Burgundians*, *Belonians*, *Squiri*, *Neurians*, *Bastarnæ*, *Turingians*, *Bruclerians*, *Franks* dwelling on the *Neckar*, *Marcomans*, *Suevians*, *Quadians*, *Heruli*, *Turcilingians*, and, in short, of all the northern barbarians, to the number of five, or, as others will have it, of seven hundred thousand men <sup>k</sup>. *Attila*, in raising for formidable an army,

had nothing less in view, than to make himself master of both empires. But, *Marcian* returning no other answer to his ambassadors, sent to demand the annual pension or tribute paid him by *Theodosius*, than that *he had gold for his friends, and steel for his enemies*, he thought it advisable to turn his arms first against *Valentinian*, whom he held in the utmost contempt, being well apprised, that it would be no difficult undertaking to reduce, in spite of all opposition, the Eastern, after he had made himself master of the Western empire. Being therefore determined to make war upon *Valentinian*, he sent a solemn embassy to that prince, demanding his sister *Honorio*, whom he pretended to be his wife, and with her half the Western empire, as belonging of right to her. We have observed above, that *Honorio* had maintained; by means of her eunuchs, a private correspondence with *Attila*, and even sent him a ring, which the ambassador produced to prove their marriage. *Valentinian* answered, That, among the *Romans*, women had no right to the imperial crown, nor to any part of the empire; and at the same time dispatched *Carpilio*, the son of *Actius*, and several other persons of great distinction, to the court of *Attila*, to convince him of the injustice of his claim.

*Here resolves to make war upon Valentinian.*

*Attila*, to the great surprize, both of *Valentinian*, and the ambassadors themselves, seemed to be fully satisfied with their reasoning, and arguments they alleged; but it was only the better to deceive the unwary prince, and put in execution a new scheme. *Hemerio* the son of *Genferic* king of the *Vandals*, having married the daughter of *Theodoric* king of the

*whom he endeavours to deceive.*

*Attila*, to the great surprize, both of *Valentinian*, and the ambassadors themselves, seemed to be fully satisfied with their reasoning, and arguments they alleged; but it was only the better to deceive the unwary prince, and put in execution a new scheme. *Hemerio* the son of *Genferic* king of the *Vandals*, having married the daughter of *Theodoric* king of the

<sup>k</sup> PROSP. CHRON. IDAT. IT. ITAL. p. 39, 40. P. 40. JORN. c. 78. p. 666. SID. CAR. VII. p. 54.

<sup>k</sup> PRISC.

*Goths* in *Languedoc*, caused her nose to be cut off soon after, and sent her back, thus disfigured, to her father, upon a bare suspicion, that she designed to poison him. As he was well apprised, that *Theodoric* would not fail to resent such an affront, he resolved to be beforehand with him; and therefore sent ambassadors with rich presents to *Attila*, to engage him to fall upon *Theodoric*. *Attila*, who wanted only some pretence to enter *Gaul*, readily closed with the proposal, pretending at the same time, that he might meet with no opposition from the *Romans*, to be fully satisfied with the reasons alleged by their ambassadors, and to relinquish all claim to any part of the empire; nay, he sent to *Valentinian* ambassadors, with a very friendly, in appearance, and obliging letter, assuring him, that his warlike preparations were designed against *Theodoric* alone; that, as to the *Romans*, he should ever look upon them as his friends, provided they did not espouse the cause of his enemy. At the same time he wrote to *Theodoric*, assuring him of his friendship, and exhorting that prince to join him against the *Romans*, as their common enemy.

THE better to surprise *Valentinian*, he did not wait the return of the ambassadors he had sent to him; but, setting out immediately from *Scythia*, though in the midst of winter, and directing his march through *Germany*, he never halted till he reached, early in the spring, the banks of the *Rhine*. There such of the *Franks*, as still dwelt on the German side of that river, endeavoured to stop him; but they were easily defeated, *Childeric* the son of *Merouée*, and grandson of *Clothar*, being taken prisoner, with his mother, and other persons of distinction<sup>1</sup>. The *Franks* being thus overcome and dispersed, *Attila* caused an incredible number of boats to be built, cutting down for that purpose whole forests; and, passing the *Rhine* without opposition, entered *Gaul*<sup>m</sup>. As he gave out, that he designed to live in friendship with the *Romans*, and only begged leave to march through their country, in order to make war upon the *Visigoths* in *Languedoc*, several cities opened their gates to him; but the rapines and violences which he suffered his men to commit in the cities that had received him, betraying his real design, the other cities shut their gates against him. Hereupon, pulling off the mask, he besieged, took by storm, and pillaged, *Tongres*, *Takes* and *Treves*, *Straßburg*, *Spire*, *Worms*, *Mentz*, and all the cities in that neighbourhood. Advancing thence into the country, and dividing his numerous army into several bodies, he put all to fire and sword; and not only reduced and pillaged, but laid

<sup>1</sup> VAL. rer. Franc. l. iv. p. 158. DU CHESNE tom. i. p. 726.  
SID. car. vii. p. 541.

<sup>m</sup> Ibidem.

in ashes, the cities of *Arras*, *Laon*, *Besançon*, *Toul*, and *Langres* <sup>n</sup>. But, notwithstanding the success that attended him on his first entering *Gaul*, he was in the end obliged by the *Romans* and *Goths* to quit that country, as we shall relate at large elsewhere.

Attila  
quits Gaul,  
and in-  
vades  
Italy.

ATTILA, being driven out of *Gaul*, retired to *Pannonia*; and, having there reinforced his army with supplies sent him out of *Scythia*, he resolved to make an irruption into *Italy*, where he hoped to meet with more booty, and less opposition, there being no *Goths*, *Alans*, *Franks*, or *Burgundians*, there to oppose him. Pursuant to this resolution, he left *Pannonia*; and, finding the passes of the *Alps* unguarded, as no hostilities were expected on that side, he entered *Italy* in the latter end of the present year 451. as *Idatius* and *Jornandes* seem to insinuate<sup>o</sup>, or in the beginning of the following year 452. when *Herculanus* and *Sporacius* were consuls. It is impossible to express the terror and consternation which so sudden and unexpected an irruption occasioned, even in the most distant provinces. *Aetius* was at first for saving himself by flight, and retiring with the emperor into *Gaul*; but, shame getting the better of his fear, he continued in *Italy*, and began to assemble the forces that were dispersed up and down the provinces. In the mean time *Attila*, advancing as far as *Aquileia*, the metropolis of the province called *Venetia*, invested that important place, battering it night and day with an incredible number of warlike engines; but, as it was well fortified, and defended by the flower of the *Roman* troops, it held out, in spite of his utmost efforts, for the space of three whole months, at the end of which it was taken by assault, pillaged for several days together, and laid in ashes, not one house being left standing, nor one person alive that fell into the enemy's hands, *Attila* designing, by this barbarous and inhuman treatment, to strike terror into the other cities, and frighten them into submission. The cities of *Trevigio*, *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Cremona*, *Brescia*, and *Bergamo*, underwent the same fate, the barbarians raging every-where with such fury as can hardly be expressed or conceived, and putting all to the sword, without distinction of sex, age, or

Aquileia  
taken and  
destroyed,  
with several  
other  
cities.

The found-  
ing of Ve-  
nice.  
condition. It is commonly believed, that on this occasion the inhabitants of the province of *Venetia*, to avoid falling into the hands of the *Huns*, retired to the islands on their coast, and there laid the foundations of a city, which, borrow-

<sup>a</sup> GREG. TUR. hist. Franc. l. ii. c. 57. p. 275. IDAT. p. 28.  
COINT. antal. eccles. Franc. p. 451. <sup>o</sup> JORNAND.  
rex. Goth. c. 42. p. 672. THEOPH. p. 92. GREG. TUR. l. ii.  
p. 277.

ing its name from the province, was called *Venetia*, and is now known by the name of *Venice* <sup>p</sup> (A).

FROM the province of *Venetia* he advanced to *Milan*, then Milan the metropolis of *Liguria*, which he took and pillaged: the *taken and city of Pavia*, and several other places in that neighbourhood, *pillaged*. he laid in ashes, after having plundered them, and put such of the inhabitants to the sword, as had not saved themselves by a timely flight. Seeing at *Milan* some pictures, representing the *Roman* emperors sitting on thrones of gold, and the *Scythians*, that is, the *Goths* or *Hunns*, prostrate at their feet, he caused himself to be painted sitting on a throne, and the *Roman* emperors carrying on their shoulders sacks filled with gold, which they emptied at his feet <sup>q</sup>. From *Liguria*, *Attila* was for advancing to *Rome*, which city was not in a condition to withstand him; but his men, remembering the untimely end of *Alaric*, who died soon after he had plundered that metropolis, did all that lay in their power to divert him, notwithstanding their thirst after plunder, from that resolution. *Attila* despised that omen; but, his troops being greatly diminished for want of provisions, and by the maladies that raged among them, and *Aetius* having at the same time, with a reinforcement sent him by *Marcian* out of the East, defeated a party of *Hunns*, he thought it advisable to put off his march to *Rome*, and pursue his ravages in the neighbouring provinces.

IN the mean time *Valentinian*, having no other resource, sent a solemn embassy to *Attila*, with proposals for an accommodation. At the head of this embassy was *Leo*, bishop of *Rome*, a person famed for his eminent piety, eloquence, and learning. His colleagues were *Albienus* or *Avienus*, who had been consul in 450. and *Trigecius*, formerly prefect. They found *Attila* on the banks of the *Menzo*, not far from *Mantua*, and were by him received with uncommon demonstrations of kindness and esteem. He concluded with *Leo*, who *Valentinian* surprised and softened him with his eloquence, a kind of *nian con-*

<sup>p</sup> POR. de imp. c. 28. p. 69. 72. VAL. rer. Franc. lib. iv. p. 169. <sup>q</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 42. p. 673.

(A) *Cassiodorus*, speaking of the *Venetians*, as he styles them, about fifty years after, says, that they inhabited the islands of the *Adriatic*; that they had no other fence against the waves but hurdles; no other food but fish; and no wealth besides their boats; and no merchandize but salt, which they exchanged for other provisions (1). -

(1) *Cassiod.* l. xii. ep. 24. p. 199.



cludes a  
treaty  
with At-  
tila,

who re-  
sires out of  
Italy.

treaty, which, it seems, was but a truce; for he threatened to return to *Italy*, and pursue his savages with more cruelty than ever, unless the princess *Honorio* was sent him, with the share of the imperial treasures that was due to her. One of the articles of this treaty was, that the emperor should pay an annual pension to *Attila*. It was no sooner signed, than he ordered his *Hunns* to forbear hostilities, and, leaving *Italy*, retired beyond the *Danube*†. *Damascus*, who flourished about this time, writes, that a bloody battle was fought under the walls of *Rome* between the *Romans* and the *Scythians* under the conduct of *Attila*; and that the slaughter was great on both sides, none but the chiefs, and a small number of their guards, being left alive; but, as he adds, that the souls of the slain pursued the engagement with great noise for three days and three nights‡, his whole account may be looked upon as fabulous.

THE following year 453. the emperor enacted a law, forbidding, on pain of death, any one to sacrifice to the gods, or even to adorn their temples with flowers, and condemning the governors and officers, who should wink at such wicked practices, to pay fifty pounds weight of gold†. The following year, the *Saracens*, the *Nubians*, and the *Blemmyes*, broke into the empire; but were defeated by the troops of *Marcian*, and forced to sue for peace, which the emperor granted them upon terms highly advantageous to the empire, as *Priscus* assures us, who attended the *Roman* ambassadors to *Damascus*, where the treaty was concluded‡.

Several  
barbarous  
nations  
settle in  
Thrace  
and Illy-  
ricum.

Year of  
the flood  
2801.

Of Christ  
453.

Of Rome  
1301.

~~~~~

THE following year, 453. *Attila* dying, several nations, formerly subdued by that conqueror, revolting from his children, begged and obtained leave of *Marcian* to settle in *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, almost intirely dispeopled by the frequent incursions of the *Hunns*, and other barbarians. Among these mention is made of the *Squiri*, *Satagairæ*, and *Alans*, who, under the conduct of *Candax* their king or leader, settled in *Lesser Scythia*, and *Lower Mæsia*: to the *Rugians*, *Sarmatians*, and *Cemandrians*, lands were granted in *Illyricum* near a place called *The castle of Mars*: to the *Goths*, commonly called *Ostrogoths* or *Eastern Goths*, to distinguish them from the *Visigoths* or *Western Goths*, who afterwards became masters of *Spain*, *Marcian* granted all *Pannonia*, from *Sirmium*, now *Sirmish*, in *Sclavonia*, to *Vindobona*, at present *Vienna*, in *Austria*, a large tract, comprising many cities. These

† JORN. rer. Goth. c. 42. p. 674—685. ‡ PHOT. c. 242. p. 1040, 1041.

† Cod. Just. lib. i. tit. 11. leg. 7. p. 105, 106.

‡ EVAGR. l. ii. c. 5. p. 295. PRISC. p. 40. NICEPH. lib. xv. c. 9. p. 61.

*Goths* were then governed by three brothers, to wit, *Valemir*, *Theodimir* the father of *Theodoric the Great*, afterwards king of *Italy*, and *Vidimir*, who divided that extensive country among them, *Valemir* settling in the Eastern part of it, *Theodimir* in the Western, and *Vidimir* between the other two <sup>w</sup>. The *Goths*, as well as the other barbarians, acknowledged the authority of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors, and were subjects of the empire; but at the same time their princes claimed an uncontrouled authority over their own people, and frequently waged war with each other. Even one of the sons of *Attila*, named *Ernac*, and several other *Huns*, submitted to the *Romans*, who granted them their lands on the most distant borders of *Lesser Scythia*, in *Dacia*, and amongst the *Sarmatians* in *Illyricum* <sup>x</sup>. The same year died, in the month *July*; the empress *Pulcheria*, daughter to *Arcadius*, sister to *Theodosius II.* and wife to *Marcian*. She left by her will, which was confirmed and executed with great fidelity by *Marcian*, the immense wealth of which she was possessed, and her rich moveables, to the poor <sup>y</sup>. She was a woman of most extraordinary parts, and is, on account of her exemplary piety, honoured both by the *Greeks* and *Latins* with the title of *Saint*. *The empress Pulcheria died;*

THE following year, 454. when *Aetius* was consul the fourth time, with *Stodius*, is remarkable for the downfall and death of that great commander, owing chiefly to the malicious insinuations of an eunuch, by name *Heraclius*, who, having *Aetius*, gained an absolute ascendant over the emperor, easily persuaded the weak prince, that *Aetius* aspired to the empire, and maintained a private correspondence with the barbarians, in order to raise himself by their means to the imperial dignity. *Aetius*, on his side, gave some occasion to the accusations of the eunuch, by pressing the emperor with too much eagerness to perform the promise he had made of marrying his eldest daughter *Eudocia* to *Gaudentius* the general's son. His importunity gave weight to the calumnies of *Heraclius*, and confirmed the weak and jealous emperor in his suspicions, which, according to *Gregory of Tours* <sup>z</sup>, and all the writers of those times, were altogether groundless. But, after all, his treachery towards count *Bonifacius*, and several others, plainly prove, that he did not on all occasions scruple sacrificing his conscience and honour to his preferment and grandeur. Some pretend, but without any positive proof, and probably without foundation, that he was at the bottom of

<sup>w</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 50—52. p. 688, 689. <sup>x</sup> Idem  
 ibid. <sup>y</sup> MARC. chron. <sup>z</sup> GREG. TUR. hist. Fran.  
 l. ii. c. 8. p. 277. VALES. p. 175.

all the disturbances that happened during his administration <sup>a</sup>. *Petronius Maximus* is said to have greatly contributed to the death of *Aetius*, by prompting the eunuchs of the court to persuade the emperor, that he aimed at nothing less than the sovereignty. The view of *Maximus* therein was, to remove out of the way the only person who screened the prince from the vengeance he was resolved to take upon him for a late affront <sup>b</sup>, of which hereafter.

who is  
treacher-  
ously mur-  
dered by  
Valenti-  
nian.

HOWEVER that be, the death of *Aetius* being resolved on, *Valentinian* ordered him one day to attend him in the palace, pretending to have some affair of the utmost importance to impart to him. *Aetius* obeyed the summons, repairing without delay to the emperor's apartment, attended by *Boetius*, the *præfectus prætorio*, his intimate friend, and several others. But *Aetius* alone was admitted into the prince's chamber; which he had no sooner entered, than *Valentinian* ran him through with his sword; and, with the assistance of the officers about him, particularly, of *Heraclius*, dispatched him in a most barbarous and inhuman manner <sup>c</sup>. Thus fell the best general of his age, the terror of *Attila*, the bulwark of the Western provinces, says *Sidonius*, by the hand of the greatest coward in the whole empire <sup>d</sup>. We are told, that *Valentinian*, having one day asked a *Roman* whether he had done well in dispatching *Aetius*, the *Roman* answered, that he could not tell whether he had done well or no; but thought he had cut off his right-hand with his left <sup>e</sup>. The prefect *Boetius*, and all those who had attended *Aetius* to the palace, were likewise dispatched, being called one after the other into the emperor's chamber <sup>f</sup>. This bloody tragedy was acted, according to *Theophanes*, at *Rome* <sup>g</sup>. *Valentinian* immediately dispatched embassadors to the *Suevians*, and other foreign nations, to acquaint them with the death of *Aetius*, and confirm the treaties that general had concluded with them <sup>h</sup>. But the news of that great man's death encouraged, it seems, some of them to make irruptions into the empire. For, in the beginning of the following year, the *Armorici*, that is, the inhabitants of the present *Bretagne* and *Normandy*, were under daily apprehensions of seeing the *Saxons* on their coasts; the

<sup>a</sup> VAL. p. 176. BUCH. Belg. p. 318. <sup>b</sup> JORN. reg. Suev. p. 654. <sup>c</sup> IDAT. p. 30. PROSP. MARC. CHRON. THEOPH. p. 92. SID. CAR. V. p. 318. <sup>d</sup> SID. CAR. VII. p. 342. <sup>e</sup> Persec. Vand. hist. lib. i. c. 4. p. 187. <sup>f</sup> PROSP. IDAT. MARC. CASSIOD. &c. <sup>g</sup> THEOPH. p. 92. <sup>h</sup> IDAT. CASSIOD. &c.

*Alemans* passed the *Rhine* near *Basse*, and the *Franks* laid waste the territories of *Mentz* and *Rheims* <sup>1</sup>.

THE following year, 455. when *Valentinian* was consul the eighth time, with *Anthemius*, son-in-law to the emperor *Marcian*, the Western empire was involved in endless calamities. The emperor *Valentinian* was murdered on the seventeenth of *March*, and the empire seized by *Petronius Maximus*, grandson to *Magnus Clemens Maximus*, who, having usurped the sovereignty in 383. was taken and put to death by *Theodosius the Great* in 388. Authors give us the following account of the unhappy end of *Valentinian*, and usurpation of *Maximus*. The latter having married a lady equally famous for her beauty and chastity, *Valentinian*, taken with her charms, fell passionately in love with her; but, her virtue being proof against all his presents, menaces, and promises, he had recourse to the following artifice: He sent one day for *Maximus* to play with him at dice; and, having won of him a considerable sum, obliged him to leave his ring as a pledge for the payment of it. This ring he sent privately to the wife of *Maximus*, desiring her in her husband's name to repair to the palace, and wait upon the empress. The lady, knowing the ring, hastened to the palace, in compliance with the supposed orders of her husband; but was conducted by some persons employed for that purpose to a remote apartment, where *Valentinian*, without any regard to her tears and intreaties, robbed her by force of that which was infinitely more dear to her than her life. Upon her return home, she burst into a flood of tears, reproaching, in most bitter terms, her husband, whom she believed privy to her dishonour, and his own infamy. *Maximus*, on the other hand, then first apprised of the emperor's wicked artifice, acquainted his wife with it, and resolved at all events to be revenged on *Valentinian* <sup>2</sup>.

PURSUANT to this resolution, he applied to the friends of *Maximus*, *Actius*, whom the emperor had lately caused to be murdered, especially to *Traustila* and *Optila* or *Occylla*, two barbarians, who had served under that general, and had been distinguished by him with particular marks of kindness and esteem. These readily undertook to revenge the death of their old commander, and at the same time the dishonour offered to *Maximus*; and accordingly falling upon *Valentinian*, while he was diverting himself in the *Campus Martius* at *Rome*, they first killed his favourite eunuch *Heraclius*, who courageously interposed, and endeavoured to save his master, and then di-

*Valentinian falls in love with the wife of Maximus.*

*to revenge the violence offered her, causes Valentinian to be murdered.*

<sup>1</sup> SID. car. vii. p. 544.  
p. 186, 187.

<sup>2</sup> PROCOF. bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 4.

Year of the flood 2803. Of Christ 455. Of Rome 1303. spatched, with many wounds, the emperor himself in the sight of the whole court<sup>1</sup> (B). *Valentinian* was murdered on the seventeenth of *March* of the present year 455. after having lived thirty-four years, and reigned twenty-nine, and about five months, reckoning from the twenty-third of *October* 425. when he was first declared *Augustus*<sup>m</sup>. His tomb is thought to be still extant at *Ravenna*<sup>n</sup>.

The character of *Valentinian*.

As he had very slender parts, he was intirely governed by the eunuchs of the court, who disposed, at their pleasure, of all the great offices, sacrificing the good of the public, and the honour of the prince, to their private interest and ambition. He had not courage enough to head his armies in person; and, besides, was, by his effeminate education, become altogether incapable of bearing the toils of a military life. The only journeys he undertook were from *Ravenna* to *Rome*, and from *Rome* back again to *Ravenna*, keeping himself in both places locked up in his palace with an herd of eunuchs, and indulging, without restraint, his most brutal inclinations, though married to one of the most beautiful women of that age<sup>o</sup>.

*Maximus assumes the purple*;

THE day after his death, *Maximus*, the author of it, assumed the purple; and, being saluted by the *Roman* people with the title of *Augustus*, he immediately raised his son, by name *Palladius*, to the dignity of *Cæsar*. *Maximus* was sprung from an illustrious family in *Rome*, and had discharged with great applause and reputation the first offices in the state. He was possessed of immense wealth, which he shared and enjoyed with his friends, leading an easy and quiet life, and indulging himself in all the diversions and recreations which his plentiful estate could afford him. Hence he no sooner began to feel the anxieties inseparable from a crown, especially when acquired by unlawful means, than he repented the step he had taken, panting after his former condition. *Sidonius*

<sup>1</sup> MARC. IDAT. CASSIOD. chron. EVAGR. c. 7. p. 298. JORN. reg. Suev. p. 654. GREG. TUR. p. 277. <sup>m</sup> IDAT. p. 30. <sup>n</sup> MAB. itel. Ital. p. 40. <sup>o</sup> THEOPH. p. 91. ZON. p. 40. CONST. MANASS. p. 51. PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 3. p. 182.

(B) *Præcopius*, and *John of Antiöch*, who evidently copies from him, are the only authors who mention the indignity offered to *Maximus*. *Sidonius* and *Idatius*, without taking the least notice of the outrage, ascribe the death of *Valentinian* to the unbounded ambition of *Maximus*, not to be satisfied with any thing less than the empire itself (2).

(2) *Sid. l. ii. ep. 11. p. 57. Idat. p. 31.*

writes,

writes, that, the very first night he lodged in the palace, he was heard crying out, *Happy Damocles, whose reign began and ended with a dinner!* nay, he had some thoughts of abandoning *Rome*, of quitting the ensigns of majesty, and resuming, in some corner of *Italy*, his former method of life <sup>p</sup>. But, being diverted from that resolution by his friends, he appointed *Avitus*, then in *Gaul*, commander in chief of the Roman armies, who immediately dispatched *Messianus* to acquaint *Theodoric* king of the *Visigoths* with the accession of *Maximus* to the empire. That general went soon after to confer in person with the *Gothish* king, and entered *Toulouse*, attended by *Theodoric* himself on his right hand, and one of the prince's brothers on his left. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with *Theodoric*, when he unexpectedly received the disagreeable tidings of the death of *Maximus*, which put him upon other measures <sup>q</sup>. The wife of *Maximus* dying soon after the outrage supposed to have been offered her, the usurper, that he might have some title to the crown, obliged *Eudoxia*, the deceased emperor's widow, to marry him, contrary to her inclination, a few days after the murder of her husband; and at the same time married her daughter *Eudocia* to his son *Palladius*. *Eudoxia*, being forced to marry him, invites *Genferic* into *Italy*.

*EUDOXIA*, who had loved *Valentinian* with great tenderness, highly provoked in seeing herself married, against her will, to the very person who had deprived him both of his life and empire, resolved, whatever it cost her, to revenge the death of her former husband, and the affront offered in her person to his bed. Blinded, therefore, with passion, and thirst of revenge, she took such measures as proved fatal to herself, to *Rome*, and all *Italy*. For, expecting no assistance from *Marcian*, unwilling perhaps to engage in a civil war, she dispatched a trusty messenger to *Genferic* in *Africa*, conjuring him to come and revenge the death of his friend and ally *Valentinian*, and to rescue her out of the arms of a tyrant, the murderer of her husband <sup>r</sup>. Some authors affirm, that she wrote to the king of the *Vandals* with her own hand, assuring him, that he would meet with no great resistance in *Italy*, and promising to assist him to the utmost of her power. This message was very acceptable to *Genferic*, who had long wished for such an opportunity, which he embraced with great joy; and, putting to sea without loss of time, steered his course strait to *Rome*. When his numerous fleet first ap-

<sup>p</sup> SID. lib. ii. ep. 13. p. 57, 58.  
<sup>r</sup> EVAGR. l. ii. c. 7. p. 298.

<sup>q</sup> Idem, car. vii.

Maximus  
murdered.

peared, the chief citizens, and all persons of distinction, struck with terror and dismay, instead of putting themselves in a posture of defence, thought only of consulting their safety by flight <sup>a</sup>. Among these was *Maximus* himself; but, as he was flying with those of his court, the populace, highly incensed against him for thus shamefully abandoning those whom it was his duty to protect, rising on a sudden, pursued him with showers of stones; which some of *Valentinian's* officers observing, they threw themselves upon him; and a *Roman* soldier, by name *Ursus*, gave him the fatal blow <sup>b</sup>. His body was ignominiously dragged through the chief streets of the city; and, after it had lain some time exposed to the insults of the incensed multitude, thrown into the *Tiber*. Such was the end of the usurper *Maximus*, after he had lived about sixty years, and borne the title of emperor three months wanting five days. His son *Palladius* is supposed to have undergone the same fate.

Rome  
taken and  
plundered  
by Gen-  
seric.

THREE days after the death of *Maximus*, that is, on the fifteenth of *June*, *Genferic* entered *Rome* without opposition, and abandoned it to the mercy of his *Vandals*, strictly injoining them, however, not to set fire to the city, nor shed the blood of the inhabitants, pursuant to the promise he had made to *Leo the Great*, then bishop of *Rome*, who had gone out to meet him <sup>c</sup>. They continued in the city fourteen days, pillaging not only the private houses, but stripping the public buildings of all their rich ornaments, and even the churches of their sacred vessels. They took an incredible number of captives, every one seizing such women as they liked best, and, amongst the men, those who they thought would be of most use to them. *Genferic* himself forced the imperial palace; and, having seized on the treasure, and all the rich moveables he found there, he caused them to be put on board a vessel, with the empress *Eudoxia*, her two daughters *Placidia* and *Eudocia*, and *Gaudentius* the son of *Aetius*; and carried them all into captivity. Amongst the spoils, mention is made of a great many statues, with which a vessel was loaded; of half the covering of the capitol, which was of brass plated over with gold; of sacred vessels of gold, enriched with precious stones; and of those which had been formerly taken by *Titus* out of the temple of *Jerusalem*, and brought to *Rome*.

Eudoxia  
and her  
daughters  
carried in-  
to capti-  
vity.

*GENSERIC*, having thus stripped the city of all its wealth, and valuable ornaments, returned with his fleet to *Africa*; but

<sup>a</sup> SID. p. 174.  
<sup>c</sup> 45. p. 677.  
abron.

<sup>b</sup> PROCOF. p. 186. JORNAND. rer. Goth.  
<sup>c</sup> THEOPH. p. 93. VICT. PROSP.

lost in his passage the ship that carried the statues w. *Marcian*, sensibly affected with the misfortune of *Eudoxia*, and the two princesses her daughters, dispatched ambassadors to *Genferic*, earnestly intreating him to set them at liberty; but he, despising both his intreaties and menaces, kept them till the year 462. when he sent back *Eudoxia*, with her second daughter *Placidia*, to *Leo* the successor of *Marcian*. As for *Eudocia*, he married her to *Hunneric* his eldest son, who had by her *Hilderic*, afterwards king of the *Vandals* in *Africa* x. In the East *Marcian* enacted this year a famous law, dated, according to some, the first of *May*, according to others, the twenty-second of *April*, wherein he allowed every one to bequeath to the ecclesiastics and monks what they pleased, and revoked the laws of the other emperors his predecessors, forbidding widows and deaconesses to leave any thing by way of will to the church y. This law is addressed to *Palladius*, the *præfectus prætorio*, to whom is likewise addressed another against the *Eutychians*, dated from *Constantinople* the first of *August* z. Of the few writers who flourished under *Valentinian III.* we shall speak in our note (C).

AVITUS,

- w THEOPH. p. 93. EVAGR. p. 98. PROCOF. p. 189. x THEOD. lib. i. p. 552. PRISC. p. 41. y Cod. Theod. nov. l. iii. tit. 5. z Concil. tom. iv. p. 886. 888.

(C) The chronicle of *Idatius* has been of great use to us in writing the history of *Valentinian's* reign. He was a native of *Lamego* in the province of *Beira*, belonging then to *Galicia*, but at present to the kingdom of *Portugal*. His parents dying when he was very young, he left *Spain*, and retired to the East, where he saw *St. Jerom*, *Eulogius* of *Cæsarea*, *John* of *Jerusalem*, and *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*. He owns himself to have been but indifferently versed in polite literature, and still less in the study of the holy Scripture (3). But, as to the latter, *Leo the Great*, bishop of *Rome*, seems to have been of a

different opinion, since he employed him against the *Priscillianists* (4). He was ordained bishop in the third year of the reign of *Valentinian III.* that is, about the year 427. for he reckons from the time that prince was created *Cæsar* (5). *Sigibert*, and some other writers, suppose him to have been bishop of *Lamego*. And truly the words of his preface leave it doubtful, whether he was bishop, or only a native, of that city; but in his chronicle he tells us, that the bishop *Idatius* was taken in the church of *Aqua Flavia*, and returned, after three months captivity, to *Flavia* (6). As he evidently speaks in that place of

(3) *Idat. chron.* p. 2—10.

(4) *Leo, op. xxvii. c. 17.* p. 162.

(5) *Idem, p. 4.*

(6) *Idem, p. 39.*



AVITUS, or *Flavius Mæcilius Avitus*, as he is styled on an antient medal<sup>a</sup>, had been appointed by *Maximus* commander in

<sup>a</sup> GOLTZ. p. 135.

himself, father *L'Abbé* concludes him to have been a native of *Lamego*, and bishop of *Aqua Flavia* (7); which last city *Sanson* places in the territory of *Braga*, on the confines of *Portugal*, calling it *Aquæ Leæ Turodonum*. *Leo* bishop of *Rome* only writes, that *Idatius* was bishop in *Galicia* (8). *Du Pin* will have him to have been archbishop of *Lugo* (9), not reflecting that *Idatius* was ordained bishop in 427. and that, six years after, the see of *Lugo* was held by *Asterius* (1). In the year 431. *Idatius* was sent by the natives of *Galicia* to implore the assistance of *Aetius*, then in *Gaul*, against the *Suevians*, who, contrary to the articles of a late treaty, pillaged the country. He returned from *Gaul* the following year with count *Censorinus*, sent by *Aetius* to treat with the *Suevians*. He was taken by the *Suevians* in the church of *Aqua Flavia* on the twenty-sixth of *July* 462. but after three months captivity was set at liberty. Notwithstanding the wars and disturbances that reigned in his time all over the empire, especially in *Spain*, he wrote a chronicle, which is, properly speaking, a continuation of that of *St. Jerom*. What he wrote from the death of *Valens*, where his chronicle begins, to the third year of *Valentinian's* reign, and his own episcopacy, he either copied, as he assures us,

from the best writers, or learnt of persons of unquestionable veracity: of all the rest, he was himself an eye-witness. He writes, that he had the misfortune to see the *Roman* empire reduced within narrow bounds, and in great danger of losing the little it retained; that the discipline of the church was utterly neglected in *Galicia*, and the liberties of the people intirely lost, the barbarians, who prevailed there, acknowledging no other law but their arbitrary will and caprice. He carries his chronicle down to the third year of *Anthemius's* reign, that is, to the year 469, the forty-first of his episcopacy. The chronicle of *Idatius* gives great light to the history of those times, especially to that of *Spain*; whence *Isidore* and some others have copied it almost word for word. However, it is not quite free from faults, especially in point of chronology, either the author himself, or his transcribers, reckoning sometimes the end of one emperor's reign, and the beginning of another's, as two distinct years, which is a very gross mistake. The years of the emperors are marked all along with the *Olympiads*, and, in imitation of *St. Jerom*, the years of the supplication of *Eusebius* from the birth of *Abraham*. The æra of *Spain*, which is thirty years anterior to ours, is marked in the beginning

(7) *L'Abb. script. tom. ii. p. 496.*

(9) *Du Pin, tom. iv. p. 557.*

(8) *Leo, tom. ii. p. 827, 828.*

(1) *Idat. p. 20.*

in chief of all the *Roman* forces, and was at the court of *Theodoric* king of the *Visigoths*, when news were brought him of the death of the usurper. He immediately acquainted *Theodoric* with what had happened, who thereupon pressed him to assume the purple, and even caused him to be proclaimed emperor by the *Goths* in *Toulouse*, on the tenth of *July* of the present year, promising to support him in his new dignity

*Avitus*  
proclaimed  
emperor at  
*Toulouse*,  
and after  
at *Arles*.

on the margin. Father *Sirmond*, to whom we are indebted for this chronicle, has annexed to it a book of consular tables, which he believes to have been done by the same author. Father *Sirmond* published only part of these tables. But father *L'Abbé* inserted the whole in his *bibliotheca nova*, and *Du Cange* in his *chronicon paschale* (2), which extends from the consulship of *Brutus*, the first consul, to the second consulship of *Anthemius* in 468. so that the consular tables end about a year after the chronicle. In the tables no other æra is marked but that of *Spain*, which gives us room to believe, that they were done by a native of that country. (3). They are reckoned very exact; but yet some faults have crept into them, which, in all likelihood, is owing to the ignorance of the transcribers. In the time of *Charlemagne*, a French chronologer published an epitome of the chronicle of *Idatius*, which is to be found in *Canisius* (4). The work intituled *notitia imperii* is supposed to have been written in the reign of *Valentinian III.* and *Theodosius II.* but by some in the very beginning, by others in the latter end, of the reign of *Theodosius*. This *noti-*

*tia* contains a succinct account of the state of the empire in those times, to wit, of the provinces, and their governors; of the other magistrates, both civil and military, their titles and officers; of their land and sea forces; of their foot and horse; of their troops, both *Roman* and foreign, and the places where they were quartered, &c. This *notitia* was published by *Guidus Pancirollus* in 1593. with copious comments, of which father *L'Abbé* speaks with great contempt, ridiculing the cuts with which they are adorned, representing, as *Pancirollus* imagines, the habits and ornaments peculiar to each office and dignity. To the *notitia* is added the description of *Rome* by an anonymous author, who is supposed to have written under *Valentinian III.* To this description of *Rome*, father *L'Abbé* adds one of *Constantinople*, done likewise by an anonymous writer, either in the reign of *Arcadius*, or of *Theodosius* the younger. The treatise *de rebus bellicis*, which *L'Abbé* adds to it, is supposed to have been written about the same time; but the author, who seems to have been a private person, and to have professed the study of philosophy, is not known.

(2) *L'Abb. p. 3. Cange chron. pasch. p. 439.*  
 (3) *p. 8. & Noris. de Diocles. num. p. 11.*  
 641.

(3) *Vide Wilt. ad*  
 (4) *Canis. rom. ii. p. 647,*

with the whole strength of his kingdom<sup>b</sup>. However, he did not, it seems, take upon him the title of emperor till he was proclaimed some time after, that is, on the eighth of *August*, by the *Roman* army at *Arles*, and by all the chief men in *Gaul*. *Theodoric* went immediately, attended by his brothers, to *Arles*, to congratulate the new prince on his accession to the empire, and was received by him as one to whom he was chiefly indebted for the dignity he enjoyed<sup>c</sup>. From *Arles* the new emperor set out soon after to *Rome*, where he was received by the populace with great demonstrations of joy. *Marcian*, who had nothing so much at heart as the public well-known fare and tranquillity, readily approved of his promotion, and by *Marcian* acknowledged him for his colleague<sup>d</sup>. The following year, when *Varanes* and *Johannes* were consuls, a bloody war broke out between the *Suevians* in *Spain* and the *Visigoths* in *Aquitain*; of which we shall speak in a more proper place. The same year, *Genferic*, putting to sea with a numerous fleet, and a considerable army on board, with a design to ravage the coasts of *Italy* or *Gaul*, was overtaken near *Corfica* by the *Roman* fleet, under the command of *Ricimer*, and utterly defeated<sup>e</sup>. *Ricimer*, styled by some *Richimer* or *Richemer*, was sprung from the royal family of the *Suevians*; but, as his mother was the daughter of *Vallia* king of the *Goths* in 418. he is commonly looked upon rather as a *Goth* than a *Suevian*. He served from his youth in the *Roman* armies, and acquired such reputation by his warlike exploits, that *Sidonius* gives him the title of *invincible*, and *Jornandes* styles him the best commander of his age<sup>f</sup>; nay, *Sidonius* prefers him for courage to *Sylla*, for prudence to *Fabius*, for good-nature to *Metellus*, for eloquence to *Appius*, for vigour and resolution to *Fulvius*, and for address to *Camillus*<sup>g</sup>. But these good qualities were not without the alloy of as many bad ones; for he was a man without faith, honour, or honesty; ambitious to such a degree, that, not satisfied with being commander in chief of all the forces of the West, patrician, and son-in-law of an emperor, he took upon him to raise and depose emperors at his pleasure, and, since he was excluded by his birth from wearing the imperial crown himself, to command and controul those who wore it. This unbounded ambition, this unbridled lust of ruling, prompted him to murder four emperors, three of whom had been raised by himself, and to stir up and assist underhand the avowed enemies of that empire,

<sup>b</sup> GREG. TUR. lib. ii. c. 11. p. 280.

ISIDOR. CHRON.

<sup>d</sup> IDAT. p. 32.<sup>f</sup> JORN. c. 45. p. 678. SID. CAR. II. p. 301.

p. 317.

<sup>c</sup> IDAT. p. 31.<sup>e</sup> IDAT. p. 34.<sup>g</sup> SID. CAR. V.

which he was by the strongest ties bound to protect and defend. Elated with his success over *Genferic*, instead of pursuing it, he returned to *Rome*, and, revolting with *Majorianus*, obliged the senate to declare *Avitus* unworthy of the empire; which no sooner came to the prince's ears, who was then in *Gaul*, than he hastened back to *Italy*; but, upon his arrival at *Placentia*, he was stopped by *Ricimer*, and stripped of all the ensigns of majesty <sup>h</sup>. *Theophanes* writes, that *Avitus* was overcome in battle by *Ricimer* on the sixteenth of *October* <sup>i</sup>; so that he had scarce reigned fourteen months. Being thus divested of the purple, he caused himself to be ordained bishop of *Placentia*; but, the senate insisting upon his being put to death, he withdrew from *Placentia*, with a design to take sanctuary in the church of St. *Julian* at *Brioude* in *Auvergne*, the place of his nativity. *Gregory of Tours* adds, that he died on the road, and his body was brought to *Brioude*, and buried near that of the holy martyr *Julian* <sup>k</sup>. The next consuls were *Constantine* and *Rufus*, belonging both to the Eastern empire, no emperor being yet chosen in the West. In the beginning of this year 457. died the emperor *Marcian*, after having reigned six years, five months, and two days. His death, which *Theodorus*, surnamed *the Reader*, ascribes to his having assisted at a procession on the twenty-sixth of *January* <sup>l</sup>, must have happened about the end of that month; for *Leo*, who succeeded him, was proclaimed at *Constantinople* on the seventh of *February*. *Marcian* is commended, by all the writers of those times, for the innocence and simplicity of his manners, for his extraordinary piety, and zeal for the purity of religion <sup>m</sup>. *Leo* bishop of *Rome* calls him a prince of blessed and venerable memory <sup>n</sup>; and the *Greeks* honour him with the title of *Saint*, celebrating his festival, with that of the empress *Pulcheria*, on the seventeenth of *February*. He was buried in the church of St. *Zea* at *Constantinople*, which he had built <sup>o</sup> (D).

<sup>h</sup> GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 11. p. 280.<sup>i</sup> THEOPH. p. 94.<sup>k</sup> GREG. TUR. p. 280.<sup>l</sup> THEOD. l. i. p. 650.<sup>m</sup> Idem.

p. 70. EVAGR. l. ii. p. 299. IDAT. MARC. &amp; chron. Alex. p. 747.

<sup>n</sup> LEO, ep. 12.<sup>o</sup> CODIN. orig. Constantin.

p. 48.

(D) *Priscus*, of whom we work only some fragments have have spoken above, wrote the reached our times (5). history of his reign; but of that

Leo pro-  
claimed  
emperor.

A FEW days after the death of *Marcian*, *Leo* was proclaimed emperor, with the unanimous consent of the senate, people, and soldiery, and crowned by *Anatolius*, patriarch of *Constantinople* <sup>p</sup>. This is the first instance we find in history of a prince's receiving the crown at the hands of a bishop.

*His birth*, *Leo*, distinguished by the *Greeks* with the surname of *the education*, *Great*, was, according to the most probable opinion, a native of *Thrace*, and is thence commonly called *Leo the Thracian*. *employ-ments, &c.* He had served from his youth in the *Roman* armies, and commanded a body of troops encamped at *Selymbria* in *Thrace*, when he was raised to the empire. His prudence, moderation, impartiality in the administration of justice, exemplary piety, and zeal for the catholic religion, are greatly extolled by the writers who flourished in those times. *Leo* is said to have owed his promotion to the patrician *Aspar*, of whom we have made frequent mention, and his son *Ardaburius*, who, not daring, though very powerful, to assume the purple themselves, as they were *Arians* by religion, and not *Romans* by birth, but *Goths*, or rather *Alans*, conferred it upon *Leo*, in whose name they hoped to reign; nay, we are told, that *Leo* promised to raise one of *Aspar's* sons to the dignity of *Cæsar* <sup>q</sup>. In the very beginning of his reign, great disturbances were raised by the *Eutychians* in *Alexandria*, who, hearing of the death of *Marcian*, rose in a tumultuous manner, murdered the catholic bishop *Proterus*, and chose in his room one of their own sect, named *Timotheus Elurus*. The tumult was soon quelled; but the authors of it, putting themselves under the protection of *Aspar*, a zealous patron of *Arianism*, were by him screened from the punishment due to their wickedness <sup>r</sup>.

*Majoria-  
nus raised  
to the em-  
pire in the  
West.*

IN the West, after an interreign of about three months, during which time *Ricimer* governed with an absolute sway, *Majorianus* was proclaimed emperor by the senate, the people, and the soldiery, *Ricimer* proposing him as a person in every respect well qualified for that high station. All we know of his family is, that his father had served with great reputation under *Ætius*, and was afterwards raised to the office of treasurer of the empire. His mother was the daughter of *Majorianus*, appointed by *Theodosius* I. or rather by *Gratian*, in 379. general of the *Roman* horse and foot in *Pannonia*. From him the emperor took the name of *Majorianus*. He was raised to the empire in the flower of his age, having already given several instances, not only of his courage, and

<sup>p</sup> THEOPH. p. 95. THEOD. p. 568. MARC. chron. <sup>q</sup> ZO-  
MAR. p. 40. THEOD. p. 568. THEOPH. p. 575. <sup>r</sup> CEDREN. p. 346. LEO, ep. 118. p. 671.

military abilities, but of his good-nature, generosity, moderation, and other amiable qualities. *Procopius*, speaking of him, says, that he surpassed in every virtue all the princes who had reigned before him \*. He lived from his childhood in great intimacy with *Ricimer*, and therefore was easily prevailed upon by him to revolt from *Avitus*. Soon after the deposing of that prince, he was raised to the post of general in the room of *Ricimer*, who was created patrician, probably by *Marcian*, or *Leo* his successor; for the emperor of the East is supposed to have governed the Western empire during the interregnum †. He had not been long general, when he was proclaimed emperor at a place about six miles from *Ravenna*, called *The little pillars* ‡. In the beginning of his reign, a civil war being kindled among the *Suevians*, they concluded a peace with the *Romans*, that is, with the natives, who still held several strong-holds in *Galicia*, and acknowledged the authority of the emperor; but, notwithstanding this peace, *Lisbon* they made themselves masters of *Lisbon*, after having been admitted into the place as friends §. the Suevians.

THE following year, when the two emperors, *Leo* and *Majorianus*, were consuls, the *Vandals* made a descent on the coast of *Campania*; but *Majorianus*, marching against them, defeated them in the neighbourhood of *Sinuessu*, between the *Garigliano* and the *Volturno*; put great numbers of them to the sword, among whom was the brother-in-law of *Genferic* their commander; and obliged the rest to save themselves on board their fleet, which sailed immediately for *Africa* \*. *Majorianus*, resolved to pursue them thither, and to attempt the recovery of that wealthy country, applied himself to the fitting out of a powerful fleet; and had, before the end of this year, assembled a great number of troops, and above three hundred ships †. But of this enterprize hereafter. In the East, the city of *Antioch* was almost utterly ruined by an earthquake, which happened on the fourteenth of *September*. Scarce a single house was left standing in the new city, the most beautiful quarter of that metropolis ‡.

THE following year 460. when *Magnus* and *Apollonius* were consuls, *Majorianus*, leaving *Arles*, bent his march towards *Spain*, which he entered in the month of *May*, with

\* PROCOF. bell. Vand. l. i. p. 194.

† Vide VALES. p. 186.

‡ JORN. ser. succ. p. 654. MARC. chron.

\* IDAT. p. 37.

ISIDOR. chron.

† SID. car. v. p. 325.

‡ Idem, p. 324.

PRISC. p. 42. PROCOF. bell. Vand. c. 7. p. 194.

§ EVAG.

l. ii. c. 12. THEOPH. p. 95. NICEPH. chron.

Majorianus resolves to pass over into Africa. His fleet surprised by the Vandals.

a design to pass over from thence into *Africa* <sup>a</sup> (E). *Genferic*, alarmed at the vast preparations that were carrying on in all the ports of the empire, sent deputies to sue for peace; but his proposals being rejected, he dispatched a squadron of his best ships, with orders to attack the *Roman* fleet riding in the bay of *Alicant*; which they did with such success, that they took most of the *Roman* ships, and returned with them in triumph to *Africa*. This misfortune, which was chiefly owing to the treachery of some on board the *Roman* fleet, put a stop to the enterprize, and obliged *Majorianus* to return to *Arles*; whence he issued out orders for the equipping of a new fleet. But, in the mean time, *Genferic*, dreading the arms and valour of *Majorianus*, dispatched ambassadors to him, with new proposals; which, in the end, he accepted, as they were very advantageous to the empire <sup>b</sup>. Thus a peace was concluded between *Majorianus* and *Genferic*; but the articles of the treaty have not been transmitted to posterity.

In the East nothing happened this year that deserves notice, except an earthquake, which overturned great part of the city of *Cyzicus* <sup>c</sup>. The following year 461. *Severinus* and *Dagalaiphus* being consuls, *Ricimer*, who had raised *Majorianus* to the empire, thinking himself neglected by him, and jealous of the great reputation the prince had gained by his wife and vigorous administration, resolved to depose him; and accordingly, having got him by treachery into his power, as he was returning from *Gaul* to *Rome*, he stripped him of the imperial ornaments at *Tortona* in the *Milanese* on the second of *August*, and caused him, on the seventh of the same month, to be put to death at *Iria*, now *Voghera*, after he had reigned three years, and some months <sup>d</sup>. The account which *Procopius* gives us of his death, shews, that we must not lay great stress upon the authority of that writer <sup>e</sup>. *Ma-*

Majorianus surprised by Ricimer, and put to death.

Year of the flood 2809.

Of Christ

461.

Of Rome

1309.

bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 194.

<sup>a</sup> IDAT. MARC. chron. PRISC. p. 42.

<sup>b</sup> PROCOF. p. 194.

PRISC. p. 42.

<sup>c</sup> MARC. chron.

<sup>d</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 45.

p. 678. IDAT. p. 40. EVAG. l. ii. c. 7. p. 299.

<sup>e</sup> PROCOF.

bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 194.

(E) *Procopius* writes, that the better to inform himself of the strength of the enemy, the state of the country, and the disposition of the inhabitants, he went in disguise to the court of *Genferic*, pretending to be an em-

bassador sent by the *Roman* emperor, with proposals for an accommodation (6). This *Procopius* relates with such circumstances, as render the whole account altogether incredible.

*Majorianus*, in whose reign the empire seemed in a manner to revive, being thus removed, *Ricimer* caused *Severus* to be *Severus* proclaimed at *Ravenna*, on the nineteenth of *November*, made *em-* hoping to reign in his name, the new prince being no-way *peror.* qualified for that high station. All we know of him is, that he was a native of *Lucania*<sup>f</sup>. In the East, *Leo* refusing to pay the usual pension to *Valamir*, *Theodimir*, and *Widimir*, kings of the *Ostrogoths*, whom *Marcian* had allowed to settle in *Pannonia*, as we have related above, they flew to arms, laid waste great part of *Illyricum*, and made themselves masters of several cities; but *Anthemius*, son-in-law to the late emperor *Marcian*, having obliged them to retire into *Pannonia*, they hearkened to the ambassadors that were sent by *Leo* to renew the antient alliance between them and the empire. A peace was accordingly concluded, and the famous *Theodoric*, afterwards king of *Italy*, then in the eighth year of his age, delivered up to *Leo* as an hostage g. But of him we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the history of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*.

THE following year, when the emperor *Leo* was consul for the second time, with *Severus*, emperor of the West, who nevertheless seems not to have been acknowledged by the *Greeks*, *Genferic*, pretending not to be bound by the late treaty with *Majorianus* after that prince's death, sent a powerful fleet to pillage the coasts of *Sicily* and *Italy*, and made himself master of *Sardinia*<sup>h</sup>. The same year *Mar-* *Marcellinus*, or, as *Procopius* calls him, *Marcellianus*, who had *nus esta-* served with great reputation in the *Roman* armies, no longer *blishes a* able to bear the haughty behaviour of *Ricimer*, revolted from *new so-* *Severus*, and, retiring into *Dalmatia*, established there a new *verignty* sovereignty, independent of the empire<sup>i</sup>. • Hereupon the in- *in Dalma-* habitants of *Italy*, seeing themselves at the same time threaten- *tia.* ed by *Marcellinus*, and by *Genferic*, had recourse to *Leo*, emperor of the East, who immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Genferic* and *Marcellinus*. The latter, satisfied to see himself acknowledged by *Leo* prince of the country which he had seized, promised not to molest the *Romans*. But *Genferic* openly declared, that he would hearken to no terms, till the effects of *Valentinian* were delivered up to him; which he claimed, because his son *Hunneric* had married *Eudocia*, that prince's eldest daughter. However, he sent back to *Leo*

<sup>f</sup> JORN. reg. succ. c. 46. p. 654. THEOPH. p. 97. IDAT. p. 40. ONUPH. p. 306. SID. p. 111. EVAG. p. 70. <sup>g</sup> JORN. p. 690. PRISC. p. 74. PHOT. c. 78. p. 172. <sup>h</sup> PRISC. p. 74. PROCOF. bell. Vand. l. iv. c. 6. p. 192. <sup>i</sup> PHOT. c. 242. PROCOF. p. 191. IDAT. p. 43.



The Visigoths defeated in Gaul by Ægidius. The Alans defeated by Ricimer.

Severus dies. Year of the flood 2813. Of Christ 465. Of Rome 1313.

A great fire at Constantinople.

Anthemius raised to the empire

*Eudoxia*, the widow of *Valentinian*, and *Placidia*, her second daughter; who being soon after married to *Olybrius*, of whom hereafter, *Genferic* declared he would wage an eternal war with the Western empire, unless *Olybrius*, brother-in-law to his son, was raised to the imperial dignity<sup>k</sup>. To this low ebb was the Roman grandeur reduced by the death of *Majorianus*, and the administration of *Ricimer*. The following year 463. *Flavius Cæcina Basilus* and *Vivianus* being consuls, *Ægidius* gained a signal victory over the *Visigoths* in *Gaul*. The next year *Rusticus*, or *Rusticius*, and *Olybrius*, being consuls, *Beorgor* king of the *Alans*, having entered *Italy* with a considerable army, was met by *Ricimer* in the neighbourhood of *Bergamo*, and, on the sixth of *February*, cut off, with all his men<sup>l</sup>. Whence these *Alays* came, is uncertain. This *Jornandes* supposes to have happened in the reign of *Anthemius*; but we have followed *Idatius*, who lived at that time. The same year died *Ægidius* in *Gaul*, being, according to some, says *Idatius*, poisoned, according to others, murdered. That writer adds, that, upon his death, the *Visigoths* made themselves masters of the far greater part of *Gaul*.

In 465. when *Basiliscus* and *Hermenericus* were consuls, died at *Rome* *Severus*, after having borne the name of emperor almost four years. He is supposed to have been poisoned by *Ricimer*<sup>m</sup>. His death was followed by an interregnum of almost two years, *Ricimer* ruling, during that time, with an absolute sway, but not daring, as he was by birth a barbarian, to take upon him the title of emperor. The same year a violent fire breaking out in *Constantinople* on the second of *September*, reduced to ashes eight of the fourteen quarters, into which that city was divided. However, it was at last overcome, after it had raged with incredible fury for the space of six whole days, and as many nights<sup>n</sup>. The following year, when the emperor *Leo* alone was consul the third time, *Ricimer* assembled a powerful fleet, with a design to attempt the recovery of *Africa*; but was, by contrary and violent winds, which continued blowing the whole summer, obliged to drop that enterprize<sup>o</sup>. In the following consulship of *Pusæus* and *Johannes*, the interregnum ended in the West. *Anthemius* was, with the consent and approbation of *Ricimer*, declared emperor, notwithstanding the great interest made by *Genferic* in favour of *Olybrius*, brother-in-law to his son. *Anthemius* was a native of *Constantinople*, descended from an antient, illu-

<sup>k</sup> IDAT. p. 32. PRISC. p. 42. SID. car. ii. p. 349. <sup>l</sup> IDAT. p. 42. <sup>m</sup> JORN. p. 654. SID. car. ii. p. 317. IDAT. p. 43. <sup>n</sup> EVAGR. l. ii. c. 13. p. 307. THEODOR. p. 555. CEDREN. p. 348. <sup>o</sup> PRISC. p. 75.

strious, and wealthy family, and was, at the time of his promotion, count of the East. He had some claim to the empire, having married *Marciana*, the only daughter of the late emperor *Marcian*, by whom he had three sons and one daughter. He had been consul in 455. and was soon after, though yet very young, raised to the dignity of patrician, and the post of general. *Sidonius*, his panegyrist, writes, that, upon the death of *Marcian*, no one thought of conferring the empire on *Leo*, till *Anthemius* had refused it. *Theophanes* styles him a most Christian prince. Soon after his nomination, he left *Constantinople*, where he then was, and set out for *Italy*, attended by a great number of chosen troops, and several counts, with other persons of distinction, among whom was *Marcellinus* prince of *Dalmatia*, whom *Leo* had persuaded to join the new emperor, and, jointly with him, make war upon the *Vandals*. *Anthemius* was received at *Rome* by the senate and people with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, and proclaimed, according to some, on the 12th of *April*; according to others, in the month of *August*, at a place about three miles from *Rome*, called *Bontrota*. A few days, after he gave his daughter in marriage to *Ricimer*, pursuant to a private agreement between that general, and the two princes.

Year of the flood  
2815.  
Of Christ  
467.  
Of Rome  
1315.

IN the mean time *Genferic*, highly provoked against *Leo* for having preferred *Anthemius*, and not *Olybrius*, to the empire, sent a powerful fleet, with orders to ravage *Peloponnesus*, and the *Greek* islands; which they did with great cruelty, destroying all with fire and sword. *Leo* resolved, at all events, to revenge the affront offered to the Eastern empire; and accordingly the following year 468. when *Anthemius* alone was consul, he fitted out the greatest fleet, says *Procopius*, the Romans had ever had. *Cedrenus* writes, it consisted of one thousand one hundred and thirteen ships, each ship having one hundred men on board. *Theophanes*, and *Nicephorus*, will have no fewer than one hundred thousand ships to have been employed in this expedition; a number altogether incredible. To the forces of *Leo* were joined all the best troops of the West, under the command of *Marcellinus*, who reinforced them with a chosen body of men raised in his own dominions. *Leo* gave the chief command of this

P SID. p. 295.    Q THEOPH. p. 98.    R PROCOF. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 6. p. 191.    JORN. c. 46. p. 654.    S IDAT. p. 44.    MARC. CASSIOD. CUSPIN. chron.    T SID. l. i. ep. 4. p. 21, 22.    U PROCOF. l. i. c. 6. p. 192.    V CEDREN. p. 350.    W THEOPH. p. 99.    X NICEPH. l. xv. c. 27. p. 631.    Y PROCOF. l. i. c. 6. p. 191.

Sardinia  
and Tri-  
polis re-  
covered  
from the  
Vandals.

formidable fleet to *Basiliscus*, brother to his wife *Verina*, who had frequently overcome the barbarians in *Thrace*. Under him commanded one *John*, a person of extraordinary courage, and great experience in war<sup>a</sup>. The island of *Sicily* was appointed the place of general rendezvous. From thence *Marcellinus* was to sail for *Sardinia*, which the *Vandals* had lately seized; *Heraclius* of *Edeffa*, a brave and experienced officer, for *Libya*; and *Basiliscus*, with the greatest part of the fleet, and the flower of the troops, to steer his course strait to *Carthage*. *Marcellinus*, pursuant to this plan, landed in *Sardinia*, and made himself master of that island, while *Heraclius*, landing unexpectedly in *Libya*, defeated the *Vandals*, who attempted to oppose him, and reduced, with incredible expedition, *Tripolis*, and all the other cities of that province<sup>b</sup>.

*GENSERIC*, receiving at the same time news of the loss of *Sardinia* and *Libya*, and of the arrival of the *Roman* fleet at cape *Mercury*, about thirty miles from *Carthage*, began to look upon himself as irretrievably lost, and is even said to have had some thoughts of yielding up *Africa* to the *Romans*, and retiring elsewhere; and indeed, if *Basiliscus* had, during the panic which had seized the barbarians, marched directly to *Carthage*, he might have easily made himself master of that city, and put an end to the war at once; but his dilatory proceedings giving *Genseric* time to recover from his consternation, he began to despise the *Roman* admiral, and had even the confidence to send deputies to him, begging a truce of five days, to settle with him the conditions on which he was to submit to *Leo* (F). *Basiliscus* readily consented to the truce; during which *Genseric*, taking one night advantage of a favourable wind, sailed unexpectedly out of the harbour with a great number of fire-ships, which, being by the wind driven full sail upon the *Roman* navy, set fire to many of their ships, and threw the whole fleet into the utmost confusion.

<sup>a</sup> PROCOF. l. i. c. 6. p. 153.  
p. 101. SID. CAR. p. 1196.

<sup>b</sup> Idem, p. 192. THEOPH.

(F) Some authors write, that, with the ambassadors, *Genseric* sent privately an immense sum to *Basiliscus*, with whose avacious temper he was well acquainted (7). Others tell us, that *Aspar*, who had lately quar-

relled with *Leo*, fearing that he would become too powerful, if he overcame the *Vandals*, had promised to raise *Basiliscus*, who was no less ambitious than covetous, to the empire, provided he spared *Genseric* (8).

(7) Theoph. p. 100. Theodor. p. 555.

(8) Said. Phot. c. 242. p. 164.

THE next morning *Genferic's* fleet appeared drawn up in *The* *Ro-* line of battle, and, falling upon the *Romans* before they could make fleet recover themselves from their terror and consternation, took in *Africa* several of their ships, sunk others, and obliged the rest to save *put to* themselves in the best manner they could. *John*, who com-*flight* manded under *Basiliscus*, and was no-way privy to his treachery, after having killed, with his own hand, an incredible number of barbarians, threw himself, when overpowered, on a plank into the sea. *Genfon*, the son of *Genferic*, greatly taken with his courage, and gallant behaviour, offered him his life and liberty; but the brave commander answering, *It shall never be said that John owed his life to dogs*, quitted his plank, and was drowned <sup>c</sup>. As for *Basiliscus*, *Zonaras* writes, that, in the heat of the engagement, he all on a sudden tacked about, and, crowding all his sails, betook himself to flight; which raised the courage of the enemy, and quite disheartened his own people <sup>d</sup>. *Marcellinus*, after the reduction of *Sardinia*, returned to *Sicily*, with a design to pass from thence over into *Africa*; but, before he set sail, he was assassinated by an officer, who commanded under him, not without the privy, as was supposed, of *Anthemius*, to whom his power gave no small umbrage <sup>e</sup>. *Heraclius*, who was on full march from *Libya* to *Carthage*, upon the news of the bad success of *Basiliscus*, thought it adviseable to turn back, and hasten into the territories of the empire <sup>f</sup>. *Basiliscus* returned to *Sicily*, with the few ships that had escaped, having lost above fifty thousand men <sup>g</sup>. From *Sicily* he returned to *Constantinople*, and there, as his treachery was publicly known, took sanctuary in the church of *St. Sophia*. Though both the emperor and people were highly incensed against him, yet, by the mediation of the empress *Verina*, his sister, his life was spared, and leave granted him to retire to *Heraclea* in *Thrace* <sup>h</sup>. Such was the issue of this unhappy expedition, which is said to have cost both empires above an hundred and thirty thousand pounds weight of gold <sup>i</sup>; not only the two princes, but all governors, and other persons in employments, cheerfully contributing large sums, to defray the charges of an enterprize so advantageous to the empire <sup>k</sup> (G).

<sup>c</sup> PROCOF. l. i. c. 6. p. 192. <sup>d</sup> ZONAR. p. 42. <sup>e</sup> PROCOF. p. 193. PHOT. c. 242. p. 1048. MARC. CHRON. <sup>f</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>g</sup> PRISC. p. 193. <sup>h</sup> Idem ibid. CEDREN. p. 330. THEOPH. p. 100. <sup>i</sup> PROCOF. p. 191. EVAQ. p. 74. <sup>k</sup> EVAQ. ib.

(G) *Priscus* the historian, who of it (g); but his work has not flourished at that time, wrote a reached our time. very minute and exact account

(g) *Evaqr. l. ii. c. 16. p. 108. Theoph. p. 100.*

Leo mar-  
ries his  
daughter  
to Zeno.

THE same year *Leo* married his daughter *Ariadne* to *Zeno*, descended from an illustrious family in *Isauria*. His father's name was *Rufumbladastes*, and his, before his marriage, *Trafcaliffæus*, or *Tarascodisus*<sup>1</sup>. He took the name of *Zeno* from another *Isaurian*, who had been raised to great employments in the reign of *Theodosius* the younger<sup>m</sup> (H). *Leo* immediately raised his son-in-law to the rank of patrician, appointing him, at the same time, captain of his guards, and commander in chief of all the armies in the East. The next consuls were *Marcianus* and *Zeno*, the two sons-in-law of the emperor *Leo*; the latter having married *Ariadne*, and the former, who was the son of the emperor *Anthemius*, *Leontia*. Nothing worthy of notice happened this year in either empire; but, in the following consulship of *Severus* and *For-  
danes*, *Euric* king of the *Visigoths*, an ambitious and warlike prince, made himself master of *Auvergne*, *Berri*, and *Gevaudan*, after having defeated a body of twelve thousand *Britons* dwelling on the *Loire*, who, under the conduct of *Riothim*, or *Riotham*, came to the assistance of the *Romans*<sup>n</sup>.

The Visi-  
goths ex-  
tend their  
dominions  
in Gaul.

Aspar  
created  
Cæsar.

THE following year, when *Leo* was consul the fourth time, with *Probianus*, some misunderstanding arose between that prince and *Aspar*, who had raised him to the empire; but as *Aspar* was greatly beloved by the army, and commanded a separate and independent body, having one *Quelcal*, by nation an *Hunn*, for his lieutenant, the emperor thought it adviseable to dissemble for the present; and, pretending to be reconciled with *Aspar*, gave one of his daughters in marriage to *Patricius Secundus*, that general's eldest son; and soon after created *Aspar* Cæsar. The inhabitants of *Constantinople*, knowing *Aspar*, and his whole family, to be greatly attached to the doctrine of *Arius*, were highly displeased

<sup>1</sup> ZON. p. 42. AGATH. l. iv. p. 149. <sup>m</sup> THEOPH. p. 111.  
<sup>n</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 678. SID. l. iii. ep. 9. p. 73, 74.  
GREG. TUR. l. ii. c. 18. p. 282.

(H) *Euvagrius* refers us to one *Eustathius*, a Syrian writer, who, he says, will inform us as to the motives that prompted *Leo* to prefer *Zeno* to many other persons of great merit in the choice of a son-in-law (1); but the works of *Eustathius* have been long since lost. *Theophanes* and *Candidus Isaurus* write, that *Leo*, jealous of the too great power of *Aspar*, and apprised of his wicked practices, gave his daughter to *Zeno*, hoping by his means to gain over the *Isaurians* his countrymen, who were deemed the best soldiers of the empire (2).

(1) *Euvagr.* l. ii. c. 15. p. 308. (2) *Theoph.* p. 101. *Cand. Isaur.* p. 18.

at this promotion ; but the emperor soon delivered them from Aspar and the apprehension they were under of seeing an *Arian* raised *his son* Ar- to the empire ; for, being informed by some persons, privy *daburius* to all the counsels of *Aspar*, that a plot was carrying on *murdered*. against him by that general and his children, he resolved to Year of be beforehand with them ; and accordingly caused *Aspar*, and the flood his son *Ardaburius*, to be murdered this very year. The 2819. antients only tell us, that they fell by the hands of the eunuchs Of Christ 471. of the palace, *Leo* having ordered them to be put to death, Of Rome 1319. because they aspired to the empire<sup>o</sup>. But the modern writers add several circumstances, which seem inconsistent with what we read in the authors who flourished in those times. *Patricius* was dangerously wounded, but found means to make his escape, as did likewise *Aspar's* third son, named *Hermeneric* P. The friends of *Aspar*, especially the *Goths* in the emperor's service, attempted to revenge his death, and committed great disorders in *Constantinople*, being headed by one of their countrymen, named *Ostroni*. But *Zeno*, who was then at *Chalcis*, hastening with a choice body of troops to the metropolis, the *Goths* were driven out of the city with great slaughter. However, they ravaged *Thrace*, and, being joined by the *Goths* settled in *Pannonia*, made themselves masters of *Philippi* and *Arcadiopolis* ; which they restored soon after, laying down their arms, upon the emperor's promising to pay them a certain sum, and to appoint *Theodoric*, son to *Triarius*, the brother of *Aspar's* wife, commander of the *Goths* in the *Roman* service<sup>q</sup>. Upon the death of *Aspar*, who had been a zealous patron of the *Arians*, *Leo* published several rigorous laws against those heretics, depriving them of all their churches, and forbidding them to hold any public or private assemblies<sup>r</sup>.

THE following year, when *Festus* and *Marcianus* were consuls, *Ricimer*, who was no less powerful in the West, than *Aspar* had been in the East, dreading the same fate, resolved to be beforehand with the emperor *Anthemius*, who, he saw, began to mistrust him. Accordingly he openly revolted, and, at the head of the barbarians in the *Roman* service, but under his command, laid siege to *Rome*, where the emperor then Rome *was*. The citizens, who were, generally speaking, well as- sieged by fected to *Anthemius*, made a vigorous resistance, notwithstanding Ricimer ; ing the famine and plague that raged in the city, depending upon the succours they daily expected out of *Gaul*, under the

<sup>o</sup> MARC. chron. PROCOP. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 6. p. 139. VICT.

TUN. JORN. reg. succ. p. 664.

<sup>p</sup> NICEPH. l. xv. c. 27.

p. 733. ZONAR. p. 39.

<sup>q</sup> MARC. chron. THEOPH. p. 181.

<sup>r</sup> THEODOR. l. iv. c. 4. p. 273.

Year of the flood 2820. Of Christ 472. Of Rome 1320. *which is taken and plundered.* Anthemius put to death, and Olybrius proclaimed emperor.

conduct of *Bilimer*, who commanded the *Roman* troops there, and was greatly attached to the interest of *Anthemius*. *Bilimer* arrived at length with a considerable army, consisting partly of *Romans*, partly of barbarians; but, having ventured an engagement, he was utterly defeated by *Ricimer*, who, encouraged with this success, pursued the siege with fresh vigour, and, breaking in the end into the city, raged with no less fury than *Alaric* or *Genferic* had done, allowing his men not only to plunder the houses of the unhappy citizens, but to commit all manner of cruelties <sup>a</sup>. As for the emperor *Anthemius*, *Ricimer* caused him to be put to death, and *Olybrius* to be proclaimed in his room <sup>t</sup>. *Zeno*, who succeeded *Leo*, reproached the *Roman* senate with the death of *Anthemius* <sup>u</sup>. He is supposed to have died on the eleventh of *July* <sup>w</sup>; but authors are quite silent as to the circumstances of his death, contenting themselves only with telling us, that, by the treachery of *Ricimer*, he lost both his life, and the empire. *Ricimer* did not long outlive *Anthemius*; for, being seized with violent pains in his bowels, he died on the eighteenth, or rather nineteenth, of *September* <sup>x</sup>; and was followed soon after by *Olybrius*, who died a natural death at *Rome*, on the twenty-third of *October* <sup>y</sup>. This year mount *Vesuvius* in *Campania* threw out such an immense quantity of ashes, as turned night into day, even at *Constantinople*, where the people were assembled in the circus, when the cloud first appeared. All the streets and houses were covered with ashes three inches deep <sup>z</sup>. This happened, according to *Marcellinus*, on the sixth, according to the chronicle of *Alexandria*, on the eleventh, of *November*.

*Ricimer dies, and the new emperor Olybrius.*

*Glycerius usurps the empire.*

THE following year 473. when *Leo* alone was consul the fifth time, *Glycerius* took upon himself the title of emperor at *Ravenna*, on the fifth of *March*, being supported by *Gondibal*, nephew to *Ricimer*, whom *Olybrius* had raised, during his short reign, to the rank of patrician. All we know of this new prince is, that he had been comes domesticorum, and was, according to *Theophanes*, a man of some merit <sup>a</sup>. In the very beginning of his reign, the *Goths*, who had been allowed to settle in *Pannonia*, resolved, without the least provocation, says *Jornandes*, to make war upon both empires. Pursuant to this resolution, *Videmir* broke into *Italy*, while his brother *Theodomir* invaded the Eastern empire; but the former dying,

<sup>a</sup> MARC. chron. ONUPH. p. 57. Concil. tom. iv. p. 1238.

<sup>t</sup> EVAGR. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308.

<sup>u</sup> MARC. p. 94.

<sup>w</sup> CUSPIN.

p. 457. <sup>x</sup> ONUPH. p. 57.

<sup>y</sup> Idem ibid. JORN. p. 67.

THEOPH. p. 102.

<sup>z</sup> ZONAR. p. 42. THEODOR. p. 555.

PROCOPI. l. ii. p. 193.

<sup>a</sup> THEOPH. p. 102.

his son, bearing the same name, was, by the rich presents of *Glycerius*, prevailed upon to quit *Italy*; whence he retired into *Gaul*, and there joined the *Visigoths*, who, being thus reinforced, conquered soon after both that country and *Spain* <sup>b</sup>. *Theodoric* likewise died as soon as he entered the territories of the Eastern empire, and was succeeded by his son *Theodoric*, surnamed *the Great* <sup>c</sup>. The same year 473. *Leo*, apprehending, either from his age or infirmities, that his end approached, was for naming *Zeno* to succeed him; but both the senate and people of *Constantinople*, who hated *Zeno*, strongly remonstrating against his promotion, the emperor raised *Leo the younger*, the son of *Zeno* by his daughter *Ariadne*, to the younger dignity of *Cæsar*, and even declared him his partner in the empire, tho' he was then only five, or at most six years old <sup>d</sup>.

THE following year, when *Leo the younger* was consul alone, the emperor, his grandfather, was seized with a bloody flux, which, being attended with a violent fever, carried him off in a short time. He died at *Constantinople*, in the month of *January*, after having reigned seventeen years, wanting some days <sup>e</sup>. Soon after his death, the empress *Verina* prevailed upon the senate and people of *Constantinople* to suffer her son-in-law *Zeno*, to be declared colleague to young *Leo* in the empire. The ceremony was performed in the month of *February*, not in the palace of *Hebdomon*, as usual, but in the circus at *Constantinople* <sup>f</sup>. The young prince did not survive his grandfather above ten months; for he died in the month of *November* of the same year <sup>g</sup> (I). *Leo the elder*, or, as he is commonly surnamed, *the Great*, not approving of the promotion of *Glycerius*, had, before his death, named to the empire of the West *Julius Nepos*, or, as some call him, *Nepotianus*, a native of *Dalmatia*, and nephew, by the mother, to *Marcellinus*, prince of that country, who was murdered in *Sicily*, as we have related above. *Nepos*, who, it seems, was then at *Constantinople*, sailed from thence, without loss of time, for *Italy*; and, landing at *Porto*, surprised *Glycerius*

*Leo the elder dies*

*Zeno declared colleague to his son Leo*

*Leo dies*  
Year of the flood  
2822.  
Of Christ  
474.  
Of Rome  
1322.

*Glycerius deposed*

<sup>b</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 56. p. 194, 195. <sup>c</sup> Idem de reg. succ. c. 47. p. 655. <sup>d</sup> ZONAR. p. 429. THEODOR. p. 555. EVAGR. p. 409. GOLTZ. p. 265. <sup>e</sup> MARC. THEOPH. p. 103. <sup>f</sup> EVAGR. l. vii. c. 17. p. 309. THEOPH. p. 111. <sup>g</sup> Chron. Alex. p. 751. THEOPH. p. 103.

(1) *Victor Tununen* and *Ado* writers, tho' highly prejudiced suppose, that he was dispatched against *Zeno*, charge him with by his own father; but neither that unnatural murder. the ancient nor modern *Greek*



and Julius there, took him prisoner, and, stripping him of the imperial ornaments, caused him to be ordained bishop of *Salonæ* in *Dalmatia*, after he had borne the title of emperor a year, the empire. and some months <sup>b</sup>.

Orestes  
revolts.

Nepos  
flies into  
Dalmatia.

Year of  
the flood  
2823.

Of Christ  
475.  
Of Rome  
1323.

Orestes  
causes his  
son Augu-  
stulus to  
be declar-  
ed empe-  
ror.

THE following year, when *Zeno* alone was consul the second time, *Nepos*, having raised *Orestes* to the post of general, appointed him commander of the *Roman* forces in *Gaul*; but he, instead of hastening into that country, pursuant to his orders, bent his march towards *Ravenna*, with a design to depose *Nepos*, who, he knew, was not in a condition to oppose him. The emperor, suspecting his design, and distrusting the few troops he had with him, abandoned the city at his approach, and fled by sea to *Salonæ* in *Dalmatia*, where he was entertained by the bishop *Glycerius*, whom he had lately deprived of the empire <sup>1</sup>. The flight of *Nepos* happened on the twenty-eighth of *August* of the present year 475 <sup>k</sup>. *Orestes* was by birth a *Roman*, that is, he was born a subject of the empire <sup>l</sup>. As he lived in *Pannonia*, perhaps his native country, when that province was yielded to the *Hunns* in 430. he lifted himself among the troops of *Attila*, who, finding him to be a man of parts, made him his secretary, and sent him at least twice to *Constantinople* with the character of ambassador, to wit, in 448. and 449 <sup>m</sup>. His father, by name *Tatula*, bore likewise some considerable employment at the court of *Attila* <sup>n</sup>. *Orestes* married the daughter of count *Romulus*, sent by *Valentinian* on an embassy to *Attila* in 449. and had by her a son, called by *Males* or *Malus*, *Romulus Augustus* <sup>o</sup>, but, by all other historians, *Romulus Augustulus*, either by way of derision, or because he was very young when raised to the empire. *Orestes*, leaving the *Hunns*, served with great reputation in the *Roman* armies, and was raised to the rank of patrician, and appointed by *Nepos* general of the troops in *Gaul*; when, turning his arms against the prince who had entrusted him with them, he drove him from the throne, as we have related above, and caused not himself, but his son *Augustus*, or *Augustulus*, to be proclaimed emperor in his room, on the twenty-ninth of *October* of the present year <sup>p</sup>. The new prince stiled himself *Augustus Romulus Augustus*, *Augustus* being both his proper name, and the title of his dignity <sup>q</sup>. As *Augustulus* was very young, his

<sup>b</sup> PHOT. c. 78. p. 372. JORN. rer. Goth. p. 654. EVAGR. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308. <sup>1</sup> JORN. c. 45. p. 679. ONUPH. p. 67.

<sup>k</sup> ONUPH. MARC. chron. <sup>l</sup> JORN. ibid. <sup>m</sup> PRISC.

R. 37. <sup>n</sup> Idem, p. 57. 60. <sup>o</sup> MAL. leg. p. 93.

<sup>p</sup> JORN. c. 45, 46. p. 679. 690. <sup>q</sup> JORN. ibid. EVAGR. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308.

father took upon him the administration, contenting himself with the title of patrician, and governing only as tutor and guardian to his son, during his minority <sup>r</sup>.

WHILE these things passed in the West, the *Saracens* committed dreadful ravages in *Mesopotamia*; and the *Huns* in *Thrace* put all to fire and sword, and afterwards retired unmolested, the emperor *Zeno*, a most lewd and debauched prince, being wholly intent upon his scandalous pleasures and diversions <sup>s</sup>. However, he concluded a peace with *Genferic*, *Zeno concludes a peace with Genferic.* which was religiously observed by the *Vandals*, till the reign of *Justinian* <sup>t</sup>. The same year the empress *Verina*, who had by her interest raised her son-in-law *Zeno* to the empire, highly provoked at his enormous vices, and scandalous indolence, formed a conspiracy against him, at the head of which was her brother *Basiliscus*, of whom we have spoken elsewhere. *Zeno* was privately informed of the whole; but, instead of putting himself in a posture of defence, and defeating their measures, as he might have easily done, he betook himself to flight, retiring first to *Chalcedon*, and from thence into *Isauria*, his native country. Upon his retreat, *Basiliscus* was proclaimed emperor by the senate and people of *Constantinople*, to the great disappointment of *Verina*, who designed to confer the empire on *Patricius*, *magister officiorum* to *Zeno*, with whom she is said to have maintained a criminal correspondence <sup>u</sup>. *Basiliscus* immediately declared his wife *Zenonides Augusta*, and raised his son *Marcus* to the dignity of *Cæsar* <sup>w</sup>.

THE following year 476. when *Basiliscus* and *Armatius* the barbarians who served in the Roman armies, and were distinguished with the title of allies, demanded, as a reward for their services, the third part of the lands in *Italy*, pretending, that the whole country, which they had so often defended, belonged of right to them. As *Orestes* refused to comply with this insolent demand, they resolved to do themselves justice, as they called it; and, openly revolting, chose one *Odoacer* for their leader. Thus *Procopius* <sup>x</sup> (K). *Odoacer leader.*

<sup>r</sup> PROCOF. p. 308.    <sup>s</sup> EVAGR. l. vii. c. 1. p. 333.    <sup>t</sup> PROCOF. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 195.    <sup>u</sup> MAL. p. 94. AGATH. l. iv. p. 139. Chron. Alex. p. 750. JORN. reg. succ. c. 47. p. 654.    <sup>w</sup> JORN. ibid.    <sup>x</sup> PROCOF. bell. Goth. l. i. p. 308.

(K) He is called by *Theophanes* of the *Goths* (4); and by *Isidore*, a *Goth* (3); by *Marcellinus*, king prince of the *Ostrogoths* (5). We

(3) *Theoph.* p. 102.    (4) *Vales. rer. Franc.* p. 228.    (5) *Isid. chron.*

Year of cer was, according to *Ennodius*, meanly born <sup>1</sup>, and only a  
 the flood private man in the guards of the emperor *Augustulus*, when  
 2824. the barbarians revolting, chose him for their leader <sup>2</sup>. How-  
 Of Christ ever, he is said to have been a man of uncommon parts,  
 476. equally capable of commanding an army, and governing a  
 Of Rome state <sup>3</sup>. Having left his own country, when he was yet very  
 1324. young, to serve in *Italy*, as he was of a stature remarkably  
 tall, he was admitted among the emperor's guards, and con-  
 His cha- tinued in that station till the present year; when, putting  
 racter. himself at the head of the barbarians in the *Roman* pay, who,  
 tho' of different nations, had, with one consent, chosen him  
 for their leader, he marched against *Orestes*, and his son *Aug-  
 gustulus*, who still refused to give them any share of the lands  
 in *Italy*.

As the *Roman* troops were inferior, both in number and  
 valour, to the barbarians, *Orestes* took refuge in *Pavia*, at that  
 He besieges time one of the best fortified cities in *Italy*; but *Odoacer*, invest-  
 Orestes in ing the place without loss of time, took it soon after by assault,  
 Pavia; gave it up to be plundered by the soldiers, and then set fire  
 to it, which reduced most of the houses, and two churches,  
 who is to ashes <sup>b</sup>. *Orestes* was taken prisoner, and brought to *Odo-  
 taken pri- cer*, who carried him to *Placentia*, and there caused him to  
 soner, and be put to death on the twenty-eighth of *August*, the day on  
 put to which he had driven *Nepos* out of *Ravenna*, and obliged him  
 death. to abandon the empire. From *Placentia* *Odoacer* marched  
 strait to *Ravenna*, where he found *Paul*, the brother of *Orestes*,  
 and the young emperor *Augustulus*. The former he imme-  
 Augustu- diately put to death; but, sparing *Augustulus*, in consideration  
 lus stripped of the imper- of his youth, he stripped him of the ensigns of the imperial  
 rial orna- dignity, and confined him to *Lucullanum*, a castle in *Cam-  
 nent*, and pania, where he was, by *Odoacer's* orders, treated with great  
 confined to humanity, and allowed an handsome maintenance to support  
 Luculla- himself, and his relations <sup>c</sup>. *Rome* readily submitted to the  
 num.

<sup>1</sup> ENNOD. Theodor. panegy. p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> PROCOP. p. 308.

<sup>a</sup> MALEL. p. 93.

<sup>b</sup> ENNOD. vit. Epiphan. p. 306. JORN.

rer. Goth. c. 46. p. 679. & reg. succ. c. 47. p. 654.

<sup>c</sup> JORN.

ibid. PROCOP. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 1. p. 308.

cannot conceive what could in-  
 duce *Baronius*, and several others,  
 to call him king of the *Heruli*.  
*Jornandes* styles him in one place  
 King of the *Rugians* (6), and in  
 another king of the *Turcilingians*

(7). The *Rugians* inhabited both  
 the banks of the *Danube*, near  
 the city of *Faviana*, a little above  
*Vienna*. As for the *Turcilingians*,  
 we find no account in the antients  
 of them, or their country.

(6) *Jorn. reg. succ. c. 45. p. 659.*

(7) *Idem, rer. Goth. c. 45. p. 679.*

conqueror, who thereupon caused himself to be proclaimed king of *Italy*, but would not assume the purple, or any other mark of the imperial dignity <sup>d</sup>. Thus failed the very name of an empire in the West. *Britain* had been long since abandoned by the *Romans*; *Spain* was held by the *Goths* and *Suevians*; *Africa* by the *Vandals*; the *Burgundians*, *Goths*, *Franks*, and *Alans*, had erected several tetrarchies in *Gaul*; at length *Italy* itself, with its proud metropolis, which for so many ages had given law to the rest of the world, was enslaved by a contemptible barbarian, whose family, country, and nation, are not well known to this day. The downfall and ruin of the greatest state the world ever beheld, were, no doubt, owing to the depravity of the people in general, and to the sloth, luxury, and ambition, of their princes; but more immediately to their allowing such swarms of barbarians to settle within the empire, and to serve in the *Roman* armies, under their own officers, in separate and independent bodies. Thus they became more numerous and powerful than the natives; controuled the emperors, disposed of the imperial crown as they pleased; and at length became absolute masters of those whom they were employed to defend and assist. This great revolution happened in the West in the year 476. of the Christian æra, five hundred and seven years after the battle of *Actium*, when the *Roman* monarchy was first established, and one thousand three hundred and twenty-four since the foundation of *Rome*. Most writers observe, that the empire began with *Augustus*, and ended in a prince of the same name. (Of the state of *Italy* under *Odoacer*, till he was overcome and slain by *Theodoric* the *Ostrogoth*, and under the *Ostrogoths*, from *Theodoric* to their expulsion by *Narses*, we shall speak in a more proper place; and in the mean time pursue the *Roman* history, that is, the history of the *Constantinopolitan Roman* empire, in which were preserved the same marks of sovereignty, the same ceremonies, titles, and employments, that had been first established at *Rome*.

<sup>d</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 46. CANDID. ISAU. c. 19. EVAGR. l. ii. c. 16. p. 308.

## C H A P. VIII.

*The Constantinopolitan History, from the Dissolution of the Western Empire, to the Death of Justinian the Great.*

**A**T the same time that the *Roman* empire failed in the West, it was usurped in the East by *Basiliscus*, who, upon the flight of *Zeno*, the lawful prince, had caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and his son *Marcus* to be acknowledged *Cæsar*. *Zeno* fled into *Isauria*, whither he was pursued by *Illus* and *Trocondes*, two of the usurper's generals, who, having easily defeated the few troops he had with him, forced the unhappy prince to shut himself up in a castle, which they immediately invested. But, in the mean time, *Basiliscus* having by his cruelty, avarice, enormous extortions, and, above all, by his unseasonable zeal for the doctrine of *Eutyches*, highly disobliged the senate and people of *Constantinople*, as well as the soldiery, the two generals, informed of what passed in the metropolis, and privately encouraged, as some write, by the senate, instead of pursuing the siege, openly declared for *Zeno*; and, joining him with all their forces, bent their march to *Constantinople*. *Basiliscus* no sooner heard of their revolt, than he dispatched *Harmatius* or *Armatus*, his kinsman, with a very numerous army against them, after having obliged him to swear, by his baptism, that he would not betray him. But, notwithstanding this oath, he had no sooner passed the *Bosporus*, than he joined *Zeno* encamped, with *Illus* and *Trocondes*, in the neighbourhood of *Nice*, upon that prince's promising to appoint him general of the troops, of his household, and to continue him in that office during his life; to raise his son, by name *Basiliscus*, who was yet very young, to the dignity of *Cæsar*; and to leave him the empire after his death<sup>a</sup>. *Zeno*, thus reinforced, marched directly to *Constantinople*, which he entered without opposition, the usurper flying for refuge, with his wife *Zenonides*, and his children, to the great church, where he is said to have laid down his crown upon the altar. *Zeno* ordered them to be immediately stripped of all the marks of the imperial dignity; and, having soon after got them into his power, being either betrayed a second time by *Harmatius*, as *Candidus*

*Zeno besieged in a castle of Isauria.*

*Basiliscus disobliges the people and soldiery.*

*Zeno restored.*

*Year of the flood 2825. Of Christ 477. Of Rome 1325.*

<sup>a</sup> CANDID. p. 19. THEOPH. p. 106. PROCOF. bell. Vand. L. i. c. 7. p. 295. EYAGR. l. iii. c. 24. p. 354.

*Isaurus* writes <sup>b</sup>, or delivered up, as we read in *Procopius* <sup>c</sup>, *Basiliscus* by *Acacius*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, he confined them to taken, and a castle in *Cappadocia*, named *Limnos*, where they perished confined to a castle in a short time with hunger and cold <sup>d</sup>. Thus ended the usurpation of *Basiliscus*, after it had lasted, according to most *Cappadocia, where he perished.* writers, twenty months, that is, from *October 475.* to *June* of the present year 477.

*ZENO*, pursuant to his promise, raised *Harmatius* to the post of general of the troops of his household, and his son *Basiliscus* to the dignity of *Cæsar*; but soon after, distrusting the father, on account of his treachery and ingratitude to *Basiliscus*, who had preferred him to the first employments in the state, he caused him to be murdered in the palace, employing for that purpose one *Onoulus*, or *Onoulphus*, by birth a barbarian, but brought up in the family of *Harmatius*, and by his interest raised from a mean condition to the dignity of count, and the post of general of *Illyricum* <sup>e</sup>. As for *Basiliscus*, the son of *Harmatius*, he was deposed from the dignity of *Cæsar*, and made reader in a church near *Constantinople*. He was afterwards ordained bishop of *Cyzicus*, the metropolis of the *Hellepont*, which church he governed with great prudence and piety, and assisted in 518. at the council of *Constantinople* <sup>f</sup>. During the usurpation of *Basiliscus*, a dreadful *A great fire at* fire happened at *Constantinople*, which consumed great part of the city, with the library, containing an hundred and twenty thousand volumes, and the works of *Homer*, written, as is said, in gold characters on the great gut of a dragon, an hundred and twenty feet long <sup>g</sup>. *Constantinople.*

THE following year, 478. when *Illus* alone was consul, *Theodoric*, the son of *Triarius*, who had espoused the cause of *Basiliscus*, broke into *Thrace* with a numerous army of *Goths*, and advanced within four miles of *Constantinople*; which so terrified the emperor, that he concluded a peace with him upon his own terms; whereof one of the articles was, that *Theodoric* should be appointed commander in chief of the *Roman* horse <sup>h</sup>. The next year, *Zeno* being consul the third time, *Marcian*, the son of *Anthemius*, who had reigned in the West, claiming the empire in right of his wife *Leontia*, the eldest daughter of the late emperor *Leo*, attacked unexpectedly the imperial palace in *Constantinople*, at the head of some malecontents prepared for any desperate attempt. The emperor's

<sup>b</sup> CANDID. p. 19.<sup>c</sup> PROCOPIUS. bell. Vand. l. i. c. 7. p. 194.<sup>d</sup> EVAGR. l. iii. c. 8. p. 341. PROCOPIUS. ibid.<sup>e</sup> CANDID.

p. 19; EVAGR. l. iii. c. 24. p. 354. PROCOPIUS. p. 195.

<sup>f</sup> EVAGR.

l. iii. c. 24. p. 354.

<sup>g</sup> CEDR. p. 35. ZONAR. p. 43. 44.<sup>h</sup> JORN. c. 57. p. 696.

guards, endeavouring to make head against them, were either dispersed, or cut in pieces, and *Zeno* himself shut up with a small number of officers in the palace. Had *Marcian* pursued his design, and without loss of time forced the gates of the palace, which in that consternation he might have easily done, the emperor must have fallen into his hands. But the attack being with the utmost imprudence put off till the next morning, *Zeno* in the mean time gained over, partly by presents, partly by promises, most of *Marcian's* men, who thereupon distrustful the rest, withdrew all on a sudden, and took sanctuary in the church of the *Apostles*, whence he was dragged by the emperor's order, ordained priest, and confined to a monastery in the neighbourhood of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* <sup>i</sup>.

*The Ostro-* As *Zeno* had not for some years paid the *Ostrogoths* in *Pan-*  
*gonths* *nonia* their annual pension, *Theodoric* their king no sooner  
*break into* heard of the revolt of *Marcian*, than he broke into *Macedon*;  
*the empire.* and, from thence advancing into *Epirus*, made himself master of *Duras* on the *Adriatic* sea, that important place being betrayed to him by a Goth named *Sidimont*. But *Sabinianus*, an officer of great experience and address, having surprised and cut in pieces a strong reinforcement, that was marching to the assistance of *Theodoric* under the conduct of his brother *Theudimont*, and taken all their baggage, and two thousand waggons loaded with provisions, the *Goths*, abandoning *Duras*, retired in great haste into *Pannonia* <sup>k</sup>. The following year 480. when *Basilius*, surnamed the younger, was consul, *Zeno* not only concluded a peace, but entered into an alliance, with *Huneric*, the son and successor of *Genferic*, dead three years before <sup>l</sup>. In 481. when *Placidius* or *Placitus* was consul, *Theodoric* king of the *Ostrogoths* renewed his ravages, laying waste the provinces of *Macedon* and *Thessaly*; which obliged *Zeno* in the end to comply with his demands, that is, to yield to

Lower  
Dacia and  
Moesia  
yielded to  
Theodo-  
rie king  
of the  
Ostro-  
goths.

him part of *Lower Dacia* and *Moesia*, to give him the command of the troops of the household, and to name him consul for the ensuing year 483. Upon these terms he withdrew in 482. when *Severinus* and *Trocundus* were consuls, out of *Macedon* and *Thessaly*; restored *Larissa*, the metropolis of the latter province, which he had taken; and promised to employ, when required, all his forces in defence of the empire <sup>m</sup>. The following year, when *Theodoric* was consul at *Constantinople*, and *Venantius* at *Rome* (for *Odoacer* made no change in the government or magistrates of the city), *Leontius*, a native of

<sup>i</sup> CANDID. p. 20. EVAGR. p. 335. THEOPH. p. 109. p. 78-81.

<sup>k</sup> MAEL. p. 95. <sup>l</sup> MARC. ad ann. 481.

<sup>m</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. c. 57. p. 696. MARCELL. ad ann. 483. THEOPH. p. 143.

*Chalcis* in *Syria*, and commander of the troops in that province, revolting, some say at the instigation of the empress *Leontius* *revolts*. *Verina*, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. Against him *Zeno* immediately dispatched *Illus*, captain of his guards. But he, instead of opposing *Leontius*, joined him; and, having *Is joined* ravaged the provinces of *Syria* and *Isauria*, advanced to *Antioch*, with a design to seize on that metropolis. *Longinus*, Year of the emperor's brother, met them in that neighbourhood, at the head of a considerable army; but his troops were all to the flood 2831. a man cut in pieces by the rebels, and he himself taken prisoner. Of Christ 484.

AFTER this victory, *Leontius* and *Illus* entered *Antioch* in triumph. *Zeno*, upon the defeat and captivity of his brother, dispatched *John*, an officer of great valour, and experience in war, into *Syria*, with what troops he could assemble, and prevailed upon *Theodoric* the *Ostrogoth* to join him with a numerous army of *Goths*. These two commanders were attended with better success; for, meeting *Leontius* and *Illus* *They are* in the neighbourhood of *Seleucia*, they gained a complete *both de-* victory; and the following year, when *Symmachus* was consul, *seated*, obliged the two ringleaders of the revolt to fly for refuge to *and be-* the strong castle of *Papyra* in *Cilicia*, which *John* immediately *sieged in* invested, while *Theodoric* returned, as the war seemed now *Papyra.* ended; with his troops to *Constantinople*. *Trocundus*, the brother of *Illus*, taken prisoner by *John*, as he was attempting to make his escape out of *Syria*, in order to stir up the barbarians, was, by his order, beheaded. The same year *Theodoric*, upon some disgust, withdrew from *Constantinople*, and returned into *Pannonia*. *Evagrius* writes, that *Zeno*, jealous of the glory he had acquired by his late victory, and of the great esteem persons of all ranks shewed him, attempted privately to dispatch him. However that be, it is certain that *Theodoric*, after having spent the following year, when *Longinus* and *Decius* were consuls, in raising troops, and making other military preparations, as if he designed to make war upon the barbarians, broke suddenly into *Thrace* at the head of a numerous army; and, putting all to fire and sword, advanced within fifteen miles of *Constantinople*; but, instead of laying siege to that metropolis, as was apprehended, he *Turns his* marched back into *Pannonia* the following year, in virtue of *arms a-* a private treaty between him and *Zeno*, by which the emperor yielded to him, as some authors write, all the provinces of *Italy*, held then by *Odoacer*, encouraging him to rescue *king of* them out of the hands of that barbarian, and promising to *Italy.*

\* THEOPH. p. 112. LIBERAT. c. 18. p. 125.  
ibid. † EVAGR. l. iii. c. 27. p. 356.

\* THEOPH.  
acknow-



acknowledge him king of *Italy* <sup>1</sup>. The *Romans* afterwards pretended, that *Zeno* had sent *Theodoric* to conquer *Italy*, not for himself, but for the emperor of the East, to whom of right it belonged. On the other hand, the *Goths* maintained, that *Zeno* had yielded it to be held for ever by the *Goths* (A). However that be, *Theodoric*, in the beginning of the autumn of this year 487. when *Bæti* was consul, returned to *Novæ* in *Mæsia*, which city he had chosen for the place of his residence; and, having spent the winter in military preparations, he set out the following year, when *Sifdus* and *Dinamius* were consuls, at the head of a powerful army, for *Italy*; and, entering that country, overcame *Odoacer* in several battles, and established a new monarchy there, as we shall relate at large in a more proper place.

Leontius  
and Illus  
taken, and  
put to  
death.

ABOUT the end of this year, *Leontius* and *Illus*, after having defended with incredible bravery the castle of *Papyra* for the space of four years, were in the end taken by treachery, and put to death. Their heads were sent to *Constantinople*; and there exposed for several days together to public view <sup>2</sup>. In the following consulship of *Anicius Probinus*, and *Chronion Eusebius*, *Zeno* caused several persons of great distinction to be put to death, and banished others, confiscating their estates, under pretence that they had favoured *Byzantius* and *Illus* <sup>3</sup>. The following year, when *Longinus* was consul the second time with *Fauftus*, *Zeno*, raging with more cruelty than ever, caused *Pelagius*, a patrician of great distinction, to be strangled, for no other reason, but because he had been told by an astrologer, that he was to succeed *Zeno* <sup>4</sup>. The emperor did not long survive him; for, in the month of *April* of the following year 491. when *Olybrius* was consul, he was seized with violent pains in his bowels, which carried him off in a few days, after he had lived sixty-five years, and nine days, and reigned seventeen years, and three months <sup>5</sup> (B). He is painted by the

Zeno's  
cruelty.

His death.

<sup>1</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. l. ii. c. 57. p. 696.

<sup>2</sup> THEOPH. p. 114.

PHOT. c. 242. p. 1072. THEODOR. p. 558.

<sup>3</sup> THEOPH.

p. 116. CEDR. p. 354.

<sup>4</sup> ZONAR. p. 44.

<sup>5</sup> Chron.

Alex. p. 758. EVAGR. l. iii. c. 29. p. 357.

(A) Some authors write, that, in virtue of this treaty, *Theodoric* was to hold *Italy* during his lifetime; but that, upon his death, it was to be reunited to the empire.

(B) The more modern *Greek* writers, and amongst the rest

*Cedrenus*, tell us, that, being seized with an epileptic fit, he was buried alive, his wife *Ariadne*, who hated him, and was in love with *Anastasius*, whom she immediately married, not suffering him to be relieved, tho' he made a dreadful noise in his tomb;

the antients as one of the most wicked and debauched princes recorded in history, as a person destitute of every good quality requisite in a prince, and equally incapable of governing a state, and commanding an army <sup>w</sup>. Of the writers, who flourished about this time, we shall speak in our note (C).

UPON the death of *Zeno*, his brother *Longinus* laid claim to the empire; but he being universally abhorred on account of his lewdness and cruelty, *Ariadne*, widow to the deceased emperor, easily prevailed upon the senate to acknowledge *Anastasi* *basius* for emperor, who was accordingly crowned on the eleventh of *April* in the circus, according to some, by *Ariadne* <sup>x</sup>, according to others <sup>y</sup>, by *Euphemius*, patriarch of

Year of the flood 2838.  
Of Christ 491.  
Of Rome 1338.

*Anastasi* *basius* declared emperor.

<sup>w</sup> PROCOF. bell. Goth. l. i. c. 1. p. 308. MARC. p. 1232.  
EVAGR. l. iii. c. 3. p. 334. <sup>x</sup> THEOPH. p. 117. CEDREN. p. 357. <sup>y</sup> EVAGR. p. 361. THEOPH. ZONAR. p. 45.

tomb; which being afterwards opened, he was found to have devoured the flesh of his own arms, and even his buskins (1). But of this tragical end no mention is made by the more antient writers.

(C) *Theodulus*, a native of *Syria*, published in the reign of *Zeno* several pieces against the *Manichees*, and other heretics, a comment on the epistle of *St. Paul* to the *Romans*, and a poem on the miracles related in the Old Testament, and on the fables of the poets (2). His comment has reached our times (3). *John* the grammarian published a book against the *Eutychians*, which has been long since lost (4). He was still alive, according to *Gennadius*, in 494 (5). *Malus* or *Males*, by profession a sophist, wrote the history of *Zeno* and *Basiliscus*; but of that work only some frag-

ments have reached us (6). *Candidus*, by birth an *Isaurian*, comprised in three books a very particular and distinct account of what happened from the election of *Leo* to that of *Anastasi*. A short abstract of his work has been conveyed to us by *Photius* (7). *Evagrius*, in speaking of *Zeno*, often quotes and highly commends one *Eustathius*, a native of *Philadelphia*, who wrote an abridgment of the *Roman* history, from *Aeneas* to the twelfth year of *Zeno*'s reign (8). The same historian is mentioned by *Nicephorus* (9). *Photius* speaks of one *Vistorinus*, who wrote some orations in commendation of the consuls, and of the emperor *Zeno* (1). He was a native of *Antioch*, and the son of one *Lampadius*. *Photius* commends the elegance, clearness, and propriety of his style (2).

(1) Cedren. p. 355. (2) Marc. chron. Gennad. c. 91. Sixtus Senens. l. iv. p. 381. Puffevin. p. 409. Sigelert. c. 134. (3) Biblioth. patr. tom. i. p. 495. (4) Trith. p. 40. Marc. chron. ad ann. 486. (5) Gennad. p. 93. (6) Phot. c. 78. p. 17. Zonar. p. 44. Evagr. p. 78. (7) Phot. c. 78. p. 172. (8) Evagr. l. iii. c. 15. p. 308. c. 37. p. 367. & l. v. c. 24. p. 442. Suid. p. 1096. (9) Niceph. l. xiv. c. 57. p. 579. (1) Phot. c. 101. p. 276. (2) Idem ibid.

He mar-  
ries Ari-  
adne.

His birth,  
education,  
employ-  
ments, &c.

He abo-  
lishes the  
chrysar-  
gyrum.

*Constantinople*, who absolutely refused to place the imperial crown upon his head, till he had bound himself, by a solemn oath, to protect the catholic church, and to hold the doctrine of the two councils of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*. He was no sooner proclaimed emperor, than he married *Ariadne*, being then in the sixtieth year of his age<sup>a</sup>. He was a native of *Duras*, the metropolis of *New Epirus* in *Illyricum*<sup>a</sup>. All we know of his family is, that his father was born in the same city; that his mother was a *Manichee*, and *Clearchus*, her brother, an *Arian*<sup>b</sup>. As for *Anastasius* himself, he is by some stiled "a *Manichee*, by others an *Eutychian*<sup>c</sup>. *Magna*, whom some will have to have been the emperor's sister, others to have been wife to his brother, named *Paul*, was a zealous catholic<sup>d</sup>. *Anastasius* had not yet attained to the rank of senator, when he was raised to the empire, being at that time one of the great chamberlain's officers, named *silentiarii*, whose province it was to cause due silence to be observed in the palace<sup>e</sup>. He is said to have led, while a private man, a very abstemious life, and to have given signal instances of his integrity; whence, upon his receiving the purple and diadem in the circus, the people, applauding his promotion, cried out with one voice, *Reign, Anastasius, as you have lived*<sup>f</sup>.

AND truly the beginning of his reign was not undeservedly applauded by persons of all ranks; for he immediately remitted whatever to that time was due to the exchequer, and utterly abolished the infamous tax called *chrysargyrum*, which was levied every fifth year upon those, even common beggars not excepted, who sold any thing, of how little value soever; whence it was called the gold of tribulation. To pay it, parents were often obliged to sell their children, after they had been stripped of every thing else. It was not only raised on all traders, in what kind soever of merchandize they dealt, but on the public prostitutes, who, by paying to the prince a considerable share of what they earned by their infamous profession, seemed to have purchased a right to pursue with impunity their scandalous practices<sup>g</sup>. *Alexander Severus*, being ashamed, tho' a pagan, to suffer the money thus raised

<sup>a</sup> EVAGR. p. 357. THEOPH. p. 117.

c. 29. p. 357. THEOPH. p. 117.

THEOPH. *ibid.* <sup>b</sup> EVAGR. l. iii. c. 37. p. 361. THEOPH.

p. 115. <sup>d</sup> NICEPH. chron. p. 305. THEOPH. p. 131.

<sup>e</sup> EVAGR. l. iii. c. 29. p. 357. PROCOP. bell. Perf. l. ii. c. 25.

p. 138. <sup>f</sup> NICEPH. chron. p. 308. CEDREN. p. 357.

<sup>g</sup> THEOPH. p. 566. EVAGR. l. iii. c. 39. Zos. l. ii. p. 691.

to be lodged in the exchequer, ordered it to be kept apart, and to be employed in repairing the public edifices <sup>h</sup>. *Theodosius* the younger utterly suppressed this infamous tribute in 439. but it was soon after revived through the avarice of his successors (D). This abolition of the *chrysargyrum* is recorded by all the historians, who speak of *Anastasius*, as an action truly great, heroic, and almost divine, worthy of being transmitted to the latest posterity, and capable of covering the many faults, which are but too deservedly laid to that prince's charge <sup>i</sup> (E).

AT the same time the new prince drove all informers out of *Constantinople*, and put a stop to the enormous abuse introduced by *Zeno* of exposing to sale all public offices, and bestowing, to the great oppression of the unhappy people, the best governments on the highest bidders <sup>k</sup>. *Informers driven out of Constantinople.*

ANASTASIUS having, by these and several other acts of generosity and good-nature, gained the affections of the people,

<sup>h</sup> LAMPRID. in Alex. p. 212.  
MANASS. p. 63. SUID. p. 913.

<sup>i</sup> EVAGR. p. 370. CONST.  
<sup>k</sup> CEDREN. p. 358.

(D) *Zosimus* will have this tax to have been first established by *Constantine the Great* (3); which is denied by *Evagrius* as a calumny, without any other foundation but the implacable hatred, which that pagan writer bore to the deliverer of the Christian religion (4). And indeed it is evident from the ancient writers, that long before *Constantine's* time a tax was laid on all traders, as well as infamous women; and that *Constantine*, to save charges, caused it to be levied; not annually, as it had been till his reign, but every fourth, or rather fifth year. However that be, *Anastasius*, looking upon it as no less burdensome to the people than shameful in the prince, not only utterly abolished it, with the consent and approbation of the senate, but, to prevent its ever

being revived, caused all the papers relating to it to be publicly burnt in the circus (5).

(E) *Timotheus* of *Gaza* wrote a tragedy on the *chrysargyrum*, which he inscribed to *Anastasius*. *Cedrenus*, who styles that writer a man of universal knowledge, tells us, that the emperor was, in great measure, induced by the reading of that piece, to propose to the senate the suppressing of such an infamous tax (6). The same writer adds, that *Anastasius* abolished two kinds of *chrysargyrum*, one of which was raised on the poor, on the beggars, slaves, freedmen, harlots, and divorced women, who, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, paid every fourth year a certain sum for themselves, and another for their horses, mules, dogs, asses, oxen, &c (7).

(3) Zf. l. ii. p. 697.

(4) I. iv. c. 39. p. 368. Cod. Theod. l. ii. c. 2. 4.

(7) Idem ibid.

(5) I. iii. c. 40. p. 370.

(6) Evagr.

(6) Cedren. p. 357.

Longinus  
and the  
Isaurians  
revolt.

Year of  
the flood  
2839.

Of Christ  
492.

Of Rome  
1339.

They are  
defeated;  
but con-  
tinue in  
arms.

A tumult  
in Con-  
stantino-  
ple.

they all to a man joined him against *Longinus*, the deceased emperor's brother, who, in the beginning of the following year 492. when the emperor *Anastasius* and *Rufus* were consuls, raised some disturbances in *Constantinople*; but was immediately seized, deprived of all his employments, and sent back into *Isauria*, his native country, with orders to continue there. With him were driven out of *Constantinople* all the *Isaurians*, who had borne great sway in the late reign. The *Isaurians*, thus banished the city, espoused the cause of *Longinus*, and, openly revolting, kindled a civil war in the bowels of the empire. They were headed by *Longinus*, the late emperor's brother, by another *Longinus*, surnamed *Selinontius*, no doubt from the city of *Selinus* in *Isauria*, the place of his nativity, by *Indus*, *Theodorus*, *Ninilinghus*, and several other *Isaurians* of great distinction, who had been raised by *Zeno* to the first employments in the state. *Conon* bishop of *Apamea* in *Syria*, abandoning his flock, joined his countrymen (for he was by birth an *Isaurian*), and became one of the ring-leaders of the revolt<sup>1</sup>. Under these heads the rebels seized on an immense quantity of arms, and vast sums lodged by *Zeno* in a strong-hold of *Isauria*, which enabled them to raise and arm above an hundred and fifty thousand men. The emperor, alarmed at the progress they made, dispatched the flower of his troops against them, under the conduct of two of the most renowned generals of that age, to wit, of *John the Scythian*, and *John*, surnamed *Gibbus*, or the hunch-backed, who, coming up with the rebels in the neighbourhood of *Cotycea* in *Phrygia*, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and obliged the rest to take refuge amongst the inaccessible mountains of *Isauria*, where they maintained themselves for the space of six years, in spite of the utmost efforts of the best generals of the empire<sup>m</sup>. *Ninilinghus*, one of their chief leaders, was killed in the above-mentioned battle.

THE following year, when *Eusebius* was consul the second time, with *Albinus*, surnamed the younger, the emperor, who, notwithstanding the generosity he affected on his accession to the empire, was naturally of a most avaricious temper, laid an heavy tax on the inhabitants of *Constantinople*, called by *Evagrius* *chrysolitia*, which, as it was no-way expected, incensed them to such a degree, that, rising all on a sudden, they pulled down the emperor's statues, and dragged them through the chief streets of the city with those of the empress *Ariadne*, uttering most injurious invectives both against her

<sup>1</sup> EVAGR. l. iii. p. 366. THEOPH. p. 118.  
THEOPH. ibid. MARC. CHRON. JORN. p. 655.

<sup>m</sup> EVAGR.

and *Anastasius* \*. How this tumult ended, we are no-where told. The same year *Theodoric* the Goth, having completed the conquest of *Italy*, by the reduction of *Ravenna* after three years siege, as we shall relate at large in a more proper place, caused himself to be proclaimed king of that country, without waiting the return of the ambassadors, whom he had sent to *Constantinople* for the ensigns of royalty. However, he dispatched *Festus* or *Faustus*, and *Irenaeus*, two persons of rank, to solicit the emperor's approbation, and excuse the liberty he had taken. *Anastasius* received his excuses, promised not to molest him in the possession of the country he had conquered, and sent him the ensigns of the royal dignity \*. Hence it appears, that he acknowledged in some degree, as *Odoacer* had done, the authority of the emperor. Besides, he suffered the *Romans* to receive the consulship from the emperor of the East. It is true, he named in 511. one *Felix* to that dignity; but at the same time he wrote to *Anastasius*, begging him to confirm what he had done †.

*Theodoric acknowledged king of Italy.*  
*Year of the flood*  
 2840.  
*Of Christ*  
 493.  
*Of Rome*  
 1340.

IN 494. when *Asterius* and *Præsidius* were consuls, *Dio- genes*, one of the emperor's generals, having surprized the city of *Claudiopolis* in *Isauria*, held by the rebels, he was closely besieged in it by the bishop *Conon*, and reduced to such straits, that he must have soon either perished with hunger, or been cut in pieces with all his men, had not *John*, surnamed *Gibbus*, opening himself a way over mount *Taurus*, and falling unexpectedly upon the rebels, obliged them to retire with a great slaughter. The bishop, fighting with great resolution and intrepidity at the head of his men, received a wound, of which he died soon after †. The two following years, in the first of which *Viator*, or, as some stile him, *Victor*, was consul, and in the other *Paul*, the emperor's brother, some inconsiderable advantages were gained over the *Isaurian* rebels, who were utterly defeated the following year, when the emperor *Anastasius* was consul the second time, by *John* the *Scythian*. *Longinus*, brother to the late emperor *Zeno*, and *Theodoris* or *Athenodorus*, being taken prisoners, they were both put to death by that general's orders, and their heads sent to *Constantinople*, where they were exposed to public view in the suburbs called *Syca*. The head of *Athenodorus* was afterwards sent to *Tarsus*, and set up on a pole before the gate of that city †. The other ringleaders of the rebellion, namely, *Longinus* and *Indus*, were taken the following year, when *John* the *Scythian* was consul with *Paulinus*, and sent loaded

*The Isaurians defeated a second time by John the Scythian.*  
*Longinus; and the other heads of the rebels, taken, and put to death.*

\* MARC. chron. p. 408. † AMMIAN. anonym. p. 408.  
 Concil. tom. iv. p. 1181. † PROCOF. p. 402. CASSIODOR.  
 l. ii. ep. i. † MARC. chron. THEOPH. p. 119. † EVAGR.  
 l. iii. c. 35. p. 366. THEOPH. p. 120. VICT. TUN. p. 127.

with chains to *Constantinople*. *Longinus* was afterwards racked to death at *Nice*. As several cities in *Isauria* were utterly ruined during this war, which had lasted six years, the inhabitants of *Isauria* were removed into *Thrace*, and the annual pension of five thousand pieces of gold, paid to them by *Zeno*, taken away for ever <sup>1</sup>.

A tumult  
in Con-  
stantino-  
ple.

THIS year the emperor narrowly escaped being murdered in the circus by the populace, upon his refusing to cause some prisoners to be set at liberty, who had been concerned in a late riot. It was with the utmost difficulty that the guards screened him from the fury of the enraged multitude, and the showers of stones discharged against him. When the multitude found themselves repulsed by the soldiery, they set fire to the hippodrome, which consumed that, and several other stately edifices, with the square of *Constantine*, in which not a single building was left standing <sup>2</sup>. The same year the *Arabs* and *Saracens*, named *Scenitæ*, broke into *Palæstine* and *Syria Euphratesiana*; but in *Syria* they were defeated by *Eugenius*, who commanded the *Roman* troops there, and in *Palæstine* by *Romanus*, governor of that province, who, on that occasion, recovered to the empire the island of *Jotape* in the *Red Sea*, which the *Arabs Scenitæ* had seized, and re-established there the *Roman* merchants trading to *India* <sup>3</sup>.

The Ro-  
mans de-  
feated by  
the barba-  
rians.

IN 499. when *Joannes Gibbus* and *Asclepius* were consuls, the *Bulgarians* breaking into *Thrace*, *Arisius*, commander of the troops in *Illyricum*, marched against them at the head of fifteen thousand men, and engaged them on the banks of the *Zurta* or *Zorta*; but was defeated with the loss of four thousand men, amongst whom were the counts *Nicostratus*, *Innocentius*, and *Aquilinus*, and several other officers of distinction. The barbarians, after having plundered all the open places in *Thrace*, returned of their own accord beyond the *Danube* <sup>4</sup>. The same year *Neocæsarea*, and several other cities in *Pontus*, were almost utterly ruined by an earthquake <sup>5</sup>. The year 500. when *Patritius* and *Hypatius* were consuls, is quite barren of events. In the following consulship of *Pompeius* and *Avienus*, the blue and green factions quarreling in the circus at *Constantinople*, above three thousand of the former were killed <sup>6</sup>. The following year, *Probus* and *Avianus* being consuls, the *Bulgarians* breaking anew into *Thrace*, and the *Saracens* into *Palæstine*, committed dreadful ravages in those

A tumult  
in the cir-  
cus at  
Constanti-  
nople.

<sup>1</sup> CASSIOD. l. i. ep. 23. l. ii. ep. 3. EVAGR. l. iii. c. 35. p. 366. MARC. chron.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Alex. p. 760.

<sup>3</sup> THEOPH.

p. 21. EVAGR. l. iii. c. 36. p. 366.

<sup>4</sup> MARC. chron. ZONAR.

p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> THEOPH. p. 123. MARC. chron.

<sup>6</sup> MARC.

chron.

two provinces<sup>a</sup>. The same year *Cabades* king of *Persia*, being highly provoked at the emperor's refusing to lend him a certain sum, which he owed to the king of the *Nephthali* and *Ephthalite Huns*, entered unexpectedly *Armenia* at the head of a numerous army; and, having easily reduced the cities of *Theodosiopolis* and *Martyropolis*, laid close siege to *Amida*, which the inhabitants (for there was no garrison in the place) defended with such vigour and resolution, that the king, despairing of being ever able to reduce it, had already ordered his troops to retire; but the inhabitants, especially some women, probably common prostitutes, reviling and rallying him from the walls in a manner not to be expressed by a modest writer, he resolved at all events to pursue the siege; which he did accordingly, and in the end made himself master of the place, after having lain before it eighty days, or, as others write, four months<sup>a</sup>. Most of the inhabitants were put to the sword, and the town pillaged.

In the mean time *Anastasius* dispatched a powerful army against the enemy, commanded by *Patritius*, *Hypatius*, and *Areobindus*, who had married *Juliana*, the daughter of the emperor *Olybrius*. Under them commanded *Celer*, *Justin*, afterwards emperor, his son *Italianus*, *Patritiolus*, *Romanus*, and several other officers of distinction. But the *Persians* having reduced *Amida* before they reached that place, they divided the army into two bodies, the one, under the command of *Patritius* and *Hypatius*, attempting to make an irruption into the enemy's country on the side of *Amida*, and the other marching, under the command of *Areobindus*, to *Nisibis*, with a design to surprise that important place. In the mean time, *Cabades*, having drawn his troops together, went to meet *Areobindus*, who, upon his approach, abandoning his camp and baggage, fled in the utmost confusion to *Constantina*, after having pressed in vain *Hypatius* and *Patritius* to join him, and with their mutual forces to oppose the enemy, who was far superior in number to either of the parties they commanded. *Areobindus* being thus put to flight, *Cabades*, without loss of time, marched against *Hypatius* and *Patritius*; and, coming upon them unexpectedly, cut their whole army in pieces, the two generals having with difficulty escaped by a timely flight the common slaughter. *Cabades*, having now no enemy to oppose him, over-ran *Mesopotamia*, extending his ravages to the very borders of *Syria*, till

<sup>a</sup> MARC. chron. THEOPH. p. 153. <sup>a</sup> PROCOF. bell. Pers. l. i. c. 7. p. 20, 21. THEOPH. p. 124, 125. EVAGR. l. iii. c. 37. p. 367.



he was obliged, by the approach of winter, to return into *Persia* <sup>b</sup>.

THE following year, when *Cethegus* was consul, *Celer*, entering the province of *Arzanene*, belonging to the *Persians*, at the head of a considerable army, laid it waste far and near, while the other generals undertook the siege of *Amida*, the *Persians* being diverted by a sudden irruption of the *Hunns*. The place held out till both the *Romans* and *Persians* being quite tired out with the fatigues of a siege in the depth of winter, it was agreed, that the *Persians* should deliver up the city to the *Romans*, upon their paying to the king of *Persia* fifty talents; which was immediately done. Thus the *Romans* recovered the important city of *Amida*, in the consulship of *Sabinianus* and *Theodorus*, after it had been held two years by the *Persians* <sup>c</sup>. Upon their entering the place, they found that the enemy had not sufficient provisions to support them seven days longer, though they had lived very sparingly during the siege. Not long after, a truce for seven years, which lasted about twenty, was concluded between the two empires, *Cabades* being engaged in a war with the *Cassuceans*, *Hunns*, and other barbarians <sup>d</sup>. The same year one *Mondon* or *Mondo*, by nation a *Goth*, having settled with some of his countrymen in such places beyond the *Danube*, as he found uninhabited, seized on a strong-hold called *Fustia*; and thence, by frequent incursions into the *Roman* territories, continued for some time harassing the subjects of the empire, giving himself the title of king. *Anastasius* dispatched against him *Sabinianus*, the son of the famous general of that name, at the head of ten thousand chosen men; which obliged *Mondon* to have recourse to *Theodoric* the *Goth*, king of *Italy*, who the year before had reconquered *Pannonia*, and recovered *Sirmium* out of the hands of the *Gepidæ*. As *Mondo* had entered into an alliance with *Theodoric*, *Pitzia*, one of that prince's generals, marched to his assistance, defeated *Sabinianus* in a pitched battle near *Margus* in *Lower Dacia*, and obliged him to shut himself up in the castle of *Nato* <sup>e</sup>. This occasioned a misunderstanding between *Theodoric* and *Anastasius*, as we shall relate in the history of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*. The next consuls were *Areobindus* and *Messala*, who were succeeded in 507. by the emperor *Anastasius*, the third time consul, and *Ienantius*.

Amida  
restored to  
the Ro-  
mans.

A truce  
with the  
Persians.  
Year of  
the flood  
2852.  
Of Christ  
505.  
Of Rome  
1352.

The Ro-  
mans de-  
feated by  
Mondo  
the Goth.

<sup>b</sup> PROCOF. p. 22. THEOPH. p. 125.

25, 26.

<sup>c</sup> Idem, p. 127, & 128.

<sup>d</sup> PROCOF. bell. Pers. l. i. c. 9. p. 27.

THEOPH. p. 127.

<sup>e</sup> JORN. rer. Goth. p. 599. ENNOD. in panegy. Theodoric. p. 309.

THIS year *Anastasius*, to defend not only the city of *Constantinople*, but the adjacent country, against the sudden irruptions of the barbarians, built the famous wall called the *Long wall*, and the wall of *Anastasius*, of which frequent mention is made by the *Byzantine* historians. It was distant from *Constantinople* two hundred and eighty furlongs; extended from sea to sea, being four hundred and twenty furlongs round; and inclosed not only the metropolis, but the city of *Selymbria*, and the neighbouring country, which was a continued garden, with an incredible number of stately villas, and houses of pleasure, richly furnished and adorned. The wall was twenty feet in breadth, and defended by towers at small distances from each other; by which means the inhabitants, upon the shortest warning, had an opportunity of putting themselves in a posture of defence, and repulsing with great ease the barbarians<sup>f</sup>. In the following consulship of *Daras Celer*, and *Venantius* killed the younger, *Anastasius* caused the city of *Daras*, a frontier town towards *Persia*, to be repaired and fortified, in order to prevent the *Persians* from breaking into the empire on that side. *Daras* stood on the *Carlus*, about fifteen miles from *Nisibis*, and three from *Charrhæ* &c. Nothing remarkable happened the two following years 509. 510. in the first of which *Opportunus* was consul, and, in the second, the famous *Boetius*, whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the history of the kingdom of *Italy*.

IN 511. when *Secundinus* and *Felix* were consuls, the *Heruli*, after having long roved about from one country to another, passed the *Danube*, and were received the following year, when *Paulus* and *Muschanus* were consuls, into *Thrace*; where lands were allotted to them, upon their promising to serve with fidelity in the *Roman* armies, when required<sup>h</sup>. In the next consulship of *Probus* and *Clementinus*, the emperor, at the instigation of the *Eutychians*, whom he favoured, drove *Macedonius*, the orthodox patriarch of *Constantinople*, from his see, and preferred one *Timotheus*, an avowed follower of *Eutyches*, in his room, who, by attempting the next year to introduce novelties in the public worship, raised great disturbances in *Constantinople*. Many of the inhabitants, some say ten thousand, were killed in a tumult between the catholics and *Eutychians*, and several houses burnt; amongst the rest, that of the prefect *Martinus*, with its rich furniture, he himself having narrowly escaped being confined in

*Anastasius builds the Long wall.*

*Daras repaired and fortified.*

*The Heruli admitted into Thrace.*

*Great disturbances in Constantinople.*

*Year of the flood 2859. Of Christ 512. Of Rome 1359.*

<sup>f</sup> EVAG. l. iii. c. 38. p. 367. PROCOPI. ædif. l. iv. c. 9. p. 86. GYL. de Constantinop. l. i. c. 21. p. 83. ZON. p. 48. <sup>g</sup> PROCOPI. ædif. l. ii. c. 2. p. 31. EVAG. l. iii. c. 37. p. 367. <sup>h</sup> PROCOPI. bell. Goth. l. ii. c. 14. p. 42

Vitalianus the flames<sup>1</sup>. The following year 514. when *Cassiodorus* *Se-*  
*espousethe* nator was consul, *Vitalianus*, one of the emperor's generals,  
*cause of* espousing the cause of *Macedonius*, and the other orthodox  
*the catho-* bishops, persecuted by *Anastasius*, approached *Constantinople*,  
*lics againſt* at the head of a numerous army, raised in three days time,  
*the Euty-* threatening to depose the emperor, if he did not restore the  
*chians.* banished bishops to their sees, and drive out the *Eutychians*.

The empe-  
 ror pro-  
 mises to  
 comply  
 with his  
 demands.

*Anastasius*, who was a zealous patron of the doctrine of *Euty-*  
*tyches*, refusing to comply with his request, he made himself  
 master of *Mæſia* and *Thrace*; took *Cyril*, governor of the  
 latter province, prisoner; defeated *Hypatius*, the emperor's  
 nephew, who likewise fell into his hands; and, returning be-  
 fore *Constantinople* with his victorious army, *Anastasius*, who  
 was no-way in a condition to oppose him, solemnly promised  
 to comply with his demands; to wit, to put an end to the  
 persecution which he had raised against the catholics, to re-  
 store *Macedonius*, and the other orthodox bishops, to their  
 sees, and to call an œcumenical council, and stand to the de-  
 cisions of the prelates of the church. *Anastasius* had no sooner  
 signed these articles, than *Vitalianus* withdrew from the neigh-  
 bourhood of *Constantinople*; and, disbanding his troops, sent  
*Hypatius*, whom he had taken prisoner, back to his uncle,  
 and retired to his government in *Thrace*.

ANASTASIUS, thus delivered from his fears, pursued the  
 persecution against the catholics with more cruelty than ever,  
 as the reader will find related at large by the ecclesiastic writ-  
 ters. In 515. when *Anthemius* and *Florentius* were consuls,  
 and in 516. when *Petrus* alone bore that dignity, nothing hap-

The Getæ  
 break into  
 Illyricum.

pened which historians have thought worthy of notice. In  
 517. when *Anastasius* was consul the fourth time, with *Aga-*  
*Illyricum.* *petus*, the northern barbarians, called by *Marcellinus* *Getæ*,  
 breaking into *Illyricum*, laid waste *Macedon* and *Epirus*, de-  
 feated *Pompeius*, the emperor's nephew, in the neighbourhood  
 of *Adrianople*; and, penetrating as far as *Thessaly*, returned  
 from thence beyond the *Danube* unmolested, with an immense

Anastasius  
 dies.

Year of  
 the flood  
 2865.  
 Of Christ  
 418.  
 Of Rome  
 1365.

booty, and an incredible number of captives<sup>1</sup>. The follow-  
 ing year, when *Magnus* alone was consul, the emperor *Ana-*  
*stasius* was found dead in his chamber on the 9th of *July*.  
 Authors vary as to the circumstances of his death: some  
 write, that, a violent storm arising, the dread and terror  
 with which he was seized, as being conscious to himself of  
 many cruel and unjust murders, put an end to his life<sup>m</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> SURIUS, p. 173.

<sup>m</sup> MARC. chron. VICT. TUNU-

NENSIS, p. 132.

<sup>1</sup> MARC. chron. JORN. reg. succ. c. 48.

p. 655.

B. 764.

<sup>m</sup> THEOD. p. 505. MARC. chron. Chron. Alex.

others suppose him to have been killed by a flash of lightning <sup>a</sup>. He died in the eighty-eighth year of his age, after having reigned twenty-seven years, and three months, wanting two or three days <sup>o</sup>. No prince perhaps was ever more beloved in the beginning, nor more hated in the end, of his reign. He gave at first several instances of generosity, good-nature, moderation, and application to public affairs, seeming to have nothing so much at heart as the welfare of his subjects. But he soon abandoned himself to all manner of wickedness, selling the public offices, and sharing with the governors of provinces the spoils of the unhappy people, whom he suffered them to oppress with the most enormous exactions. The ecclesiastic writers paint him in the blackest colours imaginable; but, as he persecuted the catholics, and countenanced, to the utmost of his power, the *Eutychians*, they were perhaps so far prejudiced against him as to overlook the few good qualities which other authors allow him, and take notice only of his vices.

ANASTASIUS being dead, *Justin*, then *præfectus prætorio*, Justin <sup>pro-</sup> was by the soldiers of the household proclaimed emperor in his <sup>claimed</sup> room. He was descended of an obscure and mean family in <sup>emperor.</sup> Thrace, having been in his youth employed in keeping cat- <sup>His birth,</sup> tle. He afterwards fitted himself among the troops that <sup>education,</sup> guarded Thrace; and, having on several occasions given signal proofs of an extraordinary valour and address, he was raised from the low station of a common soldier to the post of a tribune, and from that soon after to the office of *præfectus prætorio*, which he held when he was preferred to the empire. *Evagrius* writes, that *Amantius*, the deceased emperor's great chamberlain, having entrusted *Justin* with large sums to purchase the votes of the soldiery in favour of *Theocritus* his intimate friend, *Justin* distributed the money in his own name; and, having by that means secured the army to his interest, he was by them saluted with the title of *Augustus*, as soon as the death of *Anastasius* was known <sup>p</sup>. Thus *Evagrius*, whose account does not at all agree with what we read in the letters said to have been written by *Justin* himself to *Hormisdas* bishop of Rome soon after his promotion; wherein he tells him, that he had been preferred, contrary to his expectation, and against his will, to the imperial dignity <sup>q</sup>. But, by what means soever he attained the purple, he governed with great equity and moderation; and, by his steady adherence to the orthodox faith, and prudent administration, healed in great measure the divisions which had long rent

<sup>a</sup> ZONAR. p. 47. CEDREN. p. 362;

<sup>o</sup> 1. p. 381. Chron. Alex. p. 764.

c. 1, 2.

<sup>q</sup> Vide BARON. ad ann. 518.

<sup>o</sup> EVAGR. l. iv.

<sup>p</sup> EVAGR. l. iv.

*Some con- the church, as well as the state, into factions and parties. He*  
*spire a-* hid scarce ascended the throne, when *Amantius, Theocritus,*  
*gainst him,* and several of the deceased emperor's relations, persons of  
*but are* great interest and authority in the empire, conspired against  
*discovered* him; but, the conspiracy being discovered by some who were  
*and pu-* privy to it, the chief authors of *Amantius* and *Theocritus*, were publicly executed, to the great  
*nished.* satisfaction of the people, who rated them as the avowed pa-  
trons of the *Eutychians*, and the chief promoters of the late  
persecution against the catholics<sup>r</sup>. The following year 519.  
*Justin* being consul with *Eutharic* the son-in-law of *Theodo-*  
*ric king of Italy,* all the orthodox bishops, who had been ban-  
ished by *Anastasius*, were by the emperor's orders restored to  
their sees, and several synods assembled, in which the doctrine  
of the church was established, and that of *Eutyches* con-  
demned<sup>s</sup>.

THE following year, *Vitalianus*, of whom we have made  
*Vitalianus* mention above, was raised to the consulship with *Rusticus*,  
*put to* but was soon after dispatched in the palace by the emperor's  
*death.* order, upon his attempting to gain over some of the chief offi-  
cers, with a design to depose *Justin*, and cause himself to be  
proclaimed emperor in his room. He had espoused the catho-  
lic cause in the reign of *Anastasius*: but his caballing against  
*Justin*, a zealous patron of the true faith, and his courting  
the *Eutychians*, convinced the world, that it was not merely  
on account of religion he had taken arms against his sove-  
reign<sup>r</sup>. The following year, *Justinian*, the emperor's ne-  
phew, being consul with *Valerius*, *Cabades* king of *Persia*  
sent a solemn embassy to *Justin*, offering to conclude a last-  
ing peace with him, provided he would adopt *Cosroes*, the  
*Persian* king's youngest son, whom, to the prejudice of his  
eldest son *Caoses*, he had declared his successor. This he  
looked upon as the only means of engaging the *Roman* empe-  
rator to espouse his cause, and of firmly establishing him in the  
kingdom. The proposal was received at first with great joy  
*The Per-* both by *Justin*, and his nephew *Justinian*; but *Proclus* the  
*sian war.* quæstor, a man of great integrity, and well skilled in the laws,  
demonstrating, that, in virtue of that adoption, *Cosroes*  
the flood might claim the *Roman* empire as his inheritance, it was re-  
2868. jected; which so piqued *Cosroes*, that he immediately en-  
Of Christ<sup>521.</sup> tered *Iberia*, with a design to invade from thence the *Roman*  
1368. territories. *Gurgenes* king of the *Iberians* had recourse to  
*Justin*, who dispatched a body of troops to his assistance, un-  
der the conduct of *Sittas*, and the famous *Belisarius*, who was

<sup>r</sup> JORN. reg. succ. c. 48. p. 132.  
c. 3. <sup>s</sup> Idem ibid,

<sup>s</sup> EVAGR. lib. iv.

then but a youth, and served in the guards of *Justinian*, lately declared commander in chief of all the forces of the empire. *Sittas* and *Belisarius* broke into that part of *Armenia* which belonged to the *Persians*, and laid it waste; but, being met by *Narses* and *Aratius*, they were by them put to flight, and obliged to retire into the *Roman* dominions. *Narses* and *Aratius* revolted soon after from the *Persians*, and served under *Belisarius* in *Italy*. The emperor, well pleased with the conduct of *Belisarius*, gave him the command of the forces in *Daras*, on the frontiers of *Persia* <sup>u</sup>.

*Belisarius*  
commander  
of the

THESE things happened in the third consulship of *Severinus Boetius*, and the first of *Symmachus*, who were succeeded in 523. by *Maximus* alone in the West, and he by *Justin*, the second time consul, and *Opilio*, during whose consulship we find nothing transacted in the empire that deserves notice. In 525. when *Probinus* or *Probus*, and *Philoxenus*, were consuls, *Justin*, by an edict, deprived the *Arians* of all their churches in his dominions; which occasioned a misunderstanding between him and *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, who was a zealous patron of the doctrine of *Arius*. But what relates to that prince, we reserve for the history of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*. The same year the city of *Antioch* was almost utterly overturned by an earthquake, and great numbers of the inhabitants buried, with their bishop *Probasius*, under the ruins <sup>w</sup>. The cities of *Epidamnus*, *Corinth*, and *Anazarbus* in *Cilicia*, underwent the same fate; but were at a vast expence restored, as well as *Antioch*, to their former condition by the good-natured emperor, who was so affected with their misfortune, that, putting off the purple, and laying aside the diadem, he appeared for several days in sackcloth <sup>x</sup>.

*troops in*  
*Daras*.

*The Arians*  
deprived  
of their  
churches.

*A great*  
*earthquake*  
at *An-*  
*ti*  
*och*.

IN 526. *Olybrius* alone was consul, and succeeded in that dignity by *Mavortius*, during whose consulship, *Justin*, on the first of *April*, declared his nephew *Justinian* his partner in the empire. He was the son of *Sabaius* by *Biglenza* the sister of *Justin*, called by the *Romans* *Viglantia*. He was a native of *Tauresum*, but brought up at *Bederina*, the birth-place of his uncle *Justin*, both cities on the confines of *Thrace* and *Illyricum*; whence he is by some stiled a *Thracian*, by others an *Illyrian*. He was sent, when yet a youth, by *Justin*, then commander in chief of the *Roman* army, as an hostage to *Theodoric* king of *Italy*, who, upon the news of his uncle's preferment, suffered him to return to *Constantinople*, where he was immediately honoured with the title of *nobilissimus*, and, upon the death of *Vitalianus*, raised to the chief

*Justin*  
*assumes*  
*Justinian*  
for his  
*partner in*  
*the empire*.  
Year of  
the flood  
2874.  
Of Christ  
527.  
Of Rome  
1374.

<sup>u</sup> PROCOF. bell. Pers. c. 11, 12.  
6. <sup>x</sup> Idem ibid. c. 8.

<sup>w</sup> EVAGR. l. iv. c. 5,

Justin  
dies.

His cha-  
racter.

What  
gave rise  
to the  
Persian  
war.

The Ro-  
mans de-  
feated,

command of the army in his room<sup>y</sup>. Some authors write, that *Justin*, at the request of the senate, took him for his partner in the empire; whereas others pretend, that the senate were awed by threats and menaces. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Justinian* was this year declared emperor; and, upon his entering the circus with the purple, and other ensigns of the imperial dignity, the populace received him with loud acclamations: he was then, as *Zonaras* observes, in the forty-fifth year of his age. The emperor *Justin* died about four months after, that is, in the latter-end of *September*, or the beginning of *August*, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, after having reigned nine years, one month, and some days. His death is generally ascribed to a wound received in battle many years before. He could neither read nor write, having been employed<sup>z</sup> by his parents in keeping cattle, till he lifted himself in the army; but was nevertheless a man of extraordinary penetration, and uncommon address, in the management of the most difficult affairs, well skilled in the art of war, and in every respect equal to the high station to which he was raised.

*JUSTINIAN*, now sole master of the empire, made it his first and chief business to secure the frontiers towards *Persia*. With this view he ordered *Belisarius*<sup>z</sup>, commander of the troops in *Daras*, to build a fort in the neighbourhood of *Mindon*, which might be as a curb upon the *Persians*, and prevent them from breasting into the empire on that side. *Belisarius* had no sooner begun the work, than *Cabades*, who still reigned in *Persia*, after having attempted in vain, by threats and menaces, to divert him from it, dispatched a body of troops against him. On the other hand, *Justinian* ordered the two brothers *Curtzes* and *Buzes*, who commanded the troops quartered in the neighbourhood of mount *Libanus*, to join *Belisarius*. But, notwithstanding this reinforcement, the *Romans*, in the battle which ensued, were utterly defeated, and great numbers of them taken prisoners, and, among the rest, *Curtzes*, to whose rash and imprudent conduct the defeat was chiefly owing. After this victory, the *Persians*, finding the fort abandoned by the *Romans*, leveled it with the ground<sup>y</sup>. War being thus declared, *Justinian* appointed *Belisarius* general of the East, ordering him to make an inroad into *Persia*. *Perozes* the *Persian* general met him at the head of a very numerous and powerful army in the neighbourhood

<sup>y</sup> Vide not. ALAM. in PROCOPI. secret. hist.  
cor. bell. Pers. c. 13.

<sup>z</sup> PRO-

of *Daras*; whereupon a battle ensuing, the *Persians* were defeated, with the loss of five thousand men. As the *Persians* fled in great confusion, the *Romans* would, in all likelihood, have cut most of them in pieces, had not *Belisarius*, apprehending they might rally, and return to the charge, sounded a retreat <sup>a</sup>.

THE like success attended the *Roman* arms in *Armenia*, where *Mermeroes*, who commanded another army, consisting of *Perfarmerians*, *Sunites*, and *Hunns*, was surprised and defeated by *Dorotheus*, the *Roman* governor of *Armenia*, and *Sittas*, general of the forces quartered in that province. *Mermeroes* being put to flight, the *Romans* made themselves masters of several strong-holds in *Perfarmeria*, and, among the rest, of *Pharangium*, which commanded the royal mines, and was betrayed to them by one *Simeon*. About this time, *Narfes* and *Aratius*, two brothers, who, in the latter-end of *Justin's* reign, had commanded the *Persian* army in *Armenia*, and gained some advantages over *Belisarius* and *Sittas*, as we have related above, revolting from the *Persians*, came over to the *Romans*, who were now masters of the greatest part of *Perfarmeria*, their native country. *Narfes*, the emperor's quartermaster in those parts, who was likewise a *Perfarmerian*, received them with extraordinary marks of kindness and esteem, making them rich presents in the emperor's name; which encouraged their younger brother, by name *Isaac*, to follow their example, after having held a private correspondence with the *Romans*, till he found an opportunity of delivering up to them a strong-hold in the territory of *Theodosiopolis*, named *Belus* <sup>b</sup>. *Justinian*, notwithstanding the advantages gained by his troops in *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, dispatched ambassadors to *Cabades*, with proposals for an accommodation; but the treaty being soon broken off, the *Persians*, early in the spring of 530. invaded the *Roman* territories under the command of *Azarethes*, who was joined by an incredible number of *Saracens*, commanded by *Alamundarus* their king, who, as he was a person of great experience in war, and well acquainted with the country, advised the *Persians* to break into the *Roman* territories, not by the way of *Mesopotamia* and *Osrhoene*, as they usually did, but to march directly into *Syria*; which country they might lay waste, and plunder *Antioch* itself, before the army in *Mesopotamia* could receive the least intelligence of their motions.

<sup>a</sup> PROCOPIUS. *bell. Pers.* c. 15.<sup>b</sup> Idem, c. 15, 16.



*The Persians, attempting to break into Syria, are prevented by Belisarius.*  
 Year of the flood  
 2877.  
 Of Christ  
 530.  
 Of Rome  
 1377.

THE *Persian* generals approving the scheme, the army began to march; but *Belisarius*, apprised of their design, flew with a strong detachment to the frontiers of *Syria*, where the *Persians* finding him, to their great surprize, ready to dispute their passage, they resolved to proceed no farther, but rather to retire, thinking it dangerous to hazard a battle. On the other hand, *Belisarius*, judging it imprudent to provoke a flying enemy, far superior to him in numbers, was for suffering them to retire unmolested. But his men upbraiding him with cowardice, he led them on against the enemy, by whom, after a most obstinate dispute, they were put to the rout, *Belisarius*, with a small body of horse, who were ashamed to forsake him, keeping the field, and, by that means, preventing the enemy from pursuing the fugitives. The next day the *Persians*, who had lost in the engagement the flower of their army, not thinking it adviseable to venture a second battle, retired in good order, the *Romans*, who were greatly disheartened by their defeat, not daring to attack them. The following year 531. *Iustinian* being desirous of concluding a peace with the *Persians*, that he might be at leisure to make war upon the *Vandals*, and reunite to the empire the many rich provinces they had seized, dispatched *Hermogenes* to the king of *Persia*, with very reasonable proposals. But *Cabades*, instead of listening to them, sent early in the spring a fresh army into *Mesopotamia*, under the command of *Chaurangis*, *Aspender*, and *Mermeroes*, who, after having ravaged the country, putting all to fire and sword, sat down before *Martyropolis*, a city about thirty miles north of *Amida*, on the river *Nymphius*, which parted the *Persian* and *Roman* dominions. The place was no way in a condition to maintain a siege, being destitute both of soldiers and provisions. The emperor had recalled *Belisarius* to advise with him about a war with the *Vandals*, on which he was chiefly bent; and *Sittas*, who had succeeded him in the command of the troops in the East, had not sufficient strength to attempt the relief of the place.

*The Persians besiege Martyropolis.*  
 Year of the flood  
 2878.  
 Of Christ  
 531.  
 Of Rome  
 1378.

WHILE affairs stood thus, the emperor was informed, that a numerous army of *Massagetes* was marching into *Persia*, with a design to invade from thence the *Roman* dominions. This intelligence *Iustinian* turned to his great advantage, by persuading the *Persian* deserter, who brought it, to spread a report in the army before *Martyropolis*, that the *Massagetes* were in the *Roman* pay, and their true design was to fall upon the *Persians*, and raise the siege. This report, with the

news that were soon after brought of the death of *Cabades*, inclined the *Persian* generals to hearken to the overtures that were made them by *Sittas* and *Hermogenes*, with whom they first concluded a truce, retiring from before *Martyropolis*, and soon after a peace, upon the following terms: 1. That the *Roman* emperor should pay to *Cosroes*, who had succeeded his father *Cabades*, a thousand pounds weight of gold. 2. That both princes should restore the places they had taken during the war. 3. That the commander of the *Roman* forces in *Mesopotamia* should no longer reside at *Daras*, but at *Constantina*, as he had formerly done. 4. That the *Iberians*, who had sided with the *Romans*, should be at liberty to return to their own country, or stay at *Constantinople*. Upon these terms the *Romans* and *Persians* concluded an eternal peace, as it was stiled, in 532. the sixth year of *Justinian's* reign, which, as it was without consuls, as the preceding year had been, is thus marked in the fasti; *The second year after the consulship of Lampadius and Orestes*. About this time happened at *Constantinople* the greatest tumult we find mentioned in history. It began amongst the different factions in the circus, but ended in an open rebellion; the multitude, highly dissatisfied with the conduct of *John* the *praefectus praetorio*, and of *Trebianus* then *quaestor*, forcing *Hypatius*, nephew to the emperor *Anastasius*, to accept the empire, and proclaiming him with great solemnity in the forum. As the two above-mentioned ministers were greatly abhorred by the people, on account of their avarice, the emperor immediately discharged them, hoping, by that means, to appease the tumult; but the populace growing more outrageous, and most of the senators joining the rebellious multitude, the emperor, alarmed and disheartened, would have abandoned the city, and made his escape by sea, had not the empress *Theodora*, with a manly courage, persuaded him to part with his life, rather than with the empire, by seasonably putting him in mind of the old saying, *How glorious a sepulchre is a kingdom!* *Justinian*, thus encouraged, resolved to continue in the palace, and, with the assistance of the few senators, who had not yet abandoned him, defend it to the last. In the mean time the rebels, having attempted in vain to force the gates, carried *Hypatius* in triumph to the circus; where, while he was beholding the sports from the imperial throne, among the shouts and acclamations of the people,

*A perpetual peace concluded between the Romans and Persians.*

*A great tumult at Constantinople.*

*The manly courage of the empress Theodora.*

<sup>d</sup> EVAG. l. iii. c. 38. AGATH. l. iv. c. 13. NICEPH. l. xvii. c. 10. THEOPH. ad. ann. Just. 5, 6. CEDREN. p. 366. HIL. miscell. l. xvi. PROCOP. bell. Pers. ibid.

The tumult  
quelled  
with the  
loss of  
30,000  
persons.

*Belisarius*, who had been recalled from *Persia*, entering the city with a considerable body of troops under his command, and apprised of the usurpation of *Hypatius*, marched straight to the circus, fell sword in hand upon the disarmed multitude, and, being seasonably joined by *Mundus*, governor of *Illyricum*, at the head of a band of *Heruli*, cut above thirty thousand of them in pieces, took *Hypatius* the murderer, and *Pompeius*, another of the nephews of *Anastasius*, prisoners, and carried them to the emperor, by whose orders they were both beheaded, and their bodies cast into the sea. Their estates were confiscated, and likewise the estates of such senators as had joined them; but the emperor caused great part of their lands and effects to be afterwards restored, together with their honours and dignities, to their children<sup>e</sup> (F).

The Hunns  
commit  
great ravages in  
Illyricum.

THE tumult being thus appeased, and a peace concluded with the king of *Persia*, the emperor applied his thoughts wholly to the war in *Africa*, which he had been long bent upon. But of the wars that were by the renowned *Belisarius* carried on with amazing success in the reign of *Justinian*, first with the *Vandals* in *Africa*, and afterwards with the *Goths* in *Italy*, we shall speak at large hereafter. These two wars lasted from 533. to 541. a year remarkable for the triumphant return of *Belisarius* to *Constantinople*, and no less on account of its being the last that is marked by consuls, time being thenceforth computed, not by consulships, though consuls were still created for some time, but by the years of the emperor's reign. During the war with the *Goths* in *Italy*, the *Hunns*, probably stirred up by them, passed the *Danube*, and, entering *Illyricum*, laid waste the whole country, took above thirty-two castles, destroyed *Cassandria*, and returned home unmolested, carrying with them an immense booty, and an hundred and twenty thousand captives. At the same time, the *Armenians*, shaking off the *Roman* yoke, gained some advantages over the emperor's forces in that province; which, with a groundless report spread abroad, that the emperor, grown jealous of *Belisarius*, would no longer trust him with the command of his armies, encouraged *Cosroes*

<sup>e</sup> PROCOF. bell. Pers. l. i. p. 265.

(F) *Marcellinus* supposes that this tumult was raised by *Hypatius*, *Pompeius*, and *Probus*, all three nephews to the emperor *Anastasius*, each of them setting up for himself; by which means the city was rent into factions, an incredible number of citizens was murdered, and many stately buildings laid in ashes (8).

to invade the *Roman* dominions with a very powerful army, *Cosroes* in defiance of the treaty solemnly concluded a few years before. *Buzes*, who commanded in the East, instead of assembling his forces, and providing for the defence of the provinces, disappeared all on a sudden, and retired, no one knew whither, leaving the enemy at full liberty to plunder the country at their pleasure.

As *Cosroes* met with no opposition, he bent his march to *Syria*; and, having taken and plundered *Berwa*, *Hierapolis*, and several other cities, he laid siege to *Antioch* itself, which he soon mastered, and gave up to be plundered by his soldiers, who, without distinction of sex or age, put all they met to the sword. The king himself seized on all the gold and silver vessels belonging to the great church; caused all the valuable statues, pictures, and other pieces of art, to be taken down, and conveyed into *Persia*; and having thus stripped the proud metropolis of the East of all its wealth and ornaments, he ordered his men to set fire to it, and lay it in ashes; which was done accordingly, none of the buildings, even without the walls, being spared by the outrageous and insulting enemy. Thus perished the most wealthy, beautiful, and populous city of the East. Such of the inhabitants as escaped the common slaughter, and afterwards fell into the enemy's hands, were carried into captivity, and sold in *Persia* to the highest bidder. *Justinian*, upon the first news of the *Persians* entering the *Roman* territories, had dispatched ambassadors to *Cosroes*, to put him in mind of the articles of the treaty concluded a few years before. The king alleged several frivolous pretences for the hostilities he had committed, in order to lay the whole blame on *Justinian*; but, after he had wasted *Syria*, and enriched himself, and his army, with the spoils of that province, and its wealthy metropolis, he began to hearken to an accommodation; and accordingly a peace was concluded on the following terms: 1. That the *Romans* should, within two months, pay to the *Persian* king five thousand pounds weight of gold, and an annual pension of five hundred. 2. That the *Persians* should relinquish all claim to *Daras*, and maintain a body of troops to guard the *Caspian* gates, and prevent the barbarians from breaking into the empire. 3. That, upon the payment of the above-mentioned sum, *Cosroes* should immediately withdraw his troops out of the *Roman* territories.

† PROCOF. bell. Pers. l. ii. c. 12. EVAQ. ACATH. ibid. § PROCOF. l. ii. c. 2.

quo ne-  
vertheless  
ravages  
Mesopo-  
tamia

The La-  
zians re-  
volt to the  
Persians.

Year of  
the flood  
2890.

Of Christ

543.  
Of Rome

1390.

Belisarius  
enters Per-  
sia, and  
ravages  
Assyria.

THE treaty being signed, and the stipulated sum paid, *Cosroes* began to march back; but in his retreat plundered, as if the war had still continued, the cities of *Apamea* and *Chalcis*; and, crossing the *Euphrates*, laid waste *Mesopotamia*, carrying with him from thence an immense booty, and an incredible number of captives. Hereupon *Justinian*, now well apprised, that with *Cosroes* no treaties were binding, resolved to pursue the war with the utmost vigour; and, with that design, sent for *Belisarius*, then employed against the *Goths* in *Italy*; and, upon his arrival at *Constantinople*, appointed him general against the *Persians*. While that brave commander was making the necessary preparations to take the field early in the spring of the ensuing year 542. the *Lazians*, no longer able to brook the arbitrary and tyrannical conduct of the commander of the *Roman* troops in that country, revolted to the *Persians*, and delivered up to them all their castles and strong-holds. *Lazica*, formerly part of the flood *Colchis*, lay between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, and was governed by its own kings, who were under the protection of the *Roman* emperor, and received at his hands the ensigns of royalty. Their present king's name was *Gubazes*, who had served the *Romans* with great fidelity, and continued attached to their interest, till *Joannes Tzibus*, commander of the *Roman* troops quartered in his dominions to awe the neighbouring *Iberians*, by erecting a fort, as a curb upon the *Lazians*, and exacting exorbitant contributions for the payment of his soldiers, forced, in a manner, both the prince, and his subjects, though otherwise well affected to the empire, to have recourse to the king of *Persia*, who, upon the first invitation, entered their country, and, being assisted by the natives, drove out the *Romans*, and placed every-where *Persian* garisons in their room <sup>b</sup>.

IN the mean time *Belisarius*, not apprised of the revolt of the *Lazians*, entered *Persia* at the head of a powerful army; and, having made himself master of a strong-hold called *Sisibranum*, laid waste *Assyria*; but was obliged, by the violent heats, and the distempers that began to rage in his army, to return, before the end of the summer, into the *Roman* dominions. *Cosroes* was no sooner informed of the invasion of *Belisarius*, than, quitting *Lazica*, he hastened into *Assyria*; but, being informed on his march, that the *Romans* were retired, he put his army into winter-quarters, and withdrew to *Ctesiphon*<sup>c</sup>. The spring followings, he invaded anew the *Roman* territories, bending his march through *Comagena*,

<sup>b</sup> PROCOR. l. ii. c. 15, 29.

<sup>c</sup> Idem ibid.

with a design to enter *Palæstine*, and enrich himself with the *Cosrhoes* spoils of that fertile and wealthy province. *Belisarius*, who attempts to was returned to *Constantinople*, upon the first news of this invasion, flew to *Euphrates* on the *Euphrates*, and there drew *Palæstine* together what forces he could, some time after *Cosrhoes* had passed that river; which so alarmed the *Persian* king, dread- but, ing an enemy at his back, that he thought it adviseable to drop his intended expedition into *Palæstine*, and return to *Belisarius*, his own dominions, before *Belisarius* was in a condition to drops that cut off his retreat. The emperor being soon after obliged to enterprize. recal *Belisarius*, and send him into *Italy*, where the *Goths* had gained great advantages over the *Romans*, as we shall relate hereafter, *Cosrhoes* resolved once more to invade the *Roman* territories, notwithstanding the dreadful plague that raged in *Persia*, being encouraged thereto by the magi, and by a shameful overthrow of thirty thousand *Romans*, who, attempting to break into *Persarmenia*, had been defeated by four thousand *Persians*. Upon this success he invaded *Mesopotamia*, and sat down before *Lubissis*; but, not being able to master the place, after several unsuccessful attempts, he agreed to raise the siege and soon after concluded a truce for five years, upon the emperor's paying him two thousand pounds weight of gold, and sending him a celebrated physician, by name *Tribunus*, who had formerly cured him of a dangerous distemper\*. Not long after the conclusion of the truce, *Cosrhoes*, observing the *Lazians* so way pleased with their late change, and apprehending they would soon revolt from him to the *Romans*, resolved to prevent a second revolution, by causing *Gubazes* their king to be murdered, by transplanting the natives into *Persia*, and peopling the country, which opened him a passage into the *Euxine* sea, with *Persians*, and other nations well affected to his interests.

BUT his design being discovered to *Gubazes*, by those who were to put it in execution, that prince had recourse, in the most submissive manner imaginable, to *Justinian*, who, forgetting his past conduct, received him anew under his protection, and, without loss of time, dispatched eight thousand *The Lazians revolt to the Romans.* men, under the command of *Dagistæus*, to his assistance; who, being joined by a numerous body of *Lazians*, laid siege to *Petra*, one of the strongest places in *Lazica*, defended by a *Persian* garison, and stored with all manner of provisions. *Cosrhoes*, alarmed at this sudden revolution, sent a powerful army, under the conduct of *Mermæres*, to the relief of the place. At their approach, *Dagistæus*, who was a young un-

\* PROCOPIUS. I. ii. c. 12. EVAGELIUS. I. iv. c. 27.

The Romans  
obliged to  
raise the  
siege of  
Petra.

experienced officer, abandoning his camp and baggage, fled in the utmost consternation towards the *Phasis*. Upon his retreat, *Mermæros* advanced to *Petra*, the garison of which place, consisting at first of fifteen hundred men, was now reduced to three hundred and fifty, of whom an hundred and fifty were quite disabled, and unfit for service. *Mermæros* repaired with great expedition the breaches in the walls, garisoned the place with three thousand men, and returned with the rest of his army into *Perfarmenia*, not thinking it safe to continue in *Lazica*, whither, he was informed, fresh forces were marching, under the conduct of *Recitbangus*, by birth a *Thracian*, who had served in the army from his childhood, and was deemed one of the best commanders of his age. At his departure, he left a body of five thousand men encamped on the banks of the *Phasis*, to watch the motions of the *Romans* and *Lazians*. On these *Gubazes* and *Dagistæus* surpris'd one thousand, as they were straggling about in quest of booty; and, having cut them all off to a man, fell unexpectedly, in the dead of the night, upon the main body, put most of them to the sword, and obliged the rest to save themselves by a precipitate flight. The *Romans* made themselves masters of their camp, in which, besides their ensigns and baggage, they found a great quantity of arms, and a considerable number of mules and horses. They pursued the fugitives to the confines of *Iberia*; intercepted several other parties that were conveying provisions into *Petra*; and, having blocked up all the avenues leading to the place, returned with their booty and captives.

The Persians put to  
flight.

*COSRHOFES* was no sooner informed of this overthrow, than he dispatched *Corianes*, with an army of *Alans* as well as *Persians*, into *Lazica*. But *Corianes* was attended with no better success than the other *Persian* generals; for, being met on the banks of the *Hippus* in *Colchis* by *Gubazes* and *Dagistæus*, his army was, after a most obstinate dispute, utterly defeated, and he himself slain<sup>1</sup>. These advantages were chiefly owing to the courage and conduct of *Gubazes*, at whose request *Dagistæus*, who had shamefully abandoned the siege of *Petra*, as we have related above, was recalled, and *Bessas*, an officer of great experience, appointed to command in his room. He immediately invested *Petra*, and, in the end, reduced that important place, though defended by the *Persian* garison with such obstinacy, as savoured of madness and despair. *Bessas* ordered *Petra* to be dismantled; and, leaving only twelve thousand men in *Lazica*, to wit, three thousand

The Persians utterly  
defeated.

Petra  
taken by  
the Ro-  
mans.

<sup>1</sup> EVAG. l. iv. c. 25, 26. PROCOPIUS, l. ii. c. 10.

in *Archæopolis*, the capital, and nine thousand encamped on the banks of the *Phasis*, under the command of *Odonachus*, he retired with the rest into *Armenia*, his own government. Upon his retreat, *Mermeroes* entered *Lazica*; and, having first obliged *Odonachus* to withdraw into the *Roman* territories, he laid siege to *Archæopolis*, which however he was forced to raise, having, in several assaults, been repulsed with great loss by the garison.

Year of  
the flood  
2892.  
Of Christ  
545.  
Of Rome  
1392.

NOTWITHSTANDING these hostilities, the *Persian* ambassadors, who had been sent to *Constantinople* the preceding year, continued still there; and, soon after the reduction of *Petra*, concluded a five years truce with the emperor, upon his paying to the *Persian* king an immense sum, which raised great complaints among the people, who were rather for pursuing the war, than submitting to pay a tribute, as they styled it, to the king of *Persia* <sup>m</sup>. But *Justinian* was glad to come to an agreement with the *Persians* upon any terms, that he might not be diverted from pursuing the advantages he had gained over the *Goths* in *Italy*; of which we shall speak in a more proper place. The truce was no sooner expired, than the *Persians*, invading anew *Lazica*, took by stratagem the strong castle of *Telepsis*; and then falling upon the *Roman* army, which lay encamped at a small distance, put them to flight at the first onset. *Gubazes* king of *Lazica*, provoked at the cowardice of the *Roman* generals, acquainted the emperor with their shameful behaviour; which incensed them to such a degree, that they conspired to dispatch him: and accordingly, having accused him at court of treachery, as if he privately corresponded with the *Persians*, by wresting the instructions sent them by the emperor, they murdered him, giving out, that he designed to betray them, and deliver all the *Romans* into the hands of the *Persians*. The *Lazians*, highly incensed against the authors of his death, would have revolted from the *Romans*, and joined the *Persians*, had not *Justinian* appeased them, by causing all those, who were any way accessory to the murder, to be publicly executed, and the deceased king's brother to be immediately proclaimed in his room.

*A truce  
between  
the Ro-  
mans and  
Persians.*  
Year of  
the flood  
2897.  
Of Christ  
550.  
Of Rome  
1397.

*The king  
of Lazica  
barba-  
rously mur-  
dered by  
the Ro-  
mans.*

IN the mean time the *Persians*, to the number of sixty thousand men, advanced, under the command of *Nachoragan*, into *Lazica*, and laid siege to *Phasis*; but *Justin*, who commanded the *Roman* troops, falling upon him unexpectedly, cut twelve thousand of his men in pieces, and obliged the

*The Per-  
sians de-  
feated.*

<sup>m</sup> PROCOPI. l. ii. c. 17. 28, 29.



*A peace  
concluded.*

Year of

the flood

2905.

Of Christ

558.

Of Rome

1405.

*The Hunns*

*break into*

*Thrace.*

*Are put to*

*flight by*

*Belisarius.*

Year of

the flood

2906.

Of Christ

559.

Of Rome

1406.

*Belisarius*

*disgraced.*

rest, with their general, to save themselves within the *Persian* dominions. This defeat so disheartened *Cosroes*, that he immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Constantinople* to sue for a peace; which was accordingly concluded upon terms equally honourable to both princes. The public rejoicings for the peace with *Persia*, after such a long and destructive war, were disturbed by a dreadful earthquake, which continued for several days, and overturned a great many stately edifices, and several churches, in which perished an incredible number of people, who had crowded to them during the public confusion. About the same time the plague, which had raged a few years before with great fury all over the empire, broke out anew at *Constantinople*, and swept off many thousands of people. The same year 558. the *Hunns*, passing the *Danube* in the depth of winter, marched in two bodies directly for *Constantinople*, and, laying waste the countries through which they passed, came, without meeting with the least opposition, within an hundred and fifty murlongs of the city. But *Belisarius*, though now weakened by old age to such a degree, that he was scarce able to hold a shield, or brandish a sword, marching out against them with an handful of men, put them to flight, and delivered both the emperor and the city from the dangers that threatened them. However, the emperor, to prevent them from breaking anew into the *Roman* dominions, agreed to pay them an annual pension, upon their promising to defend the empire against all other barbarians, and to serve, when required, in the *Roman* armies.<sup>p</sup>

THIS was the last exploit performed by *Belisarius*, who, upon his return to *Constantinople*, was disgraced, stripped of all his employments, and confined to his house. *Agathias* ascribes his disgrace to the malice of his enemies at court, who, envying him the great reputation he had deservedly acquired, and the favour he was in with the people, persuaded the emperor, whose jealousy increased with his years, that *Belisarius* aspired at the sovereignty; that the people, who preferred him to the most renowned heroes of antiquity, were all to a man ready to second him in his ambitious views; that the soldiery were still more attached to him than the people, &c. Upon these malicious and groundless insinuations, the emperor, forgetting the past services of the most deserving of all his subjects, of one who had been the bul-

<sup>a</sup> PROCOPIUS. l. ii. c. 17. 28, 29. & bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 8, 9. AGATH. l. iii. p. 81--90.    <sup>b</sup> AGATH. l. v. p. 155.    <sup>p</sup> Idem, p. 156, 157.

wark of the empire, and the reformation of the antient military discipline, recalled him, according to *Agathias*, without so much as suffering him to pursue his late victory over the *Huns*; and, upon his arrival at *Constantinople*, which he deserved to enter in triumph, confined him to his house, after having, with the utmost ingratitude, divested him of all his authority, honours, and employments<sup>†</sup> (G).

ABOUT this time, three of the emperor's chief officers, *Ablavius*, *Marcellus*, and *Sergius*, conspired against him; upon what provocation we know not: but the plot being discovered by some persons, whom *Ablavius* had attempted to draw into it, the conspirators were seized, before they could put their design in execution. *Marcellus*, after having defended himself with great resolution against the officers who were sent to arrest him, stabbed himself with his own sword. *Ablavius* and *Sergius* were publicly executed, and the rest of the conspirators banished<sup>†</sup>. The emperor escaped the conspiracy; but did not long outlive it, being soon after carried off by a natural, but sudden death, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign; that is, according to the most probable opinion, after he had reigned thirty-eight years, and seven months. His public works, the wars which were, in his reign, carried on with surprising success by his two renowned generals *Belisarius* and *Narjes*, and the new form which he gave to the *Roman* jurisprudence, have deservedly procured him the surname of *Great*. Of his public buildings the reader will find a distinct account in *Procopius*, who assures us, that there was scarce a city in his dominions, in which he did not erect some stately edifice; nor a province, wherein he did not build or repair some city, fort, or castle<sup>†</sup>. In war he recovered, and reunited to the empire, *Africa* and *Italy*, after they had been long held, the former by the *Vandals*, and the latter by the *Goths*, as we shall relate in the history of those two nations. In peace he signalized his reign by many excellent laws, but chiefly by the famous code, called from him the *Justinian* code.

*A conspiracy against Justinian.*  
Year of the flood 2912.  
Of Christ 565.  
Of Rome 1412.  
*Justinian dies.*  
Year of the flood 2913.  
Of Christ 566.  
Of Rome 1413.

<sup>†</sup> AGATH. hist. Justin. c. 9.

<sup>†</sup> Idem, de ædific.

<sup>†</sup> PROCOPI. hist. secr. c. 13.

(G) The more modern writers pretend, that *Justinian* caused his eyes to be put out, and reduced him to such poverty, that he was forced to beg from door to door in the streets of *Constantinople*. But the antient

authors assure us, that, the year following, the emperor, fully convinced of his innocence, restored him. & all his employments, which he enjoyed, without any farther disgrace, to his death.

IN the very beginnings of his reign he published an edict, directed to the senate of *Constantinople*, for the compiling of a new code. For this work he chose the most famous and learned men of his age, at the head of whom was the celebrated civilian *Trebonianus*, who were to collect into one volume all the constitutions contained in the *Gregorian*, *Hermogenian*, and *Theodosian* codes, and join to them such as had been published by *Theodosius* the younger, and the other lawful emperors his successors, down to *Justinian* himself: Whatever in these laws seemed superfluous was to be retrenched, with the prefaces; their force and meaning was to be rendered more clear; and the names of the princes who published them, the place, the time, and the persons to whom they were directed, to be prefixed to each constitution. In this form and method was the new code compiled in little more than a year; so that it was published in the beginning of the third year of *Justinian's* reign, with an edict, commanding that code alone to be quoted by pleaders at the bar, and declaring all laws that were not contained in it to be of no force or authority. It was divided into twelve books, and contained the constitutions of fifty-four emperors, from *Adrian* to *Justinian*; whereas the *Theodosian* code began with *Constantine the Great*.

JUSTINIAN, not satisfied with the code alone, undertook soon after a more noble, and far more difficult work; which was to collect, and digest into order, the opinions and answers of all the celebrated civilians, their remarks and comments on the *Roman* laws, especially on the *edictum perpetuum*, their different treatises, &c. in all above two thousand volumes. This hard and difficult task was completed in the space of three years by *Trebonianus*, and sixteen other able civilians, and called by the *Latins* *digesta*, because the opinions of the ancient civilians were there digested into order, and by the *Greeks* *pandectæ*, as containing all the ancient jurisprudence. When this great work was near completed, *Justinian* ordered *Trebonianus*, *Theophilus*, and *Dorotheus*, to compile, for the benefit of the youth, the *institutes*, or first principles of the law, which were published about a month before the *pandects*. As many things were found to be wanting in the code, and *Justinian* himself had, after the publication of it, enacted several laws, in the eighth year of his reign he ordered a second code to be made, in which were inserted all the constitutions, about two hundred in num-

His *pandects*.

His *institutes*.

\* Vide BALDUIN. in *Justinian*. p. 497. RITTERS. in *jure Justin* in *procem. c. 1. num. 4.* EDMUND. MERIL. ad 50. *decis. Justin.*

ber, which he had enacted since the publication of the first, and several others contained in the former code, either corrected or annulled. His second code, titled *de repetita prælectione*, was published five years after the first, and at the same time a decree, declaring the first to be of no force, and forbidding any constitutions or laws to be quoted in the courts of justice, that were not contained in the new code *de repetita prælectione*. Thus was the first code, in a manner, abolished, and all authority given to the second, to wit, that which has reached our times, divided into twelve books, and seven hundred and seventy-six articles, containing the constitutions of fifty-four emperors, from *Adrian* to *Justinian*. After the publication of the *institutes*, *pandects*, and code, *Justinian* enacted several laws, which were joined together in a distinct volume, called the *novellæ constitutiones*. These were published from time to time by *Justinian*, not in the *Latin*, excepting some few; but in the *Greek* tongue, and collected into one volume after his death *w*. *Justinian* is not only commended for his indefatigable care in reforming the *Roman* jurisprudence, but for his piety, prudence, justice, clemency, and every virtue becoming a person in his high station. As for the secret history, filled with most bitter invectives against *Justinian*, and the empress *Theodora*, it is, by the ablest critics, looked upon not as the work of *Procopius*, but as a scandalous libel fathered upon that writer. It is true, he loaded the people with heavy taxes; but the money thus raised was neither hoarded up by him, nor applied to the gratification of any unlawful passion, but employed in paying his numerous forces; in carrying on the many wars in which he was engaged; in repairing the public buildings, and embellishing with stately edifices the cities of the empire. In the latter end of his reign, he seemed to countenance the *Eutychians*, no doubt, at the instigation of the empress *Theodora*, who held their doctrine; which has given occasion to many bitter invectives against her memory. *Justinian* may deservedly be called the last *Roman* emperor; for in his reign the majesty of the empire seemed to revive, but soon vanished again, as we shall see in the sequel of the present history.

*u* BALDUIN. in *Justinian*. p. 497. RITTERS. in *jure Justin.* in *procem.* c. 4. num. 4. *w* CUYAC. l. viii. obs. c. ult. BALDUIN. *Justin.* p. 573. RITTERS. in *procem.* c. 4. num. 9.













